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"Commerce is King."

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J. D. B. DE BOW,

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DE BOW'S REVIEW:

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Art. I.—UNIFORM SYSTEM OF COINAGE AMONG NATIONS.

UTILITY OF A UNIFORM SYSTEM IN MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND FINENESS, AND DECIMAL ACCOUNTS, FOR THE STANDARD COINAGE OF COMMERCIAL NATIONS.

To render the subject of uniformity in coinage generally intelligible, slight references to history appear indispensable.

After the settlement of North America—from Europe—the earliest metallic currency of the colonies consisted of coins of the mother country. In 1652, Massachusetts provided for the coinage of shillings, sixpences, and threepences. The example was followed by Maryland, where silver and copper coins were issued in 1662.

In 1694 the Carolinas struck a half-penny; and two-penny, and penny pieces, in 1723 and 1733. In 1773 Virginia, also, introduced a half-penny coinage. Trade was carried on, principally, by barter.

As commerce and population increased, foreign gold coins were introduced—the English guinea, the Portuguese joannes, the Spanish doubloon, the French pistole, with Spanish dollars and their proportions, British silver coins, and, finally, French crowns.

After our Revolutionary struggle, various emissions of silver and copper were made by States; Massachusetts, New-Jersey, Connecticut and Vermont issued cents of varied weights. In 1783, J. Chalmers, at Annapolis, in Maryland, fabricated the smaller silver coins, carelessly proportioned. In 1830, Templeton Reed, in Georgia, and Christopher Bechtler, in North Carolina, coined gold pieces, literally at the pit's mouth, from veins and deposits worked in those States.

The pound of the colonies was originally the same as the pound sterling of Great Britain, but became greatly altered in consequence of excessive issues of paper money, in very unequal proportions, by different colonial authorities.

In 1782, the Congress of the United States directed a report upon the subject of coins and currency, which was made by the financier, Gouverneur Morris. He labored to reconcile the moneys of the different States upon the pound basis, and expressed an opinion that it was " very desirable money should be increased in a decimal ratio, because, by that means, all calculations of interest, exchange, insurance, and the like, are rendered much more simple and accurate; and, of course, more within the power of the great mass of the people."

In 1784, Mr. Jefferson, on behalf of a committee, also advocated the decimal system, stating—" The most easy ratio of multiplication and division is that by ten. Every one remembers the facility of decimal arithmetic at school, and the bulk of mankind are school-boys through life."

Mr. Jefferson differed from Mr. Morris upon the unit of value, and proposed the Spanish dollar as the basis, which was adopted in 1785.

The confederation of the States had already provided that " Congress should have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coins. The Constitution of 1789 arrested local issues, and vested the right of coinage solely in the General Government.

In 1790, Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, made " A Report on Moneys, Weights and Measures."

In 1792, a code of laws and regulations was enacted for a mint, in Philadelphia, with denominations for coinage in gold, silver and copper. The standard of fineness for gold being fixed at .917; that for silver at .882 milliemes, or thousandths, according to the French mode of computation, now employed in the Mints of the United States, instead of the ancient expression by carats and eighths.

In 1793 and 1796, slight modifications were made in the weight of copper pieces, "on account of the increased price of copper in the commercial market."

In 1819, Mr. Lowndes proposed to raise the value of gold against silver. To provide a remedy for their recognized disproportion, engaged the attention of eminent statesmen for fifteen years. The fineness of the gold coins was ultimately reduced to .899and a fraction.

In 1834, an act was passed changing the weight and fineness of the gold coins, and, also, the relative value of gold to silver. The first basis—fifteen to one—being found too low, at the market value, which, although constantly fluctuating, was near sixteen to one—the original Spanish ratio."

" The effect of our previous legal proportions was to reduce the coinage of gold, and to restrain its circulation. Being always at a premium, the coin was immediately exported to Europe, in the course of trade, and there quickly wrought into other shapes."*

But the disadvantages of a complex standard of fineness in gold and in silver, determined the Director of the Mint to suggest the more simple and modern standard of France, established upon a distinct basis. This was acted upon by Congress, in 1837. The standard being fixed at .900, or ninety per cent. of fine metal, for gold and silver coins, in the 1000 parts.

In the year 1835, branches of the mint were directed to be established in Louisiana, Georgia and North Carolina—all the coins being uniform. A mint in California and an assay office in New-York have since been decided upon.

In Great Britain the basis of the value of money is the pound sterling, of twenty shillings. This pound, of standard silver, was represented by the guinea, a gold coin, ordained in 1675, during the reign of Charles the Second.

From a depreciation of silver coins in England, Sir Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, during George the First, recommended in 1717, that the guinea should be rated at twenty-one shillings.

In 1816 the sovereign, a new gold coin of twenty shillings, slightly differing in weight from the guinea, was substituted, and an alteration again effected in the British silver coinage—silver being made a legal tender only to the amount of forty shillings at a time.

In the history of the British Mint, the coinage of the year 1816 "will be remarkable," writes Dr. Kelly, "not only on account of important alterations then made in the monetary system, but also for the great accommodation afforded to the public." At the present moment still greater conveniences are desired in that country.

A recent Report of a Select Committee, to the House of Commons of Great Britain, founded upon careful inquiry, among intelligent and practical men, encourages a modification of measures and weights in all money accounts.

The decimal system of computation being acknowledged so simple and easily understood at home and abroad, compared with the mode at present employed, that "he who runs may count, his fingers being a text-book!"

A Governor of the Bank of England, Mr. Hankey, examined in reference to the sale or purchase of bullion, declared "a more complicated system than that lately in use—and one more fraught with incidents to error—would hardly be conceived."

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* Manual of Coins and Bullion, by Eckfeldt and Dubois.

Three elements enter into the consideration:—1st. The *weight* calculated in troy pounds, ounces, pennyweights and grains. 2d. The *quality* of the gold, subdivided by twenty-four carats and their eighths. 3d. The element of *value* estimated in pounds, shillings, pence and farthings.

Prof. George Biddell, acting Astronomer Royal, remarked—"that if gold was adopted, as the standard of value, by other countries, it would be possible to have such international arrangements as would make the coin of different countries interchangeable at fixed rates."

Sir John Herschell, Master of the Mint, "recommended a decimal coinage, accompanied by a decimal system of weights and measures.

The *only* point on which witnesses were divided in opinion, before the Select Committee, was the precise basis which should be adopted.

Under an impression that "the laws of physical nature operate uniformly, the unit of measure in England was fixed, by ascertaining the length of a pendulum, vibrating seconds, in the latitude of London, at the level of the sea.*

To this length a yard measure was referred and subdivided into three feet—of twelve inches—each.

"The unit of measure is the element from which is deduced the unit of weight."

By such contrivances the magnitudes and distances of the planets, as well as the fineness and weights of coins, are measured, by the graduated scale of a yard stick; "the motions of the heavenly bodies being governed by general laws—applicable to all matter."

During thirty-seven years, from 1689 to 1726, no less than nine changes were made in the standard value of gold coins in France.

In 1795, the present system was commenced in that country, based, however, upon a different calculation from the English, by an admeasurement of our planet—the earth—the distance from the equator to the pole being computed, for a standard of measure, the French metre.

A cube of pure water, at the temperature of melting ice, measuring each way the hundredth part of this metre, offered a certain standard weight, called a gramme. From such bases the franc coin was deduced.

These units of admeasurement were multiplied decimally, into other denominations, by which the system is thought to possess "completeness as well as simplicity."

Before the year 1772, there were thirty-one mints in France—

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* **Davies' Logic of Mathematics.**

these were afterwards reduced to eighteen. Finally, only six remain. The coinage of the French is very large, and specially their specie circulation in silver; while in England a gold coinage is more predominant.

The minor purposes of trade are supplied in populous portions of Asia—China, Burmah and Japan—by "a current money," composed of thin plates of hardened, mixed, base metal, like brass or bronze, stamped with devices, and sometimes apparently cast in moulds; each piece having a square hole in the centre, by which these coins are strung like button-moulds, in parcels of one hundred, for the convenience of counting and of carriage.

Their computations of money are subdivided decimally. Being excellent judges of the purity of foreign coins, the Chinese separate good from bad with rapid accuracy. They recognize the character and fineness of metal by the sight, the touch, the smell and the sound.

Dr. John Bowring, formerly, and now, Consul at Canton, stated before the Select British Committee, that "in Japan, accounts had been kept in decimals time immemorial, and that the Chinese system is one of great simplicity and ease."

The integer, or whole number, is one ounce of *pure* silver, which is divided into one thousand parts, called "cash."

Dr. Bowring declared "he never could approach his Chinese servant in the celerity with which he kept his accounts."

These anciently civilized nations employ refined gold and fine silver, in bullion bars, without coinage, for exchanges of all large sums in trade.

The Chinese notation of fineness is by hundredths, ours by thousandths. Some fine silver bars, fabricated in China, exhibited upon assay, at the mint in Philadelphia, a purity of .982 thousandths—a very high grade—equivalent to $98\frac{2}{10}$ per cent. of fine silver.

The Chinese money system we conceive to be similar to that recorded during the residence of the Hebrews in civilized Egypt. Identity in quality was the most ancient process of preparation for monetary calculations—as it is now—"pieces of money" were checked "by weight," in the interchange between Joseph and his brethren, when Jacob sent into Egypt for corn.

Abraham is described to have had servants "bought with money of the stranger," as well as some "born in his house."

These references are presented for the satisfaction of those who dread novelties, to convince them our object is not a new one, but as old as the days of the Hebrew Patriarchs.

In Assyria, Persia and Hindostan, a coinage of gold was known and valued at the conquest of Alexander. From these countries the Greeks and Romans derived the models of their measures, weights and devices, which have since prevailed in modern Europe, and now among us. From the time of Aristotle, we have a generally accepted definition—"money is a standard measure," by which the values of all things are ascertained, regulated and represented. Money forms a language of mathematical proportion, by which commercial interchanges are readily made and generally understood.

In Dialogues upon the usefulness of ancient medals or coins, Mr. Addison describes them as "a kind of printing, before the art was invented, giving great light to history;" we now know that the invention of printing claims a high antiquity.

Napoleon—as great in civil as in military administration—proposed to have, throughout Europe, money of the same value, but with different coins or devices.

Identity of coins has been employed to produce a stronger bond of union among nations. For this purpose the relations between the silver coinage of Russia and Poland were projected, to facilitate their intercourse.

The coinages of Italy and Spain were assimilated, at one time, with that of France; as those of Greece, Rome, Saxony and Baden now do. Uniformity is desirable in all national measures and weights, but specially to regulate coinage. Nations that have mints, possess means for one common measure or standard of proportions. The varieties which now exist result from want of concert in the elements of art, and needless dissimilarities in mint usages.

The principles upon which the practices of different mints are founded, prove that different nations may act upon the same general system in all money accounts.

The distinct units of *weight*, *fineness* and *value*, form curious and important portions in the arrangements of our coinage.

The properties in numbers were held sacred by the ancients, and regarded as of divine authority, from the evident system, exactness, order and harmony in the varied arrangements of the natural world.

Numbers were divided into classes:

ONE was regarded most eminently sacred—

TWO the associate—

THREE considered perfect, comprehending—"The Beginning, the Middle and the End"—one conspicuous name of The Divinity.

Pythagoras was thought to mingle fancy with the truths of mathematics. FOUR was the number he is described to have affected to venerate the most, from deductions of the absolute powers of numbers he had been taught in the East.

FOUR contains, within itself, all the musical proportions; and a very ancient division of mathematical science distributed it into four parts, namely: 1, Arithmetic; 2, Geometry; 3, Astronomy; and 4, Music!

The Spanish dollar, assumed as the unit of value for the coinage of the United States, contains one ounce of silver—originally subdivided into halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths. This silver ounce was called "a piece of eight," in reference to the "reales" or twelve-and-a-half-cent pieces, which compose its sum.

Sixteen silver ounces are equal to one pound avoirdupois weight—the result of some ancient Phœnician, Assyrian, or Arabian measure of computation.

One pound, of sixteen ounces, of standard silver, was represented by a Spanish doubloon—an ounce of standard gold.

The unit of weight, in the calculations for coinage of the United States, is devised from the Troy ounce—twelve to the pound weight—believed to have been introduced into Troyes of France, from Cairo, in Egypt, during the Crusades. We dismiss the pound, pennyweight and grain weights, and confine our mint estimates to the divisions of one ounce into hundred parts, converted by a distinct process into dollars and cents; and we multiply the ounces decimally.

To estimate the quality of gold and silver, in the mint practice of the United States, the unit for fineness is obtained from the more modern French computation—a gramme—for assay of silver, and a half gramme—for assay of gold—each subdivided into thousandths or milliemes, in place of the antique jewellers' weights, twenty-four carats and their eighths.

By our decimal intentions we have intermingled a variety of units employed in the measures, weights and standards of other nations—but are uniform with none.

We have broken down some ancient systems into decimals, but still use the original materials, however difficult for mathematical correspondence, with others.

We have admitted astronomy, geometry and arithmetic into our mint calculations—but have disregarded music.

Our coins do not harmonize with those of other nations, nor do any accord with us.

In order to illustrate, for the convenience of those not conversant with the simple but still complicated structure of mintage, we may describe the elementary features in the coinage of gold for the United States as four—1st, perfectly fine gold; 2d, fine silver alloy; 3d, pure copper alloy; 4th, exact weight.

Silver, in some definite proportion, is always found united with gold in its native state; for perfectly pure gold is solely the result "of the refiner's art." Silver, therefore, is used as a natural alloy for gold coins by certain nations, who thus avoid the modern process of complete separation of these metals, and recovery of the silver by acids.

In the States of South America, in Mexico and in Spain, the coinage of doubloons was made without addition of copper alloy, while in Europe, generally, the mints endeavor to rid their gold coinage of silver entirely, reviving this metal by chemical process and using copper alone—as an alloy.

Consequently, the national colors vary very much in these different coinages of gold.

In the standard gold coins of the United States, the proportion of silver alloy has varied from 25 to 50–100ths in the 1000 parts, or from 2½ to 5 per cent. The other portion of alloy from 50 to 75–100ths, or from 5 to 7½ per cent. in the 1000—being copper. This allowance for silver alloy, in gold pieces, has been recently reduced at the United States mints to 11–100ths in the 1000, or 1 per cent. and a fraction; for greater uniformity of color.

Although the standards of France and of the United States are the same, in respect to the proportionate amounts of fine gold in their coinages, yet as the weights of their coins and the alloys differ, there is not a perfect approximation of values in their severally proportioned pieces.

The coins of either, when exported to the other, are mutually regarded as bullion—or uncoined gold.

The election of silver alone or copper alone as alloy, with the same allowance of fine gold in the coins of each, would render equal weights of the standards of both these countries—of the same intrinsic value.

The specific gravities or differences in the relative weights of metals of the same bulk, by measure, is expressed minutely and accurately by figures. The specific gravity of fine gold is rated at 19.30; fine silver at 10.50; pure copper, 8.80; but the gravity of a mixture of metals is not always the exact result of arithmetical addition.

With all the care that can be taken, the same alloy is acknowledged to produce varying results in this trial by specific gravity. Being a much less delicate test than the assay by complete separation of the metals, it is considered inadmissible for mint purposes.

The legal amount of fine gold in English standard coin, is 916 parts in the thousand, or 91½ per cent. and a fraction, alloyed with copper alone; which gives a dark rich color to the British coin.

By concerted action between England, France, the United States and other nations, consenting to the employment of similar units of admeasurement for weights, fineness and alloys, connected with an uniform basis for all decimal computations; a French Napoleon, a Ducat of Denmark, an English Sovereign, a Spanish Pistole, a Moidore of Brazil, a Doubloon of Mexico or Peru, and a Russian Imperial, could as conveniently, and more economically, be formed of the exact value of a gold coin of the United States, as it is easy for the several mints in the United States to oblige all Eagle coins to correspond precisely with each other; to contain exactly the same quantity of fine gold and alloys, and to be of the same general weight and value among us. Any sum can be mutually assumed, with equal facility, by concert at all mints, and decision in the bases.

The large amount of fine silver contained in our gold coins of preceding dates, had sometimes invited a destruction of their forms, for the purpose of recovering that metal by ready processes of art at refineries in foreign countries.

The addition of spurious or counterfeit pieces, to large amounts of correct gold coins, exported without sufficient scrutiny, once caused suspicion of the general accuracy of the coinage of the United States. Possibly, for want of information at that time, of a method to check the values of large amounts of standard gold, by weight, complaint was made to the American Minister in London, Mr. Lawrence, that the assays of the mints of the United States were suspected to be inexact.

As the annual trials to test uniformity in all the coinages of the several mints are regular and precise by law, the assayers experienced no inconvenience, although aware of other causes which produce the same results as defective purity, or deficient fineness in the national coinage.

The value of precious metals is computed by multiplying the gross weight, after proper melting, by the fineness or quality ascertained from careful assay, expressed in thousandths of a French half gramme. A moderate arithmetician can calculate—that defective weight would cause the same results in the product, as inaccuracy in the certificate of fineness.

Large sums of correct coins, slightly intermingled with counterfeit pieces, exhibit deficient weight before melting, to a mint officer or clerk; and when melted in mass, as surely show a lower quality by assay, than the standard fineness for legal coins.

The assayers and refiners abroad, certified satisfactorily to the accuracy of the mint practice in the United States. The French Mint in Paris, expressed such experience from re-melting, re-assaying and re-coining seven millions of our gold pieces—during that year.

While this constant re-melting and re-modelling of carefully coined gold occurs, the policy of incessantly increasing the gold coinage of the United States may well be questioned. For this manufacture, which is tedious, expensive and important, does not add to the value of the precious metals, which are solely regarded, in other countries, as old or uncoined gold.

The employment of gold and silver in the arts has become very extended, and bullion of different qualities may be easily prepared at the mints, for such operations; to restrain a disposition to work up coins alone for such purposes, in consequence of their well-ascertained quality of fineness, readily calculated for reduction.

As our Southern and Western States produce the precious metals, and four mints have been established in the South and West, this subject is important to us—in a mercantile view. Gold and silver, as raw products, are annually exported to a very large amount, besides the indiscreet and unnecessary loss of coins by transportation, to adjust our balances of trade.

Ancient historical monuments assure us the trade in gold and silver was appreciated in remote periods of civilization, and their valuation conducted upon a system, which originated in correct views of practical utility for general convenience, and the earliest commercial interchanges.

Moneys were very anciently divided into "pieces" designated by images or "devices," their value checked "by weight," and estimated from "quality," or their fineness.

The modern mint practices preserve the same measures of precaution, the purity and weight of every piece of coin being accurately adjusted before its emission from the mints.

By the systematic regulations of the Asiatics, whose usages in metallurgical arts gave an impulse to similar procedures in civilized Europe, we feel persuaded that the moderns, in the discovery of exact principles of art and knowledge, pass through the same kind of experience, which led to the many original processes enumerated in the Ancient Scriptures; which, while they offer to our intelligence a corrected system of morals, at the same time announce in simple, but comprehensive manner, the progress and condition of the varied useful arts of life, at periods we scarcely dare compute.

The existence of "good" gold, an expression understood to have reference to its quality of fineness, is noticed in the second chapter, 11th and 12th verses, of the Genesis. The technical name of goldsmith, translated "founder," appears in Judges, xvii. 4, and that of the crucible, or "fining-pot" for melting, in the Proverbs, xvii. 3.

The metals enumerated in those old writings, are iron, (Jer., xv. 12,) copper, (Gen., iv. 22,) silver, (Prov., xvii. 3,) gold, (Amos, vii. 7,) lead and tin, (Ezek., xxvii. 7.)

There is a Hebrew word ("Chasmil") to express an admixture or amalgam. Some suppose it bronze or brass, (Jer., vi. 28,) the ancient manufacture of which, at Corinth, was celebrated, as well as in Egypt. Others regard it a combination of gold alloyed with copper, like modern coin.

That the metallurgical arts were carried into useful manufactures at very distant ages, is shown by the list of tools fabricated from metals, or employed in the various processes of smelting and working them distinctly specified in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Axes, (Deut., xix. 5; 2 Kings, vi. 5) saws (2 Sam., xii. 31) and stone-cutters, (Deut., xxvii. 5) chisels, (Judges, xvi. 21) chains, bolts, nails, knives, warlike weapons, (1 Sam., xvii. 7) bedsteads, (Deut., iii. 11) chariots and harrows of iron, (2 Sam., xii. 31) are all mentioned, at the period of the Hebrew Exodus: besides numerous vessels for cooking or sacrifices, were made of copper; (Lev., vi. 28) defensive and offensive armor—swords, spears, (1 Sam., xvii. 5) arrow heads, shields and helmets of bronze or brass, combinations including the metals of copper and of tin.

Drinking vessels of gold and silver, (Ezra, v. 14) altars, idols, (Exo., xx. 20,) possibly a rough currency like coins, with devices, or rudely cast models of the figures of animals, were represented, as in common use in the days of Jacob.

Lead (Jer., vi., 9; Zach., v. 3) was employed as weight for plumb lines (Amos, vii. 7.) The anvil, (Isaiah, xli. 7) the hammer, pincers or tongs, the bellows, (Jer., vi. 29) "fining-pots, or sand crucibles, (Prov., xvii. 3) and melting furnaces," (Ezek., xxii. 20, 22) are expressively detailed by Hebrew writers of antiquity.

The chemical or mechanical separation of the metals by fluxes, for purification, and the dross (Ezek., xxii. 18) resulting from them, are all used as illustrative comparisons of ordinary customs, in the familiar but figurative language of the Hebrews. The casting of images, (Ex. xxv. 12—xxvi. 37) forms, (Isaiah, xl. 19) figures or ornamented plates, were obviously known in the age of the Patriarchs. Soldering (Isaiah, xli. 7) and welding, smoothing (1 Kings, vii. 45) and polishing, (Ex., xxv. 11, 24) overlaying or gilding, (1 Kings, vi. 20,) and other metallurgical operations, indicate the distinct branches of "workers" in iron, (Isaiah, xliv. 12,) bronze, brass, (1 Kings, vii. 14,) silver, (Judges, xvii. 4,) and gold, (Mal. iii. 2.)

Some of the neighboring nations, as the Tyrians, (1 Kings, vii. 13) were noticed, by the same authorities, to have been more experienced and successful in such handicraft than the Hebrews.

Many golden coins produced during the past centuries at the mints in Europe, Africa and Asia, indicate a high degree of purity or fineness, and prove the excellence of former artistic processes, in this part of the manufacture. Gold and silver "refined in a crucible by fire," often used as comparison, to designate resemblances, indicate well-known customs. Such purity being not natural among those metals, but entirely due to processes of ingenious skill and art.

The sequins of Rome, Venice and Tuscany, fabricated during the early portions of last century, contained from .996 to .997 parts of pure gold in the 1,000; or 99½ per cent. of perfectly fine gold. This is as high quality as that obtained by the present means of separation in our refineries by acids. Assays made at the Mint of the United States show in the old gold ducats of Hungary .986, Sweden .977, Bavaria .980, Denmark .988, Hanover .993, the Netherlands .980, and Poland .984, fineness varying from 97½ to 99 per cent. of fine metal. The last minute fractional remnants of silver separate with great reluctance from gold in refining, and it is only during the delicate and diminutive operations of the assay department, that perfectly pure or fine gold is attained in practice. The golden ounce (.995) of Naples and Sicily, the toman (.991) of Persia, the mohur (.982) of Bengal, and the sequin (.958) of Egypt, show a fineness from 96 to 99½ per cent.; and demonstrate that the ancient principle in coinage was a close approximation to perfect purity in the metals, and that their calculations of value were simply based, as now, upon the fineness and the weights.

The doubloons, or golden ounces, of Spain, Mexico, and the South American States, vary in fineness from .813 to .872 thousandths, or from 81½ to 87 per cent., their alloy being silver alone. The moidore of Brazil, the joannese of Portugal, and the imperial of Russia, approach the British standard of coinage; or 91½ per cent. Yet the varieties in the proportionate values of such coins are still too great in these different sections of the commercial world, to permit any reciprocal interchanges at equal rates.

All coins, however varied in fineness, weights and characters of alloy, continue to be graduated with great care in each country; but in exchange with others, require extended, complicated and dilatory calculations of arithmetic, which, by general consent among nations, could readily be dismissed.

If the actions of national mints were submitted to a reformed code of regulations, organized by practical men, for general uniformity in the basis of measures for fineness, weights, alloys and decimal calculations, without altering the national superscriptions, devices, forms and designations, advantage surely would be gained for all.

Such uniformity once established by a few nations, other measures of accordance might be expected to ensue, for the promotion of general exactness in other weights and measures—for useful and equitable correspondences.

The practices of mints require the greatest accuracy in all their details; and unless an exact uniformity exists in their original basis of calculations, no identity of values can prevail—in coins. The mints require the rigid accord of mathematical, chemical and mechanical actions, which being known to prevail in the separate coins of each nation, can, by concerted action, as surely be made to exist in the general coinage of all.

If it is held important, that neighboring portions of the same country should comprehend and employ the same currency, no logical argument can prove a contrary effect among intercommuning nations, for commercial transactions. The gold coins of the United States, easily and instantly recognized in Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Kentucky, South Carolina and California, could as readily be understood and valued in France, Germany, England, Spain, Russia and Sweden—Mexico, Brazil and Peru—Egypt, Persia, India, China and Japan—and all their coins as readily credited here. Such a plan of concert once established by a few, the practice of remelting coins of either, thus consenting, would be abandoned at once, among them.

Impressions, forms, dates, or places of manufacture, do not affect value, which is regulated solely by the amount of perfectly pure gold, or fine silver, in coins, jewelry, ores or dust. By the employment of the most easy decimal calculations, their values can be reduced or augmented, and the exact worth of every 1,000th, 100th, 50th, 10th, or 5th, of any basis of value be generally established, and everywhere correctly comprehended by all men who are taught decimal arithmetic—or have sense and fingers.

Such easy uniformity of fabrication might introduce the practice of testing large amounts of gold and silver coins, or bullion, by weight; which, in the larger transactions of commerce, would prove the best remedy against counterfeits and false tokens.

We all comprehend the inconveniences resulting from any depreciation in the value of paper money in adjacent States; still the similarity of five, ten, twenty and fifty dollar notes, enable us to exchange, when they will pass by a recognized public confidence.

The dissimilarities in the coinages of different nations, expose merchants to some of the inconveniences of uncurrent paper, which can be avoided by correspondence, explanations, and a very moderate yielding, by each, to slight changes in mint practice.

The mining interests of the Southern States are concerned to reduce charges upon their industry; which all unnecessary impediments, in ascertaining the value of their products, multiply upon them. As coins, and as merchandise, gold and silver require to have their quality of fineness carefully designated, in order to decide upon their value, like an inspection of flour, tobacco, or fish. Condition—regulates the character and worth of all—for use, manufactures or exchanges.

Since the original introduction of civilization from Africa and

Asia into Europe, the nations who employ coins, as representatives of value, have never consulted together upon any mutual accommodation in coinage. They have each fixed upon some convenient, or casual intermingling of the metals, to represent their standards; which, like those exhibited in war, present different forms, with distinct emblems and colors. The varieties of value in these standards, existing among different friendly nations, instead of being at once recognized by the eye, like their flags, can only be distinguished by separate calculations of arithmetic, to verify their character—in every market. They are private signals, promoting difficulties rather than convenience among nations, not always differing in language.

In matters of money, we may, surely, all advance with success, under one truthful, peaceful and common standard.

All foreign coins, notwithstanding the special care of each separate nation in producing them, are now degraded, as bullion abroad—recklessly melted and then issued under a new standard —a kind of civilized piracy, which should be abated for the benefit of all, with the general consent of all.

The enormous exportation of coins, constantly witnessed from ports in the United States, may induce attention to this subject, connected with continued applications for increased means, to augment and promote so impolitic a procedure.

The original laws, for the organization of the mint of the United States, could not have anticipated the immense influx of precious metals, consequent upon our recent discoveries and lately acquired possessions, which have impaired all former calculations of proportion, distribution and values.

As raw material for export and foreign exchange, the values of gold and silver can be estimated without coinage, like those of any other products of industry or of art; but as a currency required by our constitution, for permanent domestic exchanges and home convenience, other considerations are essential.

The annually increasing coinage of gold, beyond our domestic necessities, appears in opposition to true economy. Being solely estimated as bullion in foreign countries, it is re-melted by millions at the mints and refineries in Europe, without special advantage to them or to us.

While there exists in Great Britain a consent to the importance of an entire change in systematic coinage, and this subject is in active discussion, connected with decimal calculations for moneys and mintage, much valuable information may be gained or communicated; and a liberal scheme of mutual accommodation and concert—now be generally approved.

The community of interests, which the advancement of liberal knowledge and useful arts produce, by commercial intercourse, lead us to trust they contribute to promote peace and good will among men of different nations and languages.

Art. II.—THE MOUTHS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

[Nearly two years ago, we published in the Review a very instructive paper upon this subject, which was illustrated by a diagram showing the extent of the obstructions which existed, and consequent damage to the commerce of the West seeking an outlet in that quarter.

Since the appearance of that paper, and owing to the pressing memorials of the citizens of New-Orleans, Congress have ordered an exploration of that region, and appropriated a large amount for the deepening of the channels of the river.

We have before us a Report made by a special Board, detailed by the War Department, which is so full of interest and instruction to the people of the whole Southwest, with all of their immense commercial interests, that its appearance in the pages of the Review cannot but meet with general approval. The Board consisted of Captains Latimer and Barnard, Major Chase and Lieut. Beauregard. They refer, as other sources of information upon the same subject, to the following official papers:—Report of Major Delafield to General Gratiot, Chief Engineer, July 6, 1829; Letter from Secretary of War, with various documents on the subject, February 24, 1837; Report of A. Talcott to Major Chase, corps of engineers, October 31, 1838; Annual Report of Col. J. J. Abert, topographical engineers, December 30, 1839. Report of J. G. Totten, Chief Engineer, to Secretary of War, February 13, 1839; Report of Mr. C. Ellet to War Department, Jannary 8, 1851.]

SIR:—The Board convened by your order of the 18th ult., for the objects therein specified, respectfully inform you that, having visited and examined the passes of the Mississippi, and having, by collecting and comparing the results of former surveys and investigations, by personal inquiry, and by all other means in their power, obtained all possible information bearing upon those objects, they submit the following report:—

The necessity and feasibility of deepening one or more of the passes of the Mississippi is not a new subject. It is one almost coeval with the settlement of the country itself; yet it is only of late years that projects to accomplish this object have been seriously entertained.

By reference to ancient charts, it would appear that the Northeast Pass, for a period of at least seventy years, maintained a depth of twelve feet on its bar. This depth was found more and more inadequate, as commerce rapidly increased after the transfer of the country to the United States, and about the year 1835 public attention was strongly attracted to the necessity of increasing the depth in this and other passes.

With a view to this object, a preliminary survey was made, under direction of Capt. W. H. Chase, corps of engineers, who based thereon certain projects and estimates for increasing the depth of water, by closing several of the passes and dredging the channel through the northeast and southwest bars.

Congress appropriated for these objects the sum of $250,000; but the subject was deemed so important by the War Department, that it was referred to a special Board of Engineers, who, simultaneously with the experiment of dredging, ordered a new and very thorough survey of the delta, with the view of obtaining more extensive and accurate data on which to base a project, and also to furnish a standard to which engineers could in future refer, in investigating the changes which are continually taking place in the channels and at the mouths of the passes.

The survey was executed with all desirable precision and scientific skill; a powerful dredging boat and tenders were procured, and the experiment of dredging commenced. Unfortunately, the survey and building of dredging machinery nearly exhausted the sum appropriated; and Congress having failed to make further appropriations, the experiment was necessarily abandoned before it had progressed sufficiently to test its efficacy. Thus the operations of this period failed to cast any light upon this important question now before the Board, viz.:—"What is the proper method of securing a depth of water over the bars adequate to the wants of commerce?"

As the Northeast Pass became more and more innavigable, it was found that the Southwest, which had heretofore been little used, answered sufficiently well the existing wants, and it has continued to answer them, without material inconvenience, till a recent date.

During the past year, however, public attention has again been attracted to this subject. Vessels carrying large and valuable cargoes have been detained for weeks and even months on the bar; and it has been stated that theSouthwest Pass has, in its turn, commenced shoaling, while the Pass à l'Outre has commence ddeepening.

The Board do not find evidence to confirm the opinion that any deterioration has taken place at the Southwest Bar. The survey recently made by officers of the Coast Survey exhibits fully as much water as existed at the time of Talcott's survey, and the personal examinations of the Board give the same result; and if at any period in this interval there has been reported to be more water than now exists, the Board believe the fact may be accounted for by extraneous and not natural causes.

The tonnage and draught of ships visiting this port have, for years past, been constantly increasing, and they believe that the circumstances which have recently excited public attention are owing rather to an accidental accumulation of large vessels than to any gradual shoaling of the bar.

The Board, in their inquiries, found no reason to believe that this pass has, since anything has been known of it, changed materially its character or its depth; and they think they find reasons for this permanence of character, whichwill be stated hereafter.

But the Board, though having little fear of a sensible or rapid deterioration of this pass, are, nevertheless, of opinion that it is not adequate to the existing and prospective wants of commerce; and it is this inadequacy, and not its deterioration, which has now made it necessary to look for some efficient means of deepening this or other passes.

The Board, while they feel the immense importance of the task imposed on them, are yet more conscious of the extreme difficulty of the problem submitted to their consideration.

They find in the various and conflicting theories and projects put forward by eminent engineers; in the exceptional character of the subject itself; in the want of analogy to anything heretofore undertaken, and consequent want of precedent; and in the extreme uncertainty attending analogous operations on a much smaller scale, great cause to distrust any opinion they may form themselves, and equal cause to distrust the projects of theorists who have made all their observations and facts subservient to a preconceived opinion.

They have examined attentively, however, the various projects which have been submitted to the public, and they have sought information wherever it was to be found. They have themselves adopted no theory as to the formation of these bars, or as a basis of project for their removal, for they believe the subject too difficult, and the facts collected too few, to justify any theory; nor have they attempted to confute the projects and theories of others.

In visiting the passes, the Board proposed to themselves no extensive investigations or minute study, for these would occupy time they could not spare; but simply, by personal observation, to fix the existing state of things in their minds, and to inform themselves as to some few important facts, to which the labors of others had not been directed.

The recent Coast Survey maps rendered additional surveys unnecessary.

The Board spent eight days at the passes, during which they visited each one, and occupied themselves mainly in studying the changes which had taken place between Talcott's and Sands' surveys—the nature of the formations exhibited, the character of the bottom, particularly of the Southwest Pass and Pass à l'Outre, and the general slope of the bottom of the Gulf seaward for several miles from the passes. Their operations will be found more fully detailed in the journal, and illustrated by the accompanying sketch of the passes.

Some observations were made on the current; but to these they attach no further importance than as exhibiting the fact that at all stages of the tide they found, inside the bar and over the bar, an outward current at the bottom—less, indeed, than at the surface, but still very considerable.

They made but one observation at much distance (say at seven fathoms) outside, and this when the outward current was sensibly checked by the young flood tide; and here they found the outward current confined to six or seven feet of the surface—all below that being salt water and motionless, or having little sensible motion. This is but a single observation, and at the dead low-water stage of the river.

The slope of the bottom outwards, to a distance of three miles, and to a depth of twenty-five fathoms, was found extremely gradual and uniform, being scarcely forty feet to the mile.

Some description of the passes themselves, with their physical peculiarities, may seem necessary. Notwithstanding the number of passes enumerated, and the complicated figure presented by a map, the true and essential division of the river may be considered as only into two great passes, the Northeast and Southwest; for the South Pass, originating at the same point, is now quite insignificant. The Southwest Pass takes from its origin a course of southwest by south, and pursues it with little deflection to its bar. Though throwing off several small bayous, it exhibits no tendency to divide; and to this uniformity in its course and maintenance of its volume the Board are disposed to attribute the permanence of depth upon its bar; for the pass presents no evidence of having ever carried more or less water than at present through its channel, and there is no evidence on record to induce them to believe that, as far back as the discovery of the country, there was less water on its bar than now. That it was not noticed nor used prior to having the aid of steam for ascending the river, may be attributed to the superior facilities of ingress and egress from the eastward offered by the Northeast Pass, and by the fact that the prevailing winds, from north round to southeast, are adverse in this pass, while they are mostly favorable in the other.

By the experiments of Prof. Forshey, it would appear that the Southwest Pass discharges about one-third of the entire volume of the river, the remaining two-thirds being discharged by the other passes and bayous and by the "Jump."

In addition to volume of water and permanence of depth offered by the Southwest Pass, it has great width of channel and a fine anchorage and harbor both inside and outside of the bar, and in this respect has greatly the advantage of Pass à l'Outre.

A single glance at the chart will show that vessels lying outside awaiting opportunity to cross, are well protected from the violent winds from the northwest, north, round to east, while a simple shifting of position of a few miles will give them shelter from the southeasters; though with the latter winds, and consequent rise of tide, they can always cross the bar.

The Northeast Pass takes at its origin a direction north of east, but it soon divides its main branch, flowing to the south of east, and forming the Northeast and Southeast Passes, while a smaller branch continues nearly the original direction, constituting the Pass à l'Outre. But the tendency to subdivision exhibits itself in all the derivations of this pass—the main stem, besides throwing off large boyous, divides with the Northeast and Southeast Passes.

The Pass à l'Outre throws off near its origin the large bayou called Pass à Cheval, which again subdivides into numerous smaller bayous, and the Pass à l'Outre itself now exhibits in the division of its mouth, which has fully developed itself since Tal cott's survey, the same tendency. A phenomenon so constant in its exhibitions, contrasted with the reverse character of the Southwest Pass, seems to indicate some assignable cause. The Board think they have found such a cause in the prevailing winds, which, from north around to southeast, set either directly or obliquely into the mouths of these eastern passes, forcing the discharging current first to one side, then the other, causing the formation of middle grounds and consequent division. The effects of prevailing winds may also be traced in the configuration of the promontories at the mouths of each pass.

The Board deem it needless to speak particularly of the Northeast and Southeast Passes; they have become innavigable, their bars having but seven or eight feet of water, and the main stem, from its separation from Pass à l'Outre, having decreased in depth and width. A shoal out of water now connects the island at this point with the western bank, and trees are growing where ships passed a few years since.

As the Northeast Pass has shoaled, the south channel of Pass à l'Outre has increased in depth, and probably at the expense of the former. Sands' chart exhibits over thirteen feet water—nearly as much as on the southwest bar—and were it not for its extreme narrowness, it is probable it would now be as much frequented as the Southwest; but the width of this thirteen-feet channel scarcely exceeds, by the chart, fifty yards for about a mile, and there is two and a half or three miles of shoal to be passed over before a depth of eighteen feet is obtained. The north channel of Pass à l'Outre has, by Sands' chart, over nine feet of water, but it is wider, and it would appear to discharge a volume equal, or nearly so, to that of the south channel. The bottom of these passes is extremely soft, a single man being able to force a pole down ten or fifteen feet into the bottom with little exertion.

This pass is becoming now much frequented; being to the eastward and to the windward, it offers advantages to vessels going to or coming from the eastward, and in this respect has the advantage over the Southwest; but it is quite deficient in the harbor advantages possessed by the Southwest, being exposed on the outside to winds from northwest around to the southeast, or all the prevailing winds, while inside it possesses little width for anchorage or for passing. While the balance of advantages are in favor of the Southwest Pass, the Board deem it very important that both of these passes should be open.

Natural causes have thus far worked to deepen Pass à l'Outre. The Board believe that nature may be aided by simple constructions, which they will allude to hereafter.

A few words are necessary concerning the new outlet called the "Jump," or Wilder's bayou.

This outlet, about ten miles above the head of the passes, on the right bank, originated in 1840 from the river's overflowing and breaking through the narrow strip of land confining it, and in the course of a few years it became an outlet of near a quarter of a mile in width at its mouth, and sixty feet depth; and owing to its rapid descent to the Gulf, it drew through it a large volume of water at high stages of the river. So rapid was its current, that passing vessels were, in some instances, drawn into it, and it was for a time considered an object of danger. But the Gulf outside being extremely shoal, mud-flats formed in every direction, which soon became islands, obstructing the flow and confining the water to narrow channels or bayous, which, though having considerable depth, finally discharge themselves into the Gulf over flats having no more than six or eight inches of water on them.

At present, in looking through the "Jump," the eye meets with an unbroken expanse of dense willow growth, extending for miles in every direction; and where, but a few years ago, the equally unbroken expanse of the Gulf presented itself.

The flow through the "Jump" is now diminishing, and will probably soon become insignificant. There is no evidence nor probability that its existence affected any one of the passes more than another; and none that the Southwest Pass has been injured by it. The latter pass was never better than when the "Jump" was in its full activity.

The South Pass, not before noticed, has never been accessible to sea-going vessels. The water on its bar has diminished, from Talcott's survey to Sands', from eight feet to six feet. The volume of water discharged has been diminished; an island and extensive shoal has formed at its origin, and little labor would be required to stop it altogether.

Before closing this description of the passes, the Board think proper briefly to refer to the very remarkable agency at work at their mouths, and which appears to play an important part in accelerating the projection of these passes seaward; they allude to the upheaving of land by some subterraneous power. This upheaving exhibits itself on each side, and generally in advance of the bars, and sometimes in deep water in the main channel over them.

All the islands projected beyond the points of main-land present indisputable marks of this upheaving. They are entirely distinct in character from the marsh formation constituting the main-land; are usually from six to ten feet high, and sometimes as high as fourteen feet above ordinary tides. In many of them springs of salt water are found, through which bubbles of gas escape. These springs, in overflowing, deposit a sediment of fine clay, by which a cone of considerable elevation and base is formed. These islands, in progress of time, are apparently undermined by the sea, or washed down by rains; a marsh formation succeeds, which connects itself with the main-land. The Board refer to others for theories of this agency, but merely mention its undeniable existence, and their belief that this upheaving hastens the formation of land, and consequent projection of the passes seaward.

The Board have deemed these remarks indispensable to a just understanding of the opinions they have formed, and of the recommendations they are about to make. The secretary has proposed a series of questions, which they have found impossible to answer categorically, simply because they believe they do not, in the nature of things, admit of such answer; and they would remark, that the experimental system of operations they propose is based upon the trial of well-known and plausible projects, or upon a few indisputable and universally admitted facts.

To the first question, "Which of the passes is, in your opinion, the most convenient, or offers the greatest facilities to vessels entering and going out of the river, and your reasons for this opinion," they answer that, if compelled to the choice of a single one, they would select the Southwest; but they state that there are weighty reasons for keeping open both this pass and the Pass à l'Outre, and that their reasons are stated in their foregoing accounts of the advantages and disadvantages of these passes. If the experiment for improvement is to be confined to a single one, they recommend the Southwest for its application.

Second question: "Which can be opened, and kept open, with the least difficuly and cost? and the probable cost of each." The Board refer to the foregoing and following answers. They have selected the Southwest for experiment in the first instance; and nature would suggest a somewhat different system of operations at Pass à l'Outre from that recommended at the Southwest. Their views on these points will, therefore, be best understood after answering the following question:—

trial of the project in case all efforts of stirring up the bottom or dredging fail.

Estimates for jettees at the Southwest Pass and Pass à l'Outre—the former amounting to $315,000, the latter to $95,000—are presented herewith, &c.

The 4th plan of closing passes cannot be applied to any extent for improvement of the Southwest Pass, since, without stopping the main trunk of the Northeast Pass, (which is not recommended,) no considerable additional volume can be thrown down the Southwest Pass; (this plan may, however, be applied to Pass à l'Outre, as will be seen hereafter.)

The closing of "the Jump" may indeed be thought expedient hereafter, but the Board have not considered it.

In relation to that part of the 4th question referring to form and conditions of contract, &c., the Board state that they have recommended a contract for approval of the Secretary; and if that is not approved, they see no possibility of making another likely to produce any result, *with existing means*, and therefore they recommend no other.

Fifth question: "What is the opinion of the Board as to the permanence of the contemplated improvement, supposing it once finished; and if liable to deterioration, what shall be the means of prevention, and what the annual cost thereof?"

The Board offer no opinion as to permanence or cost of maintenance of the works they recommend, merely stating that, if the operations are not found successful enough to be maintained at a reasonable cost, they may be considered as failures, and should be abandoned. Experience and observation will alone answer this question.

The Board have answered the Secretary's questions as categorically as possible; but they consider it their duty to go somewhat further. They have stated the advantages of Pass à l'Outre, and the importance of having a ship channel there.

Natural causes have increased considerably the depth of water through this pass. These causes may continue to operate. But the Board cannot entertain a very sanguine hope that a greater depth than now exists will be *speedily* attained by natural causes alone.

The quantity of water discharged through the main pass is not adequate to the maintenance of a great ship channel.

Stirring up the bottom, dredging, or jetteeing, if successful elsewhere, may succeed here; but the Board still think that the useless water voided by the South Pass, by Pass à Cheval, by the north channel à l'Outre, and, to a certain extent, by the Northeast Pass, should be applied here. They therefore recommend the gradual and successive closing of the north channel of Pass à l'Outre, of Pass à Cheval, of the South Pass, and a partial deflection of the Northeast Pass.

They consider it necessary that these operations should be successive and gradual, that the main stem may have time to accommodate itself to the increased volume.

An estimate for these objects is herewith submitted. Its amount, $30,000, is not great, and the Board recommend that a special appropriation should be asked, to be applied immediately to these objects. See paper marked C.

And they also recommend, that whatever process should hereafter be found successful at the Southwest Pass, should also be applied to Pass à l'Outre.

The above projects comprise all that seems to the Board to offer any chance of success, and they believe that the importance of the subject demands that all should, if necessary, be tried.

If they all fail, the Board have no fear that the passes will be in any worse condition than they are now. If they succeed, the object will be gained.

But in case of failure, the Board believe there is yet a plan to fall back upon, viz., a ship canal. The Board do not allude to it with the view that the project should now be entertained, but merely to express their belief in the practicability, and to recommend that the engineer charged with these works should be directed to employ such time as he can spare to investigation of the subject, having reference to the possibility of a future recurrence to this project.

And the Board further state, that reasonable conclusions as to the success of any one of the projects here presented, can only be derived from the constant presence and study of the engineer, and they therefore recommend that he should be directed to devote his whole time to this work alone, with regard not merely to the work actually under execution, but to the succession and propriety of ultimate projects.

Art. III.—ON THE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACES.

The subject of the unity of the human race—that is, that all human beings have sprung from one common origin, Adam and Eve, and that all present and past nations, however different, physically and mentally, must be referred back to Adam and Eve, as their progenitors—is one which has long agitated the minds of men. The world is divided into two great schools on the subject, diametrically opposed to each other. The first is that of the *Theologians*, who, basing their arguments on the Sacred Scriptures, contend that all the living creatures of our globe were created at one common point in Asia, and that they have thence been disseminated over its wide surface by degrees, ✓

and adapted to the varied conditions in which they have ever been found. This is the doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures, as commonly interpreted. The second is that of the learned *Naturalists*, whose faith in the received doctrine has been shaken by their extensive ethnological, geological, and palæontological researches; whose constant study of the great Store Book of nature, and their thorough antiquarian explorations in Egypt, in Asia, and in America, have given ethnology the form of a science, the conclusions of which are based upon facts, and facts alone.

For the last half century the works of the celebrated Dr. James Cowles Prichard—remarkable for their voluminousness and learning—have been the text-books of the theological ethnologists; and no very elaborate attempt has been made to produce a refutation of his theory until the present time. The work of Dr. J. C. Nott and Mr. Geo. R. Gliddon, long announced, has at length appeared, containing the substance of all that ethnological science has to offer in refutation of the theory of the unity of the human race. It is entitled, "*Types of Mankind; or, Ethnological Researches, based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and upon their Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History.*" It is a work of great learning and research, and is, in fact, a systematic treatise on *Ethnology*, considered as a science; and it is written, not in the style of controversy—in which *ex parte* views are too often taken, and facts concealed, or, at least, passed over in silence—but in a manner suited to the dignity of science. It deals in facts, irrespective of mere authority, whether that authority be human or divine, so called. Its avowed course is to develop *facts*, let the conclusions which follow be what they may.

As the subject of the unity of the human race is one of universal interest—of vital moment to the religious world, and of an intensely absorbing character to all—we will endeavor, in this paper, to give a sketch of the leading arguments, as enunciated in the remarkable volume before us.

In the present controversy with regard to the unity of the races, religion will still come off, not vanquished, but purified by truth—with all its great truths and realities brighter than ever, for the simple reason that truth is a thing which cannot be vanquished. The present great contest, however, will strip religion of all that is *not* truth, and show that what is truly revealed truth is in perfect correspondence with all of the works of nature—that there is not a fact that is developed from the earth, the sea, or the starry heavens, that is not in perfect harmony with every word that God ever uttered. "Man," says Dr. J. C. Nott, "can *invent* nothing in science or religion but falsehood; and all the truths which he *discovers* are but facts or laws which have emanated from the Creator. All science, therefore, may be regarded as a revelation from HIM; and although newly discovered laws or facts in nature may conflict with religious *errors*, which have been written and preached for centuries, they never can conflict with religious *truth*. There must be harmony between the works and the words of the Almighty; and wherever they *seem* to conflict, the discord has been produced by the ignorance or wickedness of man."*

The great head of the modern Naturalist school of ethnologists in this country is Professor Agassiz. We shall begin with him. This great naturalist discovers, in "*the close connection there is between the geographical distribution of animals and the natural boundaries of the different races of men*," a powerful argument in favor of the theory of the origin of life which claims many distinct creations. He declares that the boundaries within which the different *faunæ*, or natural combinations of animals, are known to be circumscribed upon the surface of our earth, coincide with the natural range of distinct types of man; and that among the animals which compose the *fauna* of a country, we find types belonging exclusively there, and not occurring elsewhere; as, for example, the ornithorhyncus of New Holland, the sloths of America, the hippopotamus of Africa, and the wolruses of the arctic regions. Hence he infers that the different faunæ had separate creations, including the different human races. He assumes that distinct types of men and animals have ever occupied their present geographical positions; and that this is proved by the historical records of the world, so far back as they go.

Another argument of Agassiz, in proof of his theory, is, that "the earliest emigrations recorded in any form show us man meeting man, wherever he moves upon the habitable surface of the globe, small islands excepted," which could not have been the case had man emanated from a single spot; for then, as he wandered forth upon the earth, he would have encountered the people of no nation. He also attaches importance to the fact, that the earliest races, occupying originally those portions of the earth which have been the seat of the most advanced civilization, claim to have been *autochthones* of their respective countries. "This claim," says he, "is so universal, that it well deserves more attention. It may be more deeply founded than historians generally seem inclined to grant."

In regard to the evidence of a community of origin, derived from the affinities of the languages of different nations, he observes: "The evidence adduced from the affinities of the languages of different nations in favor of a community of origin is of no value, when we know that among vociferous animals every species has its peculiar intonations, and that the different species of the same family produce sounds as closely allied, and forming as natural combinations, as the so-called Indo-Germanic languages compared with one another. Nobody, for instance, would suppose, that because the notes of the different species of thrushes, inhabiting different parts of the world, bear the closest affinity to one another, these birds must all have a common origin; and yet, with reference to man, philologists still look upon the affinities of languages as affording direct evidence of such a community of origin among the races, even though they have already discovered the most essential differences in the very structure of these languages."

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* Types of Mankind, p. 61.

Of Australia, whose animals differ so completely from those of other parts of the globe, Agassiz observes: "The isolation of the zoological types of Australia, inhabiting as they do a continent partaking of nearly all the physical features of the other parts of the world, is one of the most striking evidences that the presence of animals upon the earth is not determined by physical conditions, but established by the direct agency of a Creator."

In the question whether all the different races of men are of the same *species* or not, it is important that we should have a correct definition of the term *species*. Prof. Agassiz adopts the definition of Dr. S. G. Morton, who characterizes species as *primordial organic forms*—distinct forms of organic life, the origin of which is lost in the primitive establishment of the state of things now existing; and *varieties* are such modifications of the species as may return to the typical form, under temporary influences. Adopting this definition, Agassiz declares that "the differences existing between the races of men are of the same kind as the differences observed between the different families, genera, and species of monkeys or other animals; and that these different species of animals differ in the same degree, one from the other, as the races of men;" and even that "the differences between distinct races are often greater than those distinguishing species of animals, one from the other." The Chimpanzee and Gorilla, distinct species, "do not differ more, one from the other," says he, "than the Mandingo and the Guinea negro;" which together, he adds, "do not differ more from the orang than the Malay or white man differs from the negro." "I maintain distinctly," he says, "that the differences observed among the races of men are of the same kind, and even greater, than those upon which the anthropoid monkeys are considered as distinct species."

Still, after all this, Agassiz contends for the unity of mankind. "These conclusions," he says, "in no way conflict with the idea of the unity of mankind, which is as close as that of the members of any well-marked type of animals; and whosoever will consult history, must remain satisfied that the moral question of brotherhood among men is not any more affected by these views, than the direct obligations between immediate blood relations. Unity is determined by a typical structure, and by the similarity of natural abilities and propensities; and, unless we deny the typical relations of the cat tribe, for instance, we must admit that unity is not only compatible with diversity of origin, but that it is the universal law of nature." We presume that all will agree with Prof. Agassiz, in this kind of unity; which, however, loses sight entirely of the great question of dispute—the origin of the human races.

Such is an outline of the views and arguments of Prof. Agassiz, on the great question of the unity of the human race—views which Messrs. Nott and Gliddon have made the text on which they have written their great ethnological treatise. We shall now proceed to examine the manner in which they have elaborated the subject.

They commence with the geographical distribution of animals and of races of men, as affording a conclusive argument against the origin of the races. They show that the different regions of the earth have their distinct faunæ, circumscribed within certain limits; and that even this holds good with respect to the animals of the sea. Some are peculiar to the northern seas; others to the southern; and others to the tropical. Nor do they intermingle with each other, but are each confined within a certain range, as if originally intended for it. The various species of whales and dolphins, despite their prodigious powers of locomotion, are confined each to regions originally assigned them; and there is no degree of latitude in which we do not find species peculiar to it. "All mammifers on the globe," says M. Jacquinot, "have a habitation limited and circumscribed, which they never overleap; their assemblage contributes to give to each country it's particular stamp of creation. What a contrast between the mammifers of the Old and New World, and the creations so special and so singular, of New Holland and Madagascar!"*

The old doctrine that the temperature of countries is a sure index of the color and of certain other physical characters in the human races, is met by presenting the evidence drawn from the monuments of Egypt, and from other sources, in favor of the permanence of distinctly marked types of mankind, such as the Egyptians, Jews, Negroes, Mongols, and American Indians. Black races are not confined to Africa; others equally black are met with in the temperate climates of India, Australia, and Oceanica, though differing in every attribute except color. A black skin would seem to be the best suited to hot climates; and for this reason we may suppose that a special creation of black races took place in Africa. The strictly white races lie mostly in the temperate zone, where they flourish best; and they certainly deteriorate physically, if not intellectually, when removed to hot climates. Their type is not, in reality, changed or obliterated, but they undergo a degradation from their primitive state, analogous to the operation of disease.* The inhabitants of the Arctic regions are dark-skinned; while the American Indians, and the Mongols of Asia, are found in all latitudes. The same, in respect to color, is true of quadrupeds and birds. Climate seems to have but little to do with color. It gives the darkest hue to man and to some animals in the torrid zone; while to birds and flowers, in the same zone, it gives the most brilliant hues.

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* Jacquinot; Considerations générales sur l'Anthropologie, (Voyage au Pole Sud) Zoologie, 1846.

And not less confined to their particular native region of the earth are the races of men. The negro, like the elephant and the lion of his hot latitude, cannot leave it with impunity. He would soon become extinct if he persisted in dwelling far north or south of the tropics, within the temperate zones; and the same is true of the white races. Though they venture from ambition and enterprise into all climes—under the burning equator and within the arctic circles—yet it is only at the sacrifice, annually, of an immense number of human beings. Man, no more than animals, can violate with impunity the laws of geographical distribution. The Esquimaux can no more live in our temperate regions, than we in his. Dogs and other animals brought from the Arctic circle by the American exploring expeditions soon died; and the same is true of animals brought hither from the tropics. The Africans, the Mongols, the Polynesians, the Esquimaux, and the American Indians have remained for thousands of years where history first found them, and where, for self-preservation, they have been and still are compelled to remain. The naturalist contends that there is no proof that they were ever anywhere else—that they are just where God first planted them.

The theory that climate has produced all the diversities of the human races finds no support in the entire experience of man. If we go back to the remotest ages of the world, we still find the same races as now. The monuments of Egypt prove, beyond a doubt, that 4000 years before the Christian era the Negro had the same complexion, the same hair, the same lips and feet as now, and that he differed then as much from other races as now. There is not the shadow of a proof that he was ever whiter, or the white man ever blacker, than he now is. If the races were once one and the same, a going back of several thousand years ought to develop evidences of that sameness; but those evidences are totally wanting. The oldest skulls dug from the American mounds are no more like the most ancient skulls of the other continent than those of the present day. And yet they ought to be, if all these diversities of races are but the work of time and climate. There is no more evidence that the Negro, the Indian and the Mongol were once one and the same, than that the horse and the ass were once the same—the ox and the buffalo—the dog and the wolf. And what reliable data are there upon which we can hang even the shadow of conjecture, that if we were all to live 5000 years, the races would, in that time, change any more than they have during the last 5000 years?

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* Types of Mankind, p. 63.

Pursuing further our inquiry into the diversities of the human race, we find in New Holland men, animals, birds, insects, plants, etc., entirely unlike those of other parts of the world—we find a black race, but otherwise entirely different from the Negro. His features, woolly head and elongated heel, there disappear. If we go farther on, we come to Van Dieman's Land, where, in a climate like that of France, we find a race different from that of New Holland, and more like that of the Negro of Africa, though farther from it and in a temperate clime. In New Zealand, and throughout all Polynesia, we find still a different race, the Polynesian, characterized by a countenance almost oval, smooth, black hair, and a color light brown.

In India we meet with races of all shades from fair to black, who have been living together from time immemorial. "The Rohillas, who are blondes, and situated south of the Ganges, are surrounded by the Nepauleans with black skins, the Mahrattas with yellow skins, and the Bengalees of a deep brown; and yet the Rohillas inhabit the plain, and the Nepauleans the mounainst."*

Such are some of the facts illustrating the fallacy of the arguments drawn from climate, in accounting for the different races. Color cannot be cited as a distinctive characteristic alone of the races, for we find in the true Caucasians—in the Finns and Sclavonians, Celts, Iberians, Italians, Greeks, Arabs, Egyptians, Hindoos and Malabars—all having oval faces, smooth hair, and large facial angles, all the intermediate shades from white to black. The inhabitants of Malabar are as black as Negroes. There are many examples to prove that races have preserved their color unchanged for ages, while on the contrary it is impossible to show that the complexion of a pure primitive stock has been altered by climate.† This is illustrated by the physical history of the Jews, whose type has been permanent for at least 3000 years. And there is no reason to believe that the Hebrew race sprang from, or ever originated any other type of man.‡ In the present state of ethnological science, we have such an array of facts confirming the views above expressed, that it is difficult to resist them.

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* DESMOULINS: Des Races Humaines, p. 169. Types of Mankind, p. 71.

† Types of Mankind, p. 71—2.

‡ Ibid.

Agassiz, who has given to the world the most complete view of the geographical distribution of animals, shows not only "that there are numerous centres of creation, or zoological provinces, for our present pending geological epoch, but that these provinces correspond in a surprising manner to those of former geological epochs; thus proving that the Creator has been working after one grand and uniform plan through myriads of years, and through consecutive creations." "It is satisfactorily ascertained at present," says he, "that there have been many distinct successive periods, during each of which large numbers of animals and plants have been introduced upon the surface of our globe, to live and multiply for a time, then to disappear, and be replaced by other kinds. Of such distinct periods—such successive creations—we know now *at least about a dozen*, and there are ample indications that the inhabitants of our globe have been successively changed at more epochs than are yet fully ascertained."

The geological argument of Messrs. Nott and Gliddon, in opposition to the theory of a common origin of animals, is briefly as follows:—"In the earliest formations but few and distinct patches of land having emerged from the mighty deep, the created beings were comparatively few, simple, and more widely disseminated; but yet many distinct species, adapted to localities where they were brought into existence, are discovered. In the more recent fossil beds, we find a distribution of fossil remains which agrees most remarkably with the present geographical arrangement of animals and plants. The fossils of modern geological periods in New Holland are types identical with most of the animals now living there. Brazilian fossils belong to the same families as those alive there at the present day; though in both cases the fossil species are distinct from the surviving ones. If, therefore, the organized beings of ancient geological periods had arisen from one central point of distribution, to be dispersed, and finally to become confined to those countries where their remains now exist in a fossil condition; and if the animals now living had also spread from a common origin, over the same districts, and had these been circumscribed within equally distinct limits, we should be led to the unnatural supposition, argues Agassiz, that animals of two distinct creations, differing specifically throughout, had taken the same lines of migration, had assumed finally the same distribution, and had become permanent in the same regions, without any other inducement for removal and final settlement than the mere necessity of covering more extensive ground after they had become too numerous to remain any longer together in one and the same district. Now, it would be certainly very irrational to attribute such instincts to animals, were such a line of march possible; but the very possibility vanishes, however, when we reflect upon the wide-spread physical impediments opposing such migrations, and that neither the animals nor plants of one province can flourish in an adverse one. No Arctic animals or plants can be propagated in the tropics, nor *vice versa.* The whole of the monkey tribe belong to a hot climate, are retained there by their temperaments and instincts, and cannot by any ingenuity of man be made to exist in Greenland. The same rule applies to the aboriginal men of the tropical and the Arctic regions."*

To the question, "Have all the individuals of *each species* of animals, plants, &c., descended from a single pair?" the reply is as follows:—"Were it not for the supposed scientific authority of *Genesis* to this effect, the idea of community of origin would hardly have occurred to any reflecting mind, because it involves insuperable difficulties; and science can perceive no reason why the Creator should have adopted any such plan. Is it reasonable to suppose that the Almighty would have created one seed of grass, one acorn, one pair of locusts, of bees, of wild pigeons of herrings, of buffaloes, as the only starting-point of these almost ubiquitous species? The instincts and habits of animals differ widely. Some are solitary, except at certain seasons; some go in pairs; others in herds or shoals. The idea of a *pair* of bees, locusts, herrings, buffaloes, is as contrary to the nature and habits of these creatures, as it is repugnant to the nature of oaks, pines, birches, &c., to grow singly, and to form forests in their isolation. In some species males—in others females predominate; and in many it would be easy to show that, if the present order of things were reversed, the species could not be preserved—locusts and bees, for example: the former appear in myriads, and by far the greater number of those produced are destroyed; and though they have existed for ages, a naturalist cannot see that they have increased, nor can he conceive how one pair could continue the species, considering the number of adverse chances. As regards bees, it is natural to have but one female for a whole hive, to whom many males are devoted, besides a large number of drones. Agassiz gives this striking illustration: "There are animals which are impelled by nature to feed on other animals. Were the first pair of lions to abstain from food until the gazelles and other antelopes had multiplied sufficiently to preserve their races from the persecution of these ferocious beasts? So with other carnivorous animals, birds, fishes, and reptiles. We now behold all their various species scattered through land and water in harmonious proportions. Thus they may continue for ages to come."†

We have alluded to the physical history of the Jews, as illustrating the fallacy of those who ascribe to the influences of time and climate all the diversities of races, and who maintain that those influences alone were sufficient to convert out of the original pair, by gradual transformations, through a long series of ages, the Malay, the Mongol, the Negro, and the American Indian. If, however, these transformations did actually take place, it must have been longer ago than the creation of the world, adopting Usher's Chronology; for we find on the monuments of Egypt, 3,500 years before Christ, full-length figures of men belonging to the white, black, yellow, and red races; thus proving that at that remote period even the same diversity of races existed as now—that the Negro was precisely the same as now, and just as different from the Caucasian. The Egyptians were then so old a nation that they had already made the races a study, and had their ethnology.

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* Types of Mankind, pp. 72, 73.

† Types of Mankind, p. 74.

The physical history of the Jews, too, presents a race that has preserved, amid all its trials and vicissitudes—all its migrations and changes of climate—a type unchanged. The countenance of a Jew cannot be mistaken, let it be seen where it may, because the Jewish type is distinct and primordial. It is true, that attempts have been made to establish the existence of a race of Jews in Malabar, that, through the changes of successive ages, had finally lost the Jewish type and assumed that of negroes. But this is now known to be a fallacy. Dr. Prichard asserted, without proving, the existence of a race of *black* Jews in Malabar, and his assertion has been echoed through the world, and is now believed by thousands to be true; but the Oriental researches of Buchanan, Wolff, Beke, and others, prove that the *black* Jews of Malabar are only *converted Hindoos*, and of a race inferior to that of the Jews. The Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, of the College of Fort William, in Bengal, under the patronage of the British government, visited and spent some time among the white and black Jews of Malabar in 1806–7–8. He traced out their history, and found documentary evidence fixing the date of their exodus from Palestine immediately after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem. The accounts of Dr. Buchanan go to show that "the white Jews had been living in Malabar at least 1000 years, and were still *white* Jews, without even an approximation in type to the Hindoos; and that the *black* Jews were an inferior race,"—"not of pure caste—or, in other words, adulterated by dark *Hindoos*—Jews in doctrine, but not in stock."*

Joseph Wolff, a Christianized Jew, who has also been in Malabar, declares that "the *black* Malabar Jews are converted Hindoos, and at most a mixture only of the two races."† We might also cite Isaac Lessler and M. J. Raphall, both learned Hebrews, in confirmation of the testimony of Wolff.

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* Types of Mankind, p. 120.

† Missionary Researches, p. 308.

The Jews, too, of Abyssinia and of Timbuctoo are only converts, and not Jews by descent. Such is the testimony of Beke and of Raphall. Beke, an orientalist of high standing, in his essay read before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London, on the 8th of February, 1848, says: "There is no reason for imagining that these Israelites of Abyssinia, who are known in that country by the name of *Falashas*, are, as a people, the lineal descendants of any of the tribes of Israel." Bruce, who has been quoted on this subject, as saying that they are really Jews, is by no means positive, but expresses many doubts on the subject, and thinks that the question must be settled by future researches. These future researches have been made by Beke, and the result is as cited above. Even Prichard did not credit the narrative of Bruce.*

The opinion that our American Indians are descendants of the *ten lost tribes* of Israel rests upon nothing better than conjecture.

If we can trace back, historically, the types of different races for a period of at least 3000 years, and show that during all that time these races have preserved their peculiar distinctive types, unchanged by any vicissitudes—that the different races 3000 years ago were as different from each other and as distinct as now—and if there is no counter historical or monumental evidence that these races were ever one and the same, what is the reasonable inference? Is it not that these races must have had distinct and different origins, and that the old theory must seek some different interpretation of the Sacred Book? Now all this Messrs. Nott and Gliddon have done. They have demonstrated, historically and monumentally, a permanence of Jewish type in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, Assyria, Arabia and Persia for at least 3000 years, and at the same time the simultaneous existence, in the same countries, of every variety of type and race visible there now, and shown that these varieties, during all that period, have been distinct. The sculptures of the fourth Egyptian dynasty, 2000 years before the era of Abraham, exhibit the Chaldaic type beyond all cavil.

The works of Rosellini and Lepsius, as quoted by the authors of Types of Mankind, show thirty varieties of the Caucasian type, exhibited on the monuments of Egypt, and referable to the 13th and 17th centuries before Christ. These varieties were just as distinct then, 3300 years ago, as now, seen in the streets of Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Beyroot, Aleppo, Antioch, Mosul and Bagdad.†

We offer no apology for the length of the following curious extract from the Types of Mankind regarding the defects of our received Scripture chronology, and giving the opinions of our authors on the subject of the great longevity of the human race in remote ages.

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* Types of Mankind, p. 123.

† Types of Mankind, p. 141.

"The incipient history of the Israelites is indissolubly woven with that of Egypt; nor could we separate the two if we would. Although the earliest positive synchronism, or ascertained era of contact, between these people, is the year 971 B. C., viz.,—the conquest of Judea under Rehoboam by Shishak or *Sheshonk*—nevertheless there are other periods of intercourse much earlier in date which may be reached approximatively, and while, on the one hand, Egyptian monuments, so far as known synchronisms extend, bear testimony to the historical truth of Jewish records posterior to Solomon, these, on the other, furnish evidence in favor of the reliability of the hieroglyphics. The histories of Abraham, of Joseph, of Jacob, and his descendants, and of Moses, all bear witness to the antiquity, grandeur, and high civilization attained by Egypt's *Old Empire* before the birth of the first Hebrew patriarch; but when we compare the genealogical and chronological systems of the two people, as well as their respective physical types, there is really nothing in common between them. Abraham, according to the Rabbinical account, is but the tenth in descent from Noah, his birth occurring 292 years after the deluge, but, substituting the more critical computation of Lepsius, Abraham must have lived in the time of Amunoph III., *Memnon*, of the XVIIIth dynasty, about 1500 years B. C. Now, the epoch of MENES, the first Pharaoh of Egypt, is placed by the same *savant* at 3893 B. C., or some 2400 before Abraham.

"The epoch of Abraham has ordinarily, indeed, been computed, by biblical commentators, a few centuries further back than the date assigned to him by Lepsius; but we are inclined to adopt the estimate of this superior authority, for the following simple reasons: There are but five generations, viz., Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Rohath, and Amram, between Abraham and Moses; and the era of the latter is now approximatively fixed in the 14th century B. C. By adding to the latter age—assuming the Exodus, when Moses was 80 years old, at B. C. 1322*—the average duration of life for five generations, the time of Abraham falls about 1500 B. C. It may be objected that people in olden times were gifted with a longevity immeasurably greater than our modern generations, but this assumption is contradicted by a thoroughly established fact—that the Egyptians, whose ages are recorded on the hieroglyphical tomb-stones for twenty centuries before Abraham's nativity, and whose mummied *crania* of generations long anterior to this patriarch, abound, *lived no longer than people do now.* Another proof, likewise, that numerical errors have always existed in the Book of Genesis, is the fact, that the manuscript texts differ irreconcilably in respect to the ages of the patriarchs; while these extraordinary ages are rendered nugatory by the physiological laws governing human life. If further proof be wanted, it may be gathered from the story of Abraham and Sarah. Though *contemporary with every one of her ancestors back to Noah himself*, (all of whom, according to Genesis,* lived from 205 to 600 years,) yet Sarah, when told, in her 90th year, that she should bear a child, laughed twice, having never heard of such an occurrence! But, even admitting such superhuman longevities for the patriarchs, that does not mend the difficulty; for, after all, there are but *ten generations* between Abraham and Noah, to set off against no less than *seventeen dynasties* of Egypt, each of which included many kings, whose united ages exceeded 2000 years.

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* Lepsius, Chronologie, i. p. 379. Ibid., Discoveries, translation, Mackenzie, p. 381.

"The following is the popular view of the genealogy of Abraham:

1. Shem. 2. Arphaxad. 3. Salah. 4. Eber.
5. Peleg. 6. Reu. 7. Serug. 8. Nahor.
9. Terah. 10. Abraham.

"Now, as we have stated, Abraham was not only contemporary with this ancestry, but, according to the Jewish system, 58 years old when Noah himself died; and yet, when he visited Egypt, he meets with no acquaintances nor kindred there: but, on the contrary, he finds a great empire, composed of millions of strange people; and beholds standing around him pyramids and temples, erected by this more ancient and distinct race—with records, hieroglyphical and hieratic, written in a language to him foreign, stretching far back more than 2000 years before his birth. The reasons, then, are obvious, for passing over that part of Egyptian history subsequent to 1500 B. C., and for commencing our analysis of the monuments with those of the XVIIth dynasty, (of Lepsius—XVIIIth of Rosellini,) which was contemporaneous with Abraham. Although Jewish chronicles, as they have reached us, beyond this Abrahamic point are all confusion, it will be seen that Egyptian monuments afford vast materials, bearing upon some types of mankind in Asia and Africa, whose epoch antedates, by twenty centuries, that of the *Father* of the Abrahamidæ.

"It is now known to every educated reader that the Egyptians, from the very earliest times of which vestiges remain, viz., the IIId and IVth dynasties, were in the habit of decorating their temples, royal and private tombs, &c., with paintings and sculptures of an historical character; and that a voluminous, though interrupted, series of such hieroglyphed monuments and papyri is preserved to the present day. These sculptures and paintings not only yield us innumerable portraits of the Egyptians themselves, but also of an infinitude of foreign people, with whom they held intercourse through wars or commerce. They have portrayed their allies, their enemies, their captives, servants, and slaves; and we possess, therefore, thus faithfully delineated, most, if not all, the Asiatic and African races known to the Egyptians 3500 years ago—races which are recognized as identical with those that occupy the same countries at the present day."*

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* **De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall; New Translation of the Scriptures, London, pp. 46–7; Genesis, xi. 10–26.**

It would be easy to make further citations, from the work before us, to prove the permanency of the types of mankind, but these will suffice. The Egyptian monuments show, that about the time which the usual chronology fixes as the epoch of the creation of the world, and the placing of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, the Egyptians were already an old nation, living among their pyramids, temples, and catacombs, in a high state of civilization. The world is no more the work of 6000 years, than Rome was the work of a day.

There are many who are disposed to doubt the antiquity of the Egyptian monuments. By the learned world their antiquity is no longer questioned. They have undergone the severest scrutiny of the ablest men of the world, and the result of such scrutiny completely falsifies all of our old chronologies.

The subject of the *hybridity of animals* is one of first importance in the question regarding the origin of races; and accordingly Messrs. Nott and Gliddon have devoted to its consideration a special chapter. The advocates of a common origin of the races conceive that the unlimited prolificness, *inter se*, of two races of animals, or of mankind, is proof positive of their specific affiliation, or, in other words, of their common origin. They contend that negroes and white men are not of different species, because, forsooth, the results of amalgamation of the two are prolific and unlimited: which, they say, is not the case with two distinct species, as the horse and the ass. Two distinct species, say they, produce an unprolific progeny, "or, at most, beget offspring which are prolific for a few generations and then run out. It is further alleged that each of our own domestic animals, such as horses, dogs, cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, &c., is derived from a single Mesopotamian pair; and that the varieties of these, springing up spontaneously in diverse climates, differ as widely as do the races of men." Hence they derive an argument in favor of a common origin of men and animals.

Now, it is not true that different species are not prolific *inter se.* Let us take the genus *equus* (horse). Cuvier makes five species, viz.: the common horse, *equus caballus;* the dziggetai, (*eq. hemonius;*) the ass, (*eq. asinus;*) the zebra, (*eq. zebra;*) the conagga, (*equus quaccha;*) and the onagga, or dauw, (*eq. montanus.*) All of these breed freely, *inter se.* It is the same with the sheep and the goat, the hybrid progeny of which is unlimitedly prolific.* It is also the same with the different species of dogs, and with the camel and dromedary.

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* Types of Mankind, pp. 141–3.

That our different species of dogs have been in existence for at least 6000 years, is proved by their distinct forms on the monuments of the IVth Egyptian dynasty, 3893 B. C. The same monuments show that the camel was also the very same then as now. This, then, admitting the Bible chronology, is proof positive that the different species of animals, at least—and the argument holds equally good for man—did not all spring from a single pair. According to the unity theory, the farther back we go the more alike ought we to find men and animals; but we find, in fact, that there was the same marked differences 6000 years ago as now. And this rests not alone on monumental proof, but fossil geology speaks also the same language. Fossil *horses* have been exhumed from different geological formations, both in the New and Old World; which fact gives an antiquity to the horse that throws into the shade that of the Egyptian monuments.

The foregoing facts respecting the prolificacy of undoubtedly different species of animals, prove that prolificacy is no evidence of identity of species—that the Negro and the Caucasian are not necessarily identical in species, because they are prolific, *inter se.*

All history and all science declare for a plurality of origins. We can discover no time, however remote, in which men and animals were not just as they are now; nor is there a solitary case on record of one race or species being transformed into another, by external causes. True religion, we firmly believe, will ever be found going hand in hand with science.

Art. IV.—THE YELLOW FEVER OF 1853.

[Dr. E. D. Fenner, of New-Orleans, has published a very interesting and useful work upon this subject, of which we have obtained a copy. No one is better qualified from long experience and extensive practice to speak of such matters than he is, and we have no doubt his publication will effect much good. Having had occasion several times to refer to the epidemic of last summer in the pages of the Review, an extract from Dr. Fenner will furnish some additional and striking illustrations.]

1. *Recoveries from Black Vomit.*—When *well-marked black vomit* is presented in a case of Yellow Fever, I consider the

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*** Chevreul, *Journal des Savans,* June, 1846, p. 357. Types of Mankind, p. 379, 80.**

chance of recovery as but little better than *one in a hundred;* yet I shall be able to show quite a respectable number of recoveries from this desperate condition this year. I had two in my private practice, and several in my wards at the Charity Hospital. One of my private cases was a little Irish girl, aged about eight years; the other was a *black negro woman.* One of my cases at the Hospital was a young Spaniard, whom I shall mention more particularly under the head of *treatment.* I also saw a mulatto boy, patient of Dr. Hester, who threw up black vomit copiously during twenty-four hours, and recovered. The youngest subject of black vomit I ever saw was a white infant aged *five weeks*, who was born after the epidemic broke out. It died, as did also the mother, who was unacclimated.

Dr. Boyer, resident surgeon of the *Maison de Sainte*, informs me that there were *fifteen* recoveries from black vomit in that institution. Prof. Jones says he had *two* recoveries in private practice, and *eight* or *ten* at the Charity Hospital.

Dr. McKelvey says he had *three* recoveries in private practice, and some at the Charity Hospital.

Dr. Lindsay informs me he had six or seven recoveries from black vomit.

Dr. M. M. Dowler says he had four recoveries from black vomit—two women, one man, and one child six years of age. Dr. D. never knew adults to recover from black vomit before, but has known several children.

Dr. Wedderburn says he had four or five recoveries from black vomit.

Dr. Rushton says he had two cases to recover from black vomit.

Dr. Choppin, House Surgeon of the Charity Hospital, gives it as his opinion that *seven per cent.* of the cases of black vomit in that institution recovered.

Notwithstanding all this testimony to the fact of recovery from black vomit, one of the most prominent physicians of the city, who has practised here near twenty years, tells me he never knew a case of *unquestionable black vomit* in Yellow Fever get well.

I have only mentioned the names of such of my professional friends as I happened to meet with, whilst taking down these special observations. It will be the same with those to follow. I might enlarge them to any extent if I had time and space.

2. *Second Attacks of Yellow Fever.*—I mean by this, persons who have had the disease in former years. In my history of the Epidemic of 1847, I mentioned that several instances of this were observed, and the same has occurred this year. There can be no doubt that if a person have a plain attack of Yellow Fever during the prevalence of a *severe* epidemic, there will be

but small probability of his ever having it again, provided he remains in the same place; yet the rule is by no means *invariable*, as I shall presently show. If one has it, however, during a *mild* epidemic, or when there are only a few sporadic cases, his subsequent exemption will not be near so great. Thus there were numerous attacks this year among persons who had had other attacks since 1847, but not many among those who had it that year, or any previous *strong* epidemic. I am satisfied that the correct doctrine on this point is laid down in my "Report on the Fevers of New-Orleans." (*See Southern Medical Reports, vol.* 1.)

I saw no case this year which had been attacked in 1847, but several who had the disease well marked in 1848 and subsequently.

Dr. Jones informs me that he saw one case in a person who had Yellow Fever in 1847, and one who had it in 1839.

Dr. Kennedy says he never attended a case of Yellow Fever in a person whom he had treated before for that disease. Dr. K.'s experience extends over a period of twenty years.

Dr. Lindsay tells me he treated this year at least a dozen cases who said they had had Yellow Fever before—some of them in 1847; but he cannot vouch for the accuracy of their statements. He had one case this year whom he treated last year in a well-marked attack. His last attack was mild, and only lasted two days.

Dr. Moses M. Dowler, who has practised here seventeen years, says he never saw a second attack of Yellow Fever in a person whom he had himself attended, but a good many who said they had it the second time, and had been attended by others—he is disposed to believe that such instances have occurred.

Dr. W. Stone, and Dr. Sunderland also, say they never knew a second attack, and are disposed to doubt the testimony of those patients who told them they had the disease more than once. Both of these gentlemen are of opinion that second attacks of Yellow Fever are as rare as second attacks of small-pox or measles. Dr. Stone even goes so far as to think that *acclimation, once attained, is never lost by removal from localities where Yellow Fever prevails.*

It is needless to multiply quotations upon this point, as similar contradictory testimony and opinions might be obtained throughout the profession. The thing is at last reduced to *a matter of opinion*, and cannot be definitively settled. Those who have made up their minds that a person can have Yellow Fever *but once*, will not be convinced to the contrary *by any facts that can be presented*, and *vice versa.*

3. *Attacks upon Creoles or Natives of New-Orleans.*—One of the most extraordinary features of this epidemic is presented in the

fact that the natives of the city, *both white and colored*, have suffered severely, and many of them died of it. This is generally admitted, and beyond dispute. Children who were born since '47 have suffered most; but many born previous to that time likewise suffered, and some of them died of black vomit. I saw two Quadroon girls, sixteen and seventeen years of age, who were natives, and had never lived anywhere else—they had the fever severely, but recovered. A child, aged five years, in the same family, also had it. I attended a Quadroon boy, about eight years of age, who had a severe attack, attended with hemorrhage from the gums. I have already mentioned the case of a white infant, only *five weeks old*, that died of black vomit. It may be stated generally, that all children, and young persons in the city, who had never had Yellow Fever previously, were attacked this year. Of course there were some exceptions to this, as there are to every general rule.

I am informed that the Creoles on the coast, above and below the city, suffered much worse from Yellow Fever than those in the city, many adults having died of the disease.

4. *Attacks upon Negroes.*—This epidemic affected unacclimated negroes, or those who had never had Yellow Fever before, equally as generally as it did the white population, though not so severely. This is equally true of the mixed races generally. It is a well-established fact that there is something in the negro constitution which affords him protection against the worst effects of Yellow Fever; but what it is I am unable to say. During an epidemic he will take the fever almost, if not fully as readily as the white, but it will be altogether milder and less dangerous in its tendency. In short, it will correspond more exactly with the bilious remittent fever that prevails in the country, and requires precisely the same treatment. And yet this type of fever in the city negro must be produced by the very same cause that gives rise to malignant Yellow Fever in the white race. Occasionally we see the hemorrhagic diathesis of Yellow Fever displayed in the negro, but it is by no means common. The least mixture of the *white race* with the *black* seems to increase the liability of the latter to the dangers of Yellow Fever; and the danger is in proportion to the amount of white blood in the mixture. Very few negroes ever die of Yellow Fever in this city; but I learn that a considerable number have been lost on the plantations this year. The cause of this may readily be imagined when it is recollected that Yellow Fever never prevailed on the plantations before, and of course most of the physicians were not familiar with its treatment.

I consider the danger to negroes from Yellow Fever to be no greater than that from *bilious fever* in the country, and *not half so great as from congestive intermittent*.

Art. V.—CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES.

HOW THE INTERESTS OF LOUISIANA WOULD BE AFFECTED BY ANNEXATION.

[J. S. Thrasher, Esq., so widely known for his long residence in Cuba, for his intimate knowledge of its affairs, and for the misfortunes which subsequently attended him there, has published a letter in the New-Orleans *Picayune*, addressed to Samuel J. Peters, Esq., embracing many particulars of the most interesting character in regard to the Island. We take pleasure in giving it to the readers of the Review.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—I cannot submit the following observations upon the effect which a change in the political condition and relations of Cuba would have upon the commercial interests of New-Orleans, and the agricultural interests of Louisiana, to any one with greater propriety than to yourself. Your long-continued acquaintance with these important sources of our wealth and prosperity, and the solicitude you have ever exhibited for their increase and permanent establishment and welfare, have given you an intimate knowledge of their wants and of their tendencies, while your acknowledged judgment and experience will enable you to detect at a glance any fallacy or error which I may incur. I would submit my opinions to the scrutiny of experience, and to the test of truth.

The industry of Cuba is almost entirely absorbed in the culture of the sugar-cane and the tobacco plant, and its attendant labors; and the necessary supplies for its consumption come almost entirely from abroad. These supplies properly divide themselves into two classes; that of sustenance, or food, and that of use, or utensils and clothing; the former of which greatly preponderates in value.

The natural source of supply for the class of sustenance is the great valley of the west, as is evident from the following table of eight of its principal articles, taken from the official returns of the commerce of Cuba:—

Average of Imports for three Years, 1848–50.

Flour, bbls.	234,264	Pork, dry and wet, lb.	1,434,778
Lard, lb.	10,168,595	Jerked beef, lb.	30,566,950
Olive oil, lb.	8,451,900	Hams, lb.	2,047,406
Beef, dry and wet	502,825	Butter, lb.	685,349

The fact that New-Orleans is the great exporting port of nearly all these articles, and that it is the one most easily accessible to both the producer and the consumer, would induce the supposition that the greater portion of them are obtained from thence. How erroneous this supposition is, will be seen in the following classification of the foregoing table:—

Whence Imported and Rate of Duty.

	From United States.	Duty.	From other places.	Duty
Flour, bbls	5,642	$10 81 bbl.	228,002	$2 52 bbl.
Lard, lb.	10,193,370	4 30 qtl.	121,225	4 30 qtl.
Olive oil, lb.	——	2 87 "	8,451,900	57 "
Beef, lb.	359,161	1 75 "	143,664	1 75 "
Pork, lb.	1,322,655	2 86 "	112,123	2 16 "
Jerked beef, lb.	——	1 96 "	30,566,990	1 17 "
Hams, lb.	1,228,443	3 58 "	818,963	3 58 "
Butter, lb.	619,107	4 77 "	66,252	4 77 "

Here we find that unequal fiscal impositions change the natural current of trade; and that flour, instead of being brought from the cheapest mart in the world, is sought on the other side of the Atlantic: that olive oil of the most inferior quality is enabled to compete largely with lard for domestic purposes; and that of 34,531,959 pounds of meats consumed, only 2,890,259 pounds, or a fraction over eight per cent., is imported from the United States; while butter and pork, being subject to an equality of fiscal exactions, are imported to the extent of more than ninety per cent. from this country.

In contemplating the commerce of Cuba, there is another point worthy of our dispassionate attention. Under its present excessive fiscal burdens, prices are maintained at a point that materially diminishes consumption. The mean price of flour there at this time is $16 per barrel, that of lard 15 cents a pound, olive oil 12 cents, beef 7 cents, jerked beef 6 cents, hams 11 cents, and butter 25 cents a pound. I do not hesitate to say, and I believe every unprejudiced mind will agree with me, that with a tariff that should not exceed one dollar a barrel on flour, and one cent a pound on lard and meats, not only would the revenue of the Government be increased, but the commerce of the island, and the welfare of its inhabitants, would be vastly augmented.

The following table of comparative consumption at present mean prices, and estimated consumption at mean prices, which would leave an abundant margin for profit and charges, I do not deem in the slightest degree exaggerated:

	Mean price.	Present consump.	Mean, price.	Estimated consump.
Flour, bbl.	$16	234,264	$10	500,000
Lard, lb.	15c.	10,168,595	11c.	25,000,000
Olive oil, lb.	12c.	8,451,900	12c.	3,500,000
Beef, lb.	7c.	502,825	6c.	20,000,000
Pork, lb.	8c.	1,434,778	7c.	10,000,000
Jerked beef, lb.	6c.	30,566,950	6c.	10,000,000
Butter, lb.	25c.	685,349	20c.	2,000,000

In this estimate I assume that flour would double in quantity, and the consumption would be entirely of American product; that lard would not only experience its natural increase of consumption from the diminution of cost to the consumer, but that it would displace in a great measure the inferior olive oil that now competes with it; and that the consumption of meats would undergo a moderate increase, excluding in a great degree the very poor article of jerked beef now imported so largely from Buenos Ayres, in consequence of its less cost to the consumer.

The great advantages which the market of New-Orleans presents for this commerce, would undoubtedly attract to itself by far the largest portion of it; and a moderate calculation demonstrates that the increased value of trade which would accrue to its merchants by a change to a liberal fiscal system in Cuba, would not be less than twenty-five millions of dollars annually, or nearly one-fifth of their present export trade.

The effect which a change in the political condition of Cuba and her relations to the United States would have upon the great staple of Louisiana, cannot be submitted to the same severe calculation; but deeming, as I do, that misapprehension pervades the public mind on this point, I would submit, with due deference, the following observations:

The present aim of the people of Cuba is to establish, through a successful revolution there, afree government, and to secure by this means the right of self-government, and a permanent safeguard against the present nefarious system of importing large numbers of savage negroes from Africa, which menaces the future safety of society in that island.

No man there dreams that this revolution, however rapid and successful it might be, can be effected without a temporary interruption of the industrial labors of the country, and a subsequent temporary diminution of its productiveness.

The duration, or the ultimate effect of this disturbance upon the supply and the prices of sugar, now become an article of necessary consumption in the world, cannot be estimated by any process of calculation. That its present effect would be to diminish the production and to enhance prices, no one can doubt.

The establishment of a free government in Cuba could not produce any immediate prejudice to the sugar planting interest of Louisiana, for it would not disturb in any way the fiscal protection which the present tariff extends to it.

It is the subsequent admission of that Island as one of the States of this Union, which is supposed to nurture disaster and ruin for the sugar planters of Louisiana.

I will not deny my fixed belief that the vast majority of the people of Cuba desire the admission of their country to the benefits of this confederacy, when it can be attained with honor to themselves as a people, and with a due regard to their social institutions and interests.

But I do not entertain the belief that this event is pregnant with ruin, or even with injury to the sugar planting interest of this State; and to such as suppose that such a result would follow the admission of Cuba into the Union, I would suggest the following reflections.

The product of sugar to the acre in Cuba differs very slightly from that in Louisiana, while the difference in the amount produced per hand is even less than the difference of product to the acre, and is probably in favor of the Louisiana planter from his improved system of culture, and better care and feeding of his hands.

The great elements of the less cost of production of sugar in Cuba than in this country, consist in the superior cheapness of labor, and the lower value of land there. The average value of field hands in Cuba is $500, while in this State their value is $1200; and the mean value of land is well known to be far less than here. In these great items consist almost the entire advantage which the planter of Cuba possesses over him of Louisiana. In other respects he labors under disadvantages; for instance, the cost of his supplies, which is greater from his greater distance from their place of production.

The first great result of the establishment of a free government in Cuba, or of its admission to this confederacy, would be the immediate cessation of the African slave trade, and the appreciation in value of the slaves there consequent upon the cutting off of this source of cheap supply.

Next in the scale of economic results attending the admission of Cuba to the Union would be the equalization of the value of slaves. They could not remain at an average value of $500 there, while they bore that of $1,200 here, and freedom of intercourse between the two countries existed. They would either advance in value in Cuba or decline here. As the numerical preponderance is so great on the side of this country, it is a legitimate supposition that by far the greatest effect would be produced upon the smaller mass in Cuba, and that consequently their value would advance there.

Such an equalization in the value of labor in this country and in Cuba would contribute in a great degree to an equalization of the cost of production of sugar in each, increasing it in Cuba and diminishing it in Louisiana, in the exact proportion of its effect upon the value of labor respectively.

That a great increase in the value of land in Cuba would follow the admission of that island to the benefits of this confederacy, I presume no one doubts. Such a result would contribute also to augment the cost of its agricultural products, thus removing another of the important constituents of the product of cheap sugar there.

The increase in the cost of production of this staple in Cuba would be a far more permanent and efficient protection to the sugar planter of Louisiana, than the present fiscal impost upon sugar; while so long as Cuba is enabled to produce it at less cost than Louisiana, and the desire in the North to obtain cheap sugar exists, the danger to the sugar planting interest in this country will not only remain, but may continue to increase.

The effect of great changes in the value of labor upon agricultural products is notably exemplified in the course of the culture and the price of coffee.

Cuba was formerly a coffee exporting country. Subsequently to the partial suppression of the slave trade under the treaty between England and Spain, the average value of negroes in Cuba was, for a long period, from $400 to $450. Brazil continued the slave trade, and from her proximity to the coast of Africa, and the abundant supply of slaves, their average value in her markets fell to from $300 to $250.

The coffee culture requiring no expensive machinery, or other outlay than that for hands, was largely entered into there, and Brazil was enabled to compete successfully with coffee producing countries. She could undersell every one else, and the mean price of coffee in her ports fell to six cents a pound. Cuba, with her dearer labor, could not produce it at this price, and her coffee fields were abandoned, and her labor transferred to other and more remunerating employment.

On the 14th of November, 1850, the Emperor of Brazil issued the edict establishing measures for the final suppression of the slave trade in the empire, and its result is shown in the following extract from the report to the British Parliament by the select committee on the slave trade:

"The evidence before your committee proves that the importation of slaves into Brazil in 1847 was 56,172; in 1848, 60,000; in 1849, 54,000; but that in 1851 it had diminished to 3,287, and in 1852 to 700, of which last importation a considerable portion had been seized by the Brazilian Government."

This cessation of the supply immediately enhanced the value of labor in her markets, and under the increase of the cost of its production the price of coffee began to depreciate in her markets, and now it stands at a mean of ten cents, with a prospect of gradual but continued advance.

But the coffee planters of Cuba had been ruined, and died in poverty, while their slaves passed into other hands, and their fields now lie fallow or have been sold to other uses. A new generation has grown up, skilled in new labors, and though the enhancing value of labor in Brazil should continue to enhance the price of her staple product, she will still have the markets of the world to her sole benefit. Great economic changes are not produced except by violence, or under the long-continued action of powerful causes.

There is another argument of great weight bearing upon the question of the admission of Cuba to this Union, which should not be forgotten.

While the equalization of the cost of the production of sugar in Louisiana and Cuba would bring to the Louisiana planter a permanent protection, the admission of Cuba to the Union would make the United States the great sugar grower, as it is the great cotton grower of the world. Under the increasing power of our moral influence, relaxations of the fiscal regulations of other countries (nearly all of which box sugar as a luxury) would be obtained, and its consumption thereby vastly increased to the great benefit of the producer. The results that would flow from such an attainment cannot even be estimated.

If these views are correct, as I believe they will be found, upon a careful examination, to be, not only is there no danger to the sugar planting interest of Louisiana from the admission of Cuba to this confederacy, but great benefits will accrue to that interest upon its consummation.

So long as Cuba continues in her present condition, the Louisiana planter will be continually menaced by a cheap sugar producing community on one side, and an earnest desire on the part of all the other members of the confederacy to obtain their supplies at a low cost. One State, Ohio, has already begun the struggle against Louisiana, and has passed resolutions instructing her representatives in Congress to urge upon the Secretary of the Treasury that sugar and molasses be put upon the list of articles to be imported free of duty.

In this war of interests Louisiana stands alone. How long she will be able to maintain the struggle successfully, can only be a matter of conjecture. The ultimate result cannot be doubtful even to the most sanguine advocate of fiscal protection to the sugar growing interest.

There is another greater and more immediate danger to this interest, one which it would seem to me is not properly appreciated in this country.

The Spanish government in Cuba has declared that its duty is to increase the supply of labor in that island at all hazards. A new code for the government and discipline of free laborers has been instituted, and great exertions are being made under it, with the favor of the Government, to bring in European, Indian and Asiatic laborers. Whatever the motives of the Government may be, its declared policy is to reduce the price of labor.

In pursuance of this idea, it is now seeking to establish a system of African apprenticeship, and offers to the planters in

Cuba that it will give them apprentices to labor for a series of years, at prices most inordinately low; and that if they will sustain the Government in the measure, it will introduce one hundred thousand negroes in one year. In the mean time the slave trade is stimulated and encouraged in every way, and at this moment is carried on there with an activity that has not been equalled since 1840, when twenty thousand negroes were brought in.

If this policy is successfully established and the cost of labor reduced to $200 per hand, as the Spanish Government of Cuba argues it will be, what protection will the present duty on sugar in this country afford the Louisiana planter against the almost costless sugar of Cuba?

Five years of such competition would suffice to ruin every sugar planter in this State. They would follow the coffee planters of Cuba in poverty to the grave. Though the ruin of Cuba should then follow, as it doubtless would, and her now fertile fields be given up to thousands of semi-savage Africans, could Louisiana then re-create her sugar growing interest? And if she did re-create it, would its present possessors enjoy its fruits? No man can believe they would.

These views, which I present in all candor, induce me to believe that so far from the admission of Cuba, as a sugar growing region to this Union, being in any way prejudicial to the same great interest in this State, its consummation is the only measure that will confer stability upon the culture of the sugar-cane here, and conduce to the permanent welfare of the planting interest of Louisiana.

The benefits of the measure to Cuba, in an economic point of view, will be equally great, if they do not exceed those of Louisiana. An augmentation to more than double the present value of every slave and a four-fold increase in the value of her lands will confer great individual wealth upon vast numbers of her people, and replace many-fold the undoubted sacrifices necessary for her revolution.

The effect of her admission to this confederacy upon the body politic in Cuba are well and truthfully asserted in the following words of one of her most illustrious sons:

"There will she find peace and consolation, strength and protection, justice and freedom; and, resting upon these solid foundations, will in a short period exhibit to the world the portentous spectacle of a people rising from the most profound degradation, and passing with the rapidity of the lightning's flash to the highest point of greatness."

Art. VI.—COMMERCE OF THE BLACK SEA.

In the present state of affairs, the information contained in the following paper, relative to the trade, the produce, and the general position and resources of the extensive provinces leading on the Black Sea, will, we hope, prove interesting. It is, beyond question, intrinsically important, and we feel, therefore, that no apology is requisite for the length to which the article runs.

The general value, extent, and importance of the Black Sea trade, is, we believe, less understood by our legislators, and merchants, and manufacturers, than it should be. Centering, for the most part, in the hands of a class of foreign merchants, no general statistics or data have been accessible. We think it, therefore, highly important to place before the public such geographical details and commercial statistics, connected with the Turkish and Russian ports, and our own and foreign trade therewith, as we have at this moment readily at command. It is only by infomation of this kind, reliable and authentic, that the public mind can be disabused of an impression, held in some quarters, that we have little concern in the disputes between Turkey and Russia, and that we are engaging in a merely chivalrous quarrel, having no bearing or identity with our commercial interests. The facts and figures we shall now adduce will, we trust, utterly remove this misconception, and serve to show that even if the balance of European power, and the principles of justice were set aside, we have yet a *commercial* interest in staying the ambitious projects of Russia, and keeping her within her allotted boundaries. Every contest she has hitherto waged has resulted in an acquisition of fresh territory, and it is high time that the other great European Powers should protect the weak from such aggression. The ports of the Black Sea are numerous and important, and form the outlets of vast and fruitful countries, whose produce needs some market. The States of Wallachia and Moldavia, the rich fields of the Danube, Persia, Georgia, and even Russia, Siberia, and Turkey, carry on their principal trade through this great inland sea. But if its shores and waters are to be disturbed continually by the hostile fleets and armies of a daring and ruthless power—seeking dominion with an arrogant and unscrupulous hand, waging war on neutral States, massacring people without pity, when moored in their very harbors—it is high time that England and her allies should step in and stay the wrong of the oppressor, and teach him what are the duties of power and civilization, in this age, devoted to the reign of peace and the extension of arts and commerce.

Shall the grain cease to be cultivated in the fruitful countries bordering on the Black Sea, because an autocrat wishes a few million more acres for his vast domain? Shall the numerous flocks and herds be no longer tended for the advantage of nations at large, requiring their tallow and fleece? Shall the timber forests run to waste, or shall the interchange of commodities be carried on, to the mutual advantage of each country engaged in the trade? This is one of the questions to be resolved by the present appeal to arms. Great Britain has nothing to lose in any result, save her share of the expenses of the war, being thoroughly independent of Russian supplies, which form one of the most minute items of our commerce. But other conterminous States might suffer materially, if the fable of the wolf and the lamb were carried into reality. And we think even Mr. Cobden will be free to admit, on careful examination of the figures we are about to cite, that Turkey and Egypt, to us, viewed commercially, are worth the trade with many Russian empires. Besides the agricultural produce of its coasts, the Euxine teems with seals, porpoises, sturgeons, dolphins, mackerel, mullet, bream, and other fish, mostly of the same kind as those caught in the Caspian and Sea of Aral. There are, however, few fisheries established along its shores, though where they do exist they are extremely productive.

Even France carries on a much more profitable commerce with Turkey than with Russia. According to documents recently published by the French Government, the total amount of her trade with Turkey was £3,280,000 in 1851, and £3,360,000 in 1853; with Russia, £1,680,000 in 1851, and £2,880,000 in 1852.

The Trade Report for Galatz and Ibraila, for the year 1851, shows that the total value of the importations into Galatz, up the Danube, amounted to £500,803. Among the principal items are—British cotton manufactures, £233,310; other cotton manufactures, £7,380; sugar, £57,420; coffee, £8,564; tin plates, £12,446; iron, in bars, rods, and sheets, £22,352; nails, £1,365; coals, £16,721; cotton wool (Levant), £7,020; raisins and figs, £18,437; rice, £4,103; tobacco, £6,980; earthenware, £2,380; drugs and dye-stuffs, £2,154; wool, £17,700; tallow, £12,456; dressed leather, £2,470. The total value of the importations into Ibraila, up the Danube, amounted to £396,092. Among the principal items are—British cotton manufactures, £231,330; other cotton manufactures, £12,015; sugar, £43,920; tea, £1,210; coffee, £5,572; tin, in bars and plates, £5,910; iron, in bars, rods, &c., £20,937; nails, £688;

tobacco, £12,005; earthenware, £2,440; dressed leather, £3,980.

The number of packages of British manufactures and cotton twist imported during the year was:—

Into Galatz	packages,	4,242
Into Ibraila	"	4,206

The comparison with the two former years stands thus:—

		1849.	1850.	1851.
Into Galatz	packages,	4,820	3,344	4,242
Into Ibraila	"	3,558	4,140	4,206
Total		8,378	7,484	8,448

Showing merely that the importation of manufactures is not decreasing.

The Austrian steamers from Constantinople bring a considerable quantity of British manufactures. The manifests of these steamers might be obtained, but it would be difficult from the manifests to ascertain the nature of the packages. The agent of these steamers has, however, kindly furnished an exact note for the year 1851, showing that 1,257 packages of British manufactures were brought by them during that year to Galatz and Ibraila. Doubtless, about the same quantity has been brought by these steamers for several years past; so that it may be reckoned that the consumption of British manufactures and cotton twist in the two provinces is about 10,000 bales yearly.

Sugar, refined and crushed, imported:—

		1849.	1850.	1851.
Into Galatz	hhds. and bbls.	4,504	5,619	3,190
Into Ibraila	"	5,010	5,557	2,434
Total		9,514	11,176	5,624

Showing a very great falling off during the last year, and that the importation in the two former years was much in excess of the consumption. The quantity imported in 1848 was 5,340 hhds. and barrels. A probable reason for the diminution in the consumption of sugar is, that during some years the entrance into the Austrian Provinces was free, owing to their disturbed state; now the custom laws are again in force. Also the occupation, by foreign troops, of the provinces in 1849 and 1850, will tend to account for the increase.

IRON IMPORTED.

	1849.	1850.	1851.	
Into Galatz	1,807	2,460	2,794	tons.
Into Ibraila	4,074	1,932	2,991	do.
Total	5,881	4,392	5,785	do.

COALS IMPORTED.

Into Galatz	3,518	7,434	14,540	tons.

The consumption is no doubt increasing, as six steamers ran monthly last summer, between Galatz and Constantinople, in place of four formerly; and also two additional steamers ran monthly between Galatz and Skella Cladova; but the consumption has not yet reached 14,000 tons yearly, and there is a considerable stock of coals in Galatz.

TEA—Of which hardly any was received here formerly from England, has now become an article of importation, owing, it is said, to some change in the custom-house laws in Russia. The packages mentioned are bales, consisting of five or six chests, or ten or twelve half-chests, tied together. Besides what comes by sea and up the Danube, several parcels have come to Vienna overland from England, and from thence down the Danube by steamers.

The table of importations into Galatz shows that a considerable quantity of wool, tallow, and hides, have been received up the Danube. These articles come from Odessa, and pass in transit to the Austrian States, chiefly by steamers, up the river.

EXPORTS.—The total value of the exports from Galatz by sea, in 1851, amounted to £496,368. Among the principal items are wheat, 134,474 qrs., value £141,198; Indian corn, 150,682 qrs., value £280,545; rye, 71,024 qrs., value £49,716; barley, 1,364 qrs., value £682; linseed, 503 qrs., value £679; wool, £510; tallow and chervice, £7,393; planks and deals, £7,158; masts and spars, £3,500.

The total number of loaded vessels sailing out of Galatz in 1851 was 619: carrying 134,474 qrs. of wheat, 350,682 qrs. of Indian corn, 71,024 qrs. of rye, and 4,349 cwt. of tallow and sundries. 139 of the above vessels were Greek, 103 Turkish, and 173 English; the remainder were vessels of other Continental nations. 296 of these vessels sailed for England, with 35,368 qrs. of wheat, 350,682 qrs. of Indian corn, 71,024 qrs. of rye, and 1,925 cwt. of tallow. 176 vessels sailed for Constantinople with 44,984 qrs. of wheat, 20,407 qrs. of Indian corn, 6,205 qrs. of rye, and 2,424 cwt. of tallow, and the remaining number sailed for other Continental ports.

The total value of the exports from Ibraila by sea in 1851, amounted to £778,157. The principal items, 283,106 qrs. of wheat, value £254,795; 646,617 qrs. of Indian corn, value £404,136; 105,597 qrs. of barley, value £52,799; rapeseed, 2,264 qrs., value £2,943; wool, 129,896 lbs., value £4,330; tallow and chervice, 30,038 cwt., value £45,057; staves, £9,167; bone-ash, £2,291.

The total number of vessels departed loaded from Ibraila in 1851, was 1,049, carrying 283,106 qrs. of wheat, 646,617 qrs. of Indian corn, 105,597 qrs. of barley, 2,264 qrs. of rapeseed, 30,038 cwt. of tallow, and 550,039 staves, &c., &c. Of the above, 262 were Turkish vessels, carrying 55,780 qrs. of wheat, 48,646 qrs. of Indian corn, 92,067 qrs. of rye, and 2,985 cwt. of tallow; 395 vessels were Greek, carrying 110,000 qrs. of wheat, 301,637 qrs. Indian corn, 3,048 qrs. of barley, and 17,616 cwt. of tallow; 126 vessels were English, carrying 34,385 qrs. of wheat, 119,547 qrs. Indian corn, and 585 qrs. of rapeseed; the remainder vessels belonged to other Continental nations. Of the above 1,049 vessels, 320 sailed for England with 100,593 qrs. wheat, and 286,882 qrs. Indian corn; 490 vessels sailed for Constantinople with 108,144 qrs. wheat, 181,330 qrs. Indian corn, and 104,569 qrs. barley.

As the grain trade from Galatz and Ibraila has been active during the year, it may be well to compare it with the great year of 1847, and for this purpose the exportation of grain during the last five years is noted:—

FROM GALATZ.

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	
Wheat	180,860	113,605	173.797	140,652	134,474	qrs.
Indian Corn	318,605	143,727	258,763	122,875	350,682	"
Rye	26,697	28,446	60,617	52,776	71,024	"
Total	526,162	285,778	493,177	316,303	556,180	"

FROM IBRAILA.

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	
Wheat	390,818	159,484	117,346	283,290	283,106	qrs.
Indian Corn	619,115	292,215	335,532	149,732	646,617	"
Barley	300,582	193,435	72,936	44,594	105,597	"
Total	1,310,505	645,034	523,814	477,618	1,035,320	"

From this it is seen that the exportation from Galatz is larger this year than it has ever been before—the increase being in Indian corn and rye, and that the exportation from Ibraila of Indian corn is larger than on any previous year; yet as the exportation of wheat and barley are both short, the total quantity exported this year was less than the exportation in 1847, but more than in any other year; the comparison standing thus—largest quantity exported in any year, excepting 1847: being in 1844, 688,081 qrs.; in 1847, 1,310,505 qrs.; and in 1851, 1,035,320 qrs.

TRADE TO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN GRAIN.

The appended tables show the number of vessels leaving Galatz and Ibraila direct for the United Kingdom, and cargoes of same in 1849, 1850, and 1851:—

Note of Number of Vessels departing from Galatz and Ibraila direct to the United Kingdom, and Quantity of Grain shipped by them.

FROM GALATZ.

1849.		1850.		1851.	
No. of Vessels.	Qrs. of Grain.	No. of Vessels.	Qrs. of Grain.	No. of Vessels.	Qrs. of Grain.
164	214,258	133	165,578	296	346,232

FROM IBRAILA.

	133	175,516	120	149,441	320	387,475
Total	297	389,774	253	315,019	616	633,707

The exportation to the United Kingdom, therefore, has been much larger this year than on any previous year, excepting 1847; but as the tables for 1847 for Ibraila were not made up, an exact comparison cannot be made, for the number of English vessels stands thus.

Number of British vessels loaded in Galatz and Ibraila in 1847 and 1851, respectively:—

	1847.	1851.
In Galatz, number of vessels	135	178
In Ibraila "	259	126
Total	394	304

The following Table shows the Ports to which the Grain of Moldavia and Wallachia was chiefly sent, during the years 1848 and 1851, both inclusive.

Note of Quantities of Grain shipped from Galatz and Ibraila, to the Ports specified, during the Years 1848 *and* 1851, *both inclusive.*

	CONSTANTINOPLE.		TRIESTE AND VENICE.	
Year.	No. of Vessels.	Grain. Qrs.	No. of Vessels.	Grain. Qrs.
1848	492	329,022	187	175,515
1849	620	404,315	126	130,976
1850	447	294,507	104	111,026
1851	666	465,739	275	294,376

	MARSEILLES, GENOA AND LEGHORN.		UNITED KINGDOM.	
Year.	No. of Vessels.	Grain. Quarters.	No. of Vessels.	Grain. Quarters.
1848	160	117,280	230	264,591
1849	101	71,556	297	389,774
1850	70	60,006	253	315,019
1851	70	66,479	606	633,707

The demand for grain, particularly for Indian Corn, for Trieste and Venice, has been much greater this year than for several previous years.

Prices at the end of each quarter during the year 1851. *Highest Prices, calculated free on Board.*

	GALATZ.								IBRAILA.							
	Mar.		June.		Sept.		Dec.		March.		June.		Sept.		Dec.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Wheat per qr.	27	0	25	0	21	6	22	0	19	0	19	0	18	6	18	0
Indian Corn,	15	0	14	6	15	9	15	9	14	0	13	9	13	9	14	6
Barley,	—		—		—		—		8	4	8	7	8	10	8	10

CARRYING TRADE TO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Number of British Vessels as compared with Foreign Vessels departing from Galatz and Ibraila direct for the United Kingdom during the last three years:—

	1849.	1850.	1851.
British,	128	105	304
Austrian,	84	44	52
Greeks,	58	52	88
Sardinians,	7	9	57
Other Nations,	20	42	115
Total	297	252	616

This result bears out the view taken in the report for last year that the repeal of the Navigation Laws *would not be hurtful* to British vessels in this quarter, the per centage of British vessels going to England for the last three years standing thus, notwithstanding the great increase of tonnage in 1851.

Per Centage on British and Foreign Vessels loading in Galatz and Ibraila direct for the United Kingdom in the years 1849, 1850, *and* 1851 :—

	1849.	1850.	1851.
British vessels, per cent.	43.5	41.6	49.3
Foreign vessels, ditto	56.5	58.4	50.7

And it is to be further considered that the vessels from the North of Europe have much increased in 1851, owing, no doubt, to the demand for rye and low-priced grain for the Continent, many of these vessels calling at Falmouth or Queenstown for orders for a continental port. The number of northern vessels stands thus for the last three years:—

Northern vessels departing from Galatz and Ibraila for the United Kingdom :—

1849.	1850.	1851.
4	23	62

The number of Sardinian vessels, which formerly had been quite insignificant, has become considerable this year.

The rate of freight at which vessels could be obtained in the spring, was 9s. to 9s. 6d. per quarter, but as the season advanced, the freights rose, until, in the month of June, 12s. 6d. was paid. Again rates declined, and at the end of the shipping season they had returned to 10s. or 10s. 6d. Very few English vessels, however, come to the Danube disengaged; some are occasionally ceded by the original charterers.

The total number of vessels departing from Galatz and Ibraila, in 1851, was 1,668, carrying 16,551 men, with an aggregate tonnage of 300,845. Of the above total 534 vessels were Greek, carrying 5,388 men, with an aggregate tonnage of 112,438; 352 vessels were Turkish, carrying 4,159 men, with an aggregate tonnage of 50,234; and 304 vessels were English, carrying 2,304 men, with an aggregate tonnage of 55,625. The remaining vessels belonged to other continental nations, with the single exception of one from Buenos Ayres.

An abstract of the exports to Turkey and Russia, &c., was moved for by Lord Dudley Stuart early last session (No. 371), but it was exceedingly defective, as only giving "the principal articles." We have been at some pains to take out the whole of the imports and exports to these countries, from the more extensive tables of revenue, population, and commerce of the United Kingdom, but the year 1851 is the latest for which the returns are as yet complete.

The returns submitted on the motion of Lord Dudley Stuart gave the value of the British exports to Turkey, European and Asiatic (including Wallachia and Moldavia), at £2,581,230. Our estimate, including the Egyptian ports, makes the amount nearly one million sterling more. The exports to Russia in that return were stated at £1,289,704. Our figures make the amount the same; but we have shown the trade of the Black Sea ports as contra-distinguished from the Northern Russian ports.

OFFICIAL VALUE OF THE IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	1849.	1850.	1851.
From the northern ports of Russia,	£5,333,406	4,997,126	4,083,170
From Russ. ports within the Bl'ck Sea,	289,193	219,533	331,597
	£5,622,599	5,216,659	4,414,767
Turkish Dominions proper,	£1,364,017	1,774,651	1,725,767
Wallachia and Moldavia,	14,476	13,707	13,862
Syria and Palestine,	15,627	125,986	113,110
Egypt,	839,264	1,128,912	1,115,844
	£2,223,384	3,037,256	2,968,583

OFFICIAL VALUE OF THE EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES TO

	1849.	1850.	1851.
Russia,	£1,566,175	1,454,771	1,157,543
Turkish Dominions, inclusive of Wallachia, Moldavia and Syria,	£2,930,612	3,113,678	2,581,230
Egypt,	638,411	648,801	968,729
	£3,569,023	3,762,479	3,549,959

An Account of the declared Value of the British and Irish Produce and Manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to Russia and Turkey in the six years ending with 1851.

	Russian Northern Ports.	Russian Black Sea Ports.	Turkish Dominions.
1846	£1,586,235	£138,913	£2,707,571
1847	1,700,733	143,810	3,530,589
1848	1,692,006	233,220	3,626,241
1849	1,379,179	186,996	3,569,023
1850	1,297,660	157,111	3,762,480
1851	1,157,543	132,161	3,549,959

To our Manchester manufactures the Ottoman empire offers much greater facilities for their trade; whilst Russia in 1851 took but £225,117 worth of cotton goods, the Turkish dominions and Egypt took £2,755,615.

The following quintennial averages show, that while our exports to Turkey have much more than doubled in the course of twenty years, those to Russia have remained nearly stationary:—

		Turkey.	Russia.
Average,	1831–'35	£1,072,639	£1,488,978
—	1836–'40	1,541,075	1,765,887
—	1841–'45	2,301,838	1,934,213
—	1846–'50	2,812,967	1,703,173
—	1850	3,762,480	1,464,771
—	1851	3,549,939	1,289,704

In 1831, Turkey took about 24½ millions yards cotton manufactures, entered by the yard; and 1¾ millions pounds cotton twist and yarn.

In 1850, 141 millions yards cotton manufactures, entered by the yard; and 6½ millions pounds cotton twist and yarn.

Declared Value of the Articles of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures imported in 1851 *to Russia and Turkey respectively*:—

	Russian Northern Ports.	Russian Black Sea Ports.	Turkish Domins.
Apparel, and haberdashery	£7,735	£405	£73,183
Arms and ammunition	408	18	21,595
Bacon and hams	174	—	371
Beer and ale	11,532	3,365	3,120
Books	1,662	431	27,136
Brass and copper manufactures	892	282	35,333
Butter and cheese	1,489	150	1,372
Coals	63,448	9,883	68,027
Cordage	70	46	48
Cotton manufactures	25,274	4,983	2,361,139
Cotton twist and yarn	164,745	11,526	363,501
Earthenware	6,672	4,474	22,261
Hosiery, &c.	18,569	20	26,975
Herrings	2,459	40	2,193
Glass	2,106	1,617	7,148
Hardware and cutlery	84,124	1,920	58,266
Hats	17	—	61
Iron and steel	65,062	6,152	100,685
Lead and shot	51,615	1,025	4,217
Leather, saddlery, &c.	1,423	56	4,985
Linen manufactures, thread, &c.	6,122	663	14,046
Linen yarn	7,516	—	651
Machinery and mill work	196,403	19,649	19,239
Painters' colors	13,199	177	2,944
Plate, jewelry, &c	5,234	124	39,241
Salt	28,003	—	30
Silk manufactures	7,422	—	17,682
Soap and candles	141	521	922
Stationery	5,241	476	11,704
Sugar, refined	3,003	44,244	35,505
Tin and tin-ware, &c	22,297	6,281	42,382
Woollen and worsted yarn	217,512	—	500

	Russian Northern Ports.	Russian Black Sea Ports.	Turkish Dominions.
Woollen manufactures	29,308	2,567	100,035
Hosiery and small wares	3,000	35	6,893
All other articles	103,729	12,008	76,665
	£1,157,543	£132,161	£3,549,959

From the last shipping returns published, it appears that the following vessels were employed in the foreign trade with the several countries named, in 1852. We include steamers as well:—

	Entries.		Clearances.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Russia	2,621	594,895	1,807	378,739
(Of these only 951 Russian or foreign ships entered, and 655 cleared.)				
Turkey, Wallachia, Syria, &c	972	187,448	794	85,974

The entries and clearances of Russian vessels in our ports were, in—

	Entered Inwards.		Cleared Outwards.	
1847	330 ships	80,420 tons	166 ships	42,600 tons
1848	277 "	76,108 "	190 "	52,777 "

Our imports from Russia, in 1851, consisted of the following articles:—

	From Northern Ports.	From Blk. Sea Ports.
Ashes, cwts	12,800	—
Bristles, lbs	1,684,773	—
Butter and cheese, cwts.	14	—
Copper, cwts	175	—
Flax and tow, &c., cwts.	818,676	—
Gloves, pairs	240	—
Gum Arabic, cwts	58	—
Hemp, undressed, cwts	664,572	—
Hides, cwts	8,322	—
Iron, tons	3,807	167
Rhubarb, lbs	4,526	—
Linseed, qrs	270,362	147,569
Rapeseed, qrs	—	3,576
Tares, qrs	770	—
Silk, waste, lbs	52,842	—

	From Northern Ports.	From Blk Sea Ports.
Fitch Skins, number	11,570	—
Martin ditto, number	1,217	—
Seal ditto, number	12,769	—
Tallow, cwts	775,280	35,169
Tar, lasts	11,860	—
Tobacco, unmanufac., lbs	7,938	—
Ditto, manufactured, lbs	1,815	—
Wines, of all sorts, galls	1,495	—
Wood and timber, deals, boards, loads	188,414	—
Ditto, not sawn, loads	47,768	—
Lathwood, fathoms	6,781	—
Staves, loads	634	—
Wool, lbs	584,067	5,312,139

Exports to Russia in 1851 :—

	To Northern Ports.	To Black Sea Ports.
Bark, Peruvian, cwts	134	
Cassia Lignea, lbs	10,523	3,684
Cloves, lbs	14,016	368
Cochineal, cwts	2,535	102
Cocoa, lbs	34,123	
Coffee, lbs	1,441,871	215,002
Cotton manufactures	£475	
Ginger, cwts	427	92
Gums, various, cwts	3,455	125
Indigo, cwts	12,721	119
Lead, tons	832	
Logwood, tons	1,049	86
Nutmegs, lbs	1,566	1,507
Opium	410	
Pepper, lbs	135,866	237,518
Pimento, cwts	1,126	96
Quicksilver, lbs	87,387	

	To Northern Ports.	To Black Sea Ports.
Rhubarb, lbs	860	
Rice, cwts	5,908	539
Saltpetre, cwts	9,243	
Silk, lbs	1,727	
Silk manufactures of India, pieces	302	
Skins, Bear, number	286	
" Musquash, num.	56,812	
Spirits, gallons	72,470	9,827
Sugar, cwts	10,124	5,598
Tea, lbs	6,254	132,882
Tin, cwts	2,108	
Tobacco, raw and manufactured, lbs	6,319	4,337
Wines, gallons	60,205	3,410
Cotton wool, lbs	35,185,422	
Sheep's wool, lbs	28,401	

Articles of Foreign and Colonial Produce exported to Turkish Dominions in 1851, including Wallachia, Moldavia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt:—

Bark, Peruvian, cwts	50	Pepper, lbs	473,504
Cassia Lignea, lbs	17,620	Pimento, cwts	720
Cloves, lbs	39,108	Quicksilver, lbs	420
Cochineal, cwts	1,946	Rhubarb, lbs	1,236
Cocoa, lbs	2,908	Rice, cwts	5,049
Coffee, lbs	620,502	Silk, lbs	1,246
Ginger, cwts	97	Silk, bandanas, &c., pieces	6,978
Gum Shellac, cwts	15	Taffaties, pieces	2,043
Indigo, cwts	5,927	Spirits, gallons	66,961
Iron, tons	61	Sugar, cwts	5,301
Cotton and linen manufactures	£842	Tea, lbs	197,485
Logwood, tons	76	Tobacco, lbs	159,022
Nutmegs, lbs	3,621	Wine of all sorts, gallons	5,785
Opium, lbs	5,406	Wool, lbs	4,511

The history, progress, and position of the small, but powerful commercial phalanx of Greek merchants, in whose hands this large and increasing trade centres, present most remarkable features.

In 1820, the trade with the Levant, then of small extent, was wholly in the hands of British merchants. In that year two or three Greek houses were established in London, with moderate capitals and humble pretensions. Their operations, though at first limited, were highly successful, and received rapid development. Other Greek establishments were formed, and gradually the whole of the trade passed away from the British houses into the hands of the Greeks, who realized rapid, and, in many instances, colossal fortunes. The trade, which formerly was confined chiefly to the districts to which Constantinople and Smyrna form the outlets, has now extended to the valley of the Danube, to the shores of the Black Sea, to Persia, to the vast provinces of which Aleppo and Damascus are the chief marts, to Egypt, whose powers of production and consumption have only recently been stimulated into activity, and has, through the enterprise and sagacity of the Greek merchants, penetrated into distant and semi-barbarian regions, where Manchester fabrics were before as unknown as the very name itself of England.

The number of Greek firms engaged in this trade, and established in England, has increased from five in 1822, to about 200 in 1853. The imports and exports from and to the districts whose trade is conducted by the Greeks, amounted in 1822 to a mere trifle, whereas they have now attained a magnitude which, in the scale of dealings with foreign nations, gives that trade the third or fourth rank.

It is only since 1846 that the English corn trade has attracted the attention of the Greeks. As long as the extreme fluctuations in prices incidental to the sliding scale alternately enriched and ruined foreign importers, the Greeks were far too prudent to engage in so dangerous a trade; but when operations in foreign corn were freed by Sir R. Peel from fiscal influences, and brought within the natural conditions of legitimate commercial enterprise, the

Greeks embarked with their usual energy into the trade. With exceptions too insignificant to notice, all the grain imported into the United Kingdom from the Mediterranean passes through their hands.

Since the commencement of the present large dealings in Black Sea wheats, many additional descriptions have been introduced, and a trade has been opened with many new producing places. A few years ago, and Polish Odessa wheat formed by far the largest bulk of our imports from that quarter; it now constitutes barely a third. Ghirka wheats from Marianople, Berdianski, Taganrog, and other places, were imported to the extent of 350,000 quarters in 1852, against 100,000 quarters in 1851. We may mention, as a proof of the activity of the Greek importers in discovering and availing themselves of new sources of supply, that in addition to the already numerous ports from which shipments have customarily been made, cargoes of grain have recently been shipped from Bourgas, Anchialos, Rodostov, Larnaka (in Cyprus), and several other places hitherto unknown in the annals of trade.—*Mongridian on the Grain Trade.*

The supplies of Indian corn and wheat received from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean ports are shown in the following returns:—

Imports of Indian Corn, or Maize, received at Queenstown or Falmouth for Orders:—

Received in 1852.			*Received in 1851.*		
From	Vessels.	Qrs.	From	Vessels.	Qrs.
Galatz	177	223,000	Galatz	212	286,067
Ibraila	259	361,600	Ibraila	129	201,719
Salonica	27	35,640	Salonica	63	95,377
Odessa	101	219,170	Odessa	47	74,065
Egyptian	35	50,960	Egyptian	54	86,260
Italy	8	8,250	Italy	131	152,544
Constantinople, Malta, Trieste, and other ports in the Mediterranean	110	190,720	Constantinople, Malta, Trieste, and other ports in the Mediterranean	211	296,358
Total	716	1,090,340	Total	847	1,202,450

Odessa, Galatz, and Ibraila, it will be seen, furnished 805,000 qrs. in 1852, against 562,000 in 1851. From Italy and the minor ports there was a great deficiency.

SUPPLIES OF WHEAT RECEIVED IN 1852.

	Qrs.		Vess.
Odessa wheats, chiefly Polish, white and red, but including some cargoes of Odessa, Ghirka, and hard wheats	453,700	in	203
Ghirka wheat shipped at Madrianople, Berdianski, Taganrog, and other ports in the Sea of Azoff, including a few cargoes of hard wheat	336,050		171
Danube wheats from Galatz and Ibraila	85,000		76
Egyptian wheat	276,500		143
Roumelia wheat, chiefly shipped at Varna and Constantinople	27,650		16
Syrian wheat	7,000		6
Italian wheat	30,500		27
Sundries, shipped at Constantinople, Marseilles, Malta, &c., chiefly transhipments	58,000		55
	1 284,400	in	678

The following figures show the comparative quantities of grain of all kinds imported from Russian and Turkish ports respectively:—

	1849. qrs.	1850. qrs.	1851. qrs.	1852. qrs.
Russian northern ports	340,633	363,779	572,257	
Russian ports within the Black Sea	272,735	589,250	762,160	805,000
	913,368	953,029	1,334,417	
Turkish Dominions	399,918	254,444	420,738	
Wallachia and Moldavia	325,128	217,505	624,242	
Syria and Palestine	24,058	22,084	54,199	
Egypt	392,727	558,063	958,995	
	1,141,831	1,052,096	2,058,174	

By official returns it appears that the shipments of wheat from the Russian ports of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff last year were 4,200,000 quarters. This enormous total does not include any quantities from the newly acquired ports on the Danube, and the shipments from the north of the empire were also considerable. The stock of wheat remaining at the Black Sea ports on the 1st of January were nearly a million and a half of quarters; and it is therefore estimated that, adding the northern supply, Russia must last year have had available for exportation nearly 7,000,000 quarters.

The rates of freight ruling from the Black Sea ports in the close of 1853 were just double what they were in the previous year.

From 1840 to 1850 the exports of wheat and Indian corn from Galatz averaged nearly 400,000 qrs. per annum. But, large as these exports were, those from Ibraila in Wallachia, about twelve miles above Galatz, are still greater. The place is literally running over with corn, and there are great mounds of grain lying in the open streets for want of store-room. Ibraila is also the principal port of the Danube for the shipment of tallow. Six or eight years ago the entire exports of wheat from Varna and the other Bulgarian ports, between the Gulf of Bourgas and Kerstinju, did not exceed 200,000 qrs.; now they are more than five times that quantity. And it is necessary to bear in mind, that this is exclusive of the exports, which are very considerable, from Tulcha, a port of Bulgaria, on the Danube, about forty miles west of the entrance of the Sulina mouth. The export trade of Wallachia and Moldavia did not become considerable till after the treaty of Adrianople, dictated by the Russians in 1829. Previously to that epoch, corn and provisions could only be sent to Turkey for consumption, wool being the only article that could be sent to other countries.

The history of the commerce of all great rivers may be best told in stating that of the chief cities or towns near its mouth. As of the Mississippi and of the Ganges, the trade of New-Orleans and Calcutta is the best statement of their commerce, so of the Danube the trade of Galatz comprises the greater part of the traffic of this great European river.

In 1849, 588 vessels loaded cargoes at Galatz, and 391 in 1850. The imports of 1849 were valued at 2,000,000 dols., and the exports at 2,600,000 dols., and this principally for consumption in the two Turkish provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia.

The exports from Galatz were as follows:—

		Wheat.	Indian Corn.
1837 to 1842	qrs.	815,356	597,062
1843 1848	"	859,568	1,270,745
Exports from Ibraila—			
1837 to 1842	qrs.	667,909	224,310
1843 1848	"	1,862,909	1,448,619

The value of the exports was in 1848, from Galatz £333,271, from Ibraila £611,958. In the previous year, however, the exports from these two ports reached the large amount of £2,368,472. The number of vessels loaded at these two ports has averaged 1,500 a year for the last ten years.

The value of the imports into Galatz in 1850 was £435,000, and the imports into Ibraila £463,615. The value of the exports from the two places was about 1,000,000 sterling.

The value of the exports of Galatz in sterling, in 1847, was £775,532. They consisted chiefly of grain, tallow, preserved meat, wine, and linseed; of 662 ships loaded, 206 were dispatched to England.

The exports from Ibraila by sea, in 1847, were of the value of £1,592,944, consisting almost entirely of wheat, barley, Indian corn, and tallow.

The imports of Varna, in the same year, were valued at £214,361, and the exports at £875,708, consisting principally of grain and agricultural produce.

New Russia, as it is termed by geographers, is on the north shores of the Black Sea, and has been gained from the Tartars and Turks within the last hundred years. It consists of Catherinslav, a steppe, used as a grazing country; Cherson, to the east of Bessarabia, a haven on the Dnieper; with Odessa as the chief town in South Russia and the seat of trade, having an excellent dockyard, and carrying on an export commerce of two or three millions sterling. The exports are about 200,000 quarters of wheat, 9,000 tons of tallow, and 20,000 tons of wood, besides linseed and other commodities. Nicholaieff, founded about the beginning of the nineteenth century, has a population of 20,000 or 30,000 and a dockyard.

The Crimea has many havens, and Sevastopol, with its dockyard, is strongly fortified. Its situation, however, exposes it, in case of a blockade, to the danger of a failure of water and provisions.

The commerce of Taganrog is considerable. It is situated on a tongue of land at the extremity of the sea of Azoff. It is a convenient situation for the trade of the south-east interior of Russia, which is carried on at little expense, by means of the Don, ascending that river to the place where it approaches the nearest to the Wolga, whence goods are conveyed overland, and then ascend the Wolga, by which channel all the produce of Siberia and the Caspian is easily conveyed. In 1836, 761 vessels arrived at this port, and the exports to foreign ports amounted to seven and a half million roubles, and the imports to nearly eight millions, whilst the imports and exports of Russian ports were to the value of about five million roubles. Theodosia, or Kaffa, a good port of the Black Sea, on the south-east coast of the Crimea, formerly belonged to Turkey, but is now subject to Russia. It has a considerable trade, and supplies the Crimea and adjacent countries. Kutsch is, however, much superior as an entrepot for the trade of the sea of Azoff.

Azoff, a port in the sea of that name, belonging to Russia, has, like Taganrog, some trade in grain and other produce of the country; but it is Taganrog that chiefly supplies the country with various foreign articles, having, with Odessa and Theodosia, the privilege of importing foreign goods by sea.

There is a very considerable navigation in the Black Sea and the Sea of Asov with Constantinople; also in the principal ports of the Crimea, from April to the end of October.

Peter the Great saw the advantages to be derived here to his empire; and although in 1711 he was obliged to surrender them, yet he did not lose sight of one day acquiring the possession and free navigation of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. This object, however, became accomplished in the reign of Catherine II.

A most convenient port for shipping timber, hemp, and pitch, is Stuboha, near Cherson, (about thirty miles distant,) but that port does not admit of vessels exceeding 150 tons.

The port of Odessa is preferable to that of Cherson for the produce of the Ukraine; because, in the latter port, goods are obliged to be transported in lighters to the ships in the open roads, with danger from the weather, and always great risk of pillage.

Ships in general are but a few days on their passage from Odessa; but from Taganrog the navigation is not only much longer, but even tedious, and liable to many inconveniences and dangers. Merchandise may in general be embarked the whole winter through at Odessa; but from Taganrog the navigation generally ceases in the month of November, and does not commence till the end of March or April.

The Black Sea trade with Smyrna has always been considerable.

Cherson, a Russian port on the Dnieper, about twelve miles from the Black Sea, was founded in the year 1774, with the intention of making it the emporium of the trade of the Crimea; its situation is, however, not so favorable as that of Odessa, and though it exports some of the produce of the country, its chief importance consists in ship-building, and any produce for export is usually shipped coastwise to Odessa.

The navigation of the Dnieper, for fifteen miles below Cherson, is difficult, owing to the river being shallow and encumbered with sand-banks.

Odessa is situated on a bay formed by the Black Sea, thirty miles distant from the mouth of the Danube, and so late as 1793 its shores were a mere plain. It is a secure and convenient bay, with a great depth of water, consequently it is seldom closed by the frost.

The import and export trade of Odessa is shown by the following figures:—

	Value of Imports. Silver Roubles.	Value of Exports. Silver Roubles.
1845	8,035,000	18,125,912
1846	7,745,000	22,769,052
1847	11,113,000	34,765,962
1848	9,189.000	20,879.078
1849	10.373,360	19,177,626
1850	8,731,000	16,894,534
1851	7,710,000	13,235,949
1852	9,827,300	24,777,717

The importation of cotton was increased two-fold in 1852 over the preceding year; that of manufactured goods, oil, and tobacco, was also more important than in 1851. Fruit, coffee, and tea, remained unaltered; but sugar and cotton yarns exhibit a falling off. The shipments of fine and ordinary wools from Odessa, in 1852, were very considerable, amounting to 237,327 poods. The increase in the exports to England, of the last few years, is shown by the following figures:—

	Fine Descriptions.	Ordinary Donskoy.
1849	38,000 poods	24,000 poods.
1850	25,500 "	19,500 "
1851	22,200 "	9,000 "
1852	29,400 "	21,600 "

The exports to England, in 1852, from Odessa, consisted of 789,072 chetwerts of wheat, 302,747 do. of Indian corn, 122,974 of linseed, 33,160 of barley, and 1,800 of oils—55,999 poods of wool, 546 poods of tallow, the shipments of tallow having been considerably less than for many previous years. The only other exports of any consequence from Odessa are hides and copper.

The entire exports of wheat from Odessa have been as follows:—

1844	1,315,290 chetwerts, or	986,468 quarters.
1845	1,918,903 "	1,439,178 "
1846	2,124,385 "	1,593,289 "
1847	2,775,837 "	2,081,878 "
1848	2,059,097 "	1,544,322 "
1849	1,714,138 "	1,285,603 "
1853	— "	2,279,420 "

The exports of wheat to the Mediterranean ports, last year, were 1,572,300 qrs., and 14,630 qrs. to other parts of the continent. Of rye, barley, and Indian corn, the exports were 470,292 quarters, of which a very large proportion was sent to England, and of linseed 167,540 qrs.

The United Kingdom received, of the above-named wheat:—

In 1844	108,288 chetwerts.
1845	148,768 "
1846	263,639 "
1847	708,918 "
1848	897,904 "
1849	844,245 "
1852	789,070 "
1853	692,490 "

[One chetwert is six bushels, or three-fourths of a quarter.]

So that for about eight per cent. of the supplies from Odessa, in 1845, we received fifty per cent. in 1849.

The disposable stock of wheat at Odessa, on the 1st of January, this year, was 250,000 qrs., against 315,000 qrs. on the 1st of January, 1853. A circular from Messrs. Draper, Petroni and Co., however, states the stocks of grain lying in granary, at the outports of the Sea of Azoff, on the 1st Jan., 1854, as follows:—viz., wheat, 700,000 qrs.; rye, 131,000 qrs.; Indian corn, 202,000 qrs.; and linseed, 67,000 qrs.

NUMBER OF VESSELS WHICH ENTERED AND CLEARED FROM RUSSIAN PORTS ON THE BLACK SEA.

	Entered.	Cleared.
1845	2,245	2,222
1846	2,442	2,432
1847	4,201	4,231
1848	2,818	2,685

Trebizond, on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea, is the principal port of entry for that portion of Asia Minor, and through it passes most of the transit trade for Georgia and Persia. The population is variously set down at 20,000 to 30,000. The exports to Europe consist of silk, sheep's wool, tobacco, carpets, shawls, galls, drugs of various sorts, boxwood, nuts, &c.

The treaty of Adrianople, by opening the Black Sea to European ships, restored the old channel of communication between Europe and India, Persia, &c., through Trebizond; and the Russian policy of 1831, by putting an end to the immunities enjoyed by the Russian ports south of the Caucasus, has given Trebizond an importance it did not previously possess. Its principal articles of import are manufactured cottons, mostly from Great Britain; sugar, coffee, rum, salt, tin, wines, &c. More than half the articles imported are destined for Persia; and while in 1830 only 5,000 bales of European merchandise passed through Trebizond, on their way to that country, in 1835 nearly 20,000, in 1845 upwards of 30,000 packages, and in 1851 about 60,300 packages, of the value of more than £1,500,000 sterling, proceeded by the same track to the same destination. The Turkish Government determined a few years ago to construct a good wagon road from this port to Erzeroom, (distant about 120 miles,) a town of some importance, not far from the Persian frontier; but Russian influence prevented it, as the Czar wished the transit trade of Persia to pass through Georgia.

During the year 1851, the different steamers carried from Trebizond 17,300 passengers to Constantinople. Seven large steam frigates form this line; two belonging to the Sultan, each 250 horse power; two to the Ottoman Steam Company, of 250 and 350 horse power; two of the Austrian Lloyd's steamers, of 260 and 350 horse power; and one English, of 300 horse power. There arrived at Trebizond 59,008 packages of divers merchandise in transit for Persia, valued at 7,250,000 dols.; and there was received at Trebizond, from Persia, for Constantinople, 14,756 packages of goods of coarse kinds, of which 3,201 were bales of silk valued at 1,000 dols.

Twenty years ago the British trade with Trebizond, Persia, and Georgia, was almost nothing. Its present prosperity is due to the agency of the British consul at Erzeroom, Mr. Brant. This gentleman, an old merchant in the Levant, settled as vice-consul at Trebizond, and commenced there the introduction of English goods. With the view of extending his operations to Persia and Georgia, he recommended to our Government his appointment at Erzeroom, and the establishing of vice-consuls at Samsoon, Trebizond, Battoon, and at Kaiseriych in the interior; which being done, the fruits of their most valuable reports on the nature, extent of the produce and demands of the country, are seen in the very extensive and valuable trade which now exists.

The steamers all trade at Sinope and Samsoon, on their way to and from Trebizond; and, besides the great number of passengers which they take in or discharge there, the merchandise required at these places forms no inconsiderable portion of their gains. Samsoon and Sinope receive goods for the consumption of the interior of Asia Minor; and the former may be regarded as the port of Mosul and the chief places in Mesopotamia, even as far as Bagdad. An immense quantity of English cotton goods pass through them for the interior. These are generally purchased at Constantinople, by native merchants, in small quantities, and shipped by them to the Black Sea.

EXPORTS OF RUSSIA, 1853.

	Tallow. Poods.	Potashes. Poods.	Hemp. Poods.	Hemp Oil. Poods.	Linseed. Tschetwert.	Rye. Tschetwert.	Wheat. Tschetwert.
America	104	—	95,142	—	—	—	—
Belgium	—	12,489	1,821	—	5,568	—	12,134
Denmark	94,883	31,564	182,437	11,092	36,126	98,812	44,938
England	2,356,079	113,660	1,434,832	—	244,274	15	305,271
France	4,729	12,341	8,082	—	1,650	—	4,359
Hanover	—	—	1,890	—	48	183	—
Hanse Towns	37,274	46,556	52,409	53,059	—	57,191	2,441
Holland	16,615	167,154	99,565	—	58,771	25,969	18,025
Ireland	8,429	—	51,963	—	—	—	—
Mecklenburg	4,863	7,581	18,301	8,874	—	8,159	—
Norway	1,972	1,581	33,765	3,193	1,630	5,726	—
Friesland	—	2,434	5,333	248	—	—	—
Portugal	—	1,720	10,149	—	1,130	—	—
Prussia	53,407	193,342	19,079	5,207	21	19,278	—
Russian Ports	—	—	—	2,461	—	—	—
Scotland	108,021	—	376,282	—	3,515	—	21,483
Sweden	74,435	7,110	35,975	28,691	—	41,440	3,460
Total	2,760,811	597,415	2,377,025	112,225	352,733	256,773	412,111

Art. VII.—THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES.*

By act of Congress of March 3d, 1847, a sum of money was appropriated to enable the Indian Bureau "to collect and digest such statistics and materials as may illustrate the history of the present condition and future prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States." The task was confided to Mr. Schoolcraft, a gentleman eminent for the ardor with which he had pursued all investigations necessary for the proper understanding of that mysterious race, whose dwelling-place upon this earth an inevitable necessity impels us to usurp. The Fourth Part of his Report is now before us. It is the fourth of four large quarto volumes, each elegantly illustrated, exquisitely printed, and in mechanical execution doing credit to our country.

"Cui bono?" asks the political economist, standing aghast at the vast bulk of the materials thus submitted to him. "To me it is of no interest *how* the Indian came to occupy the soil of this northern continent of America. It is sufficient that I find him here, that he is in my way, and that each must take care of himself in the best manner he is able." The question *why* he is here is left to be answered by Nature. And we believe that, scattered through this vast Thesaurus of Indian facts, collected by Mr. Schoolcraft, some rays of light shine through to explain partially, if not entirely to solve, this strange problem of human existence.

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* *Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, collected and prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, per Act of Congress of March* 3d, 1847, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL.D. Part IV., 1854.

A practical age troubles itself little about the names of its great-grandfathers. It is sufficient that they lived, did faithfully their work in this same world, and died. But the effect of their labors, and the influence of each individual mind, has passed into being, never to perish, but to produce fruit for all time. What our ancestors actually did and performed, is then all that the Present inquires of the Past. This is the essence of History.

It appears, therefore, that even in Antiquities the practical Wise Man may find much of interest. The doctrine of the Unity of Race, so long believed by the world, is ascertained to be false. We are not all descended from one pair of human beings. This fact is now as well established in the scientific world as that a horse cannot produce a cat or a lion a mouse. The negro till the end of time will still be a negro, and the Indian still an Indian. Cultivation and association with the superior race produce only injury to the inferior one. Their part in this mysterious world-drama has been played, and, like the Individual, the race must cease to exist.

Scattered over this vast Western Hemisphere from North to South, the relics of long departed races tell us that here, too, the stream of human existence has rushed, that here also has man labored, attained various degrees of civilization, worshipped after his ethnic fashion, and become extinct, just as man has acted and passed away in the (so-called) Old World. We see indications of nearly as great an intellectual development upon this continent as can be found in the ruins of Thebes, or the buried cities of Asia, while all that is now left existing is the hunter Indian, himself a type of as distinct a race from those whose possessions he now occupies as the Copt is different from the Arab, or the European from the Negro. All attempts, therefore, to connect the former inhabitants of our hemisphere with those known races of the other, a glimmering of whose history is handed down in the traditions of Europe or Asia, must seem to the rational philosopher futile, and productive of untruth. Whether America was known to the ancients or not, its former occupants were as peculiar to the soil as those of Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Entering upon the investigation of Mr. Schoolcraft's facts, with these convictions upon our mind, and leaving the discussion of this basis to those who take sufficient interest in the subject to ascertain its weight, we open Part Fourth, and proceed to ascertain how far we can accommodate the accumulation of realities there presented (not noticing his hypotheses) to a rational theory of the Indian existence. Mr. Schoolcraft divides his subject under eighteen titles, which are continued through each successive volume. They are as follows:—

I. General History.
II. Manners and Customs.
III. Antiquities.
IV. Geography of the Indian Country.
V. Tribal Organization, History and Government.
VI. Intellectual Capacity and Character.
VII. Topical History.
VIII. Physical Type of the Indian Race.
IX. Language.
X. State of Indian Art.
XI. Present Condition and Future Prospects.
XII. Dæmonology, Witchcraft, and Magic.
XIII. Medical Knowledge.
XIV. Literature of the Indian Language.
XV. Statistics and Population.
XVI. Biography.
XVII. Religion.
XVIII. Ethnology.

Under these various heads, he has collected a mass of interesting information illustrative of the Indian mode of life in all its various phases, compiled partly by himself, or communicated from authentic sources. Under the head "Manners and Customs," in this Fourth Part, attention has been particularly given to the Winnebagoes and Dahcotah tribes. We have also a most full account of the Byson, its history, character, ranges, and the mode of hunting. Under the head "Intellectual Capacity and Character," Mr. Schoolcraft gives an article on Indian Pictography, from which it is evident he attaches great importance to all investigations which have been and are to be made in their unique method of communicating ideas by pictures. Indeed, in an appendix to his title "Ethnology," under the head of "Queries and Suggestions to Travellers South," he remarks: "In tracing the monumental history of our American tribes, it is desirable to scrutinize the oldest tumuli and remains for the arrow-headed character, no instance of which has ever been discovered in America. The same may be said of hieroglyphics of the Nilotic stamp. The art of recording ideas by the symbolic mode of pictures, or ideographic drawings of animals, &c., is confessedly older than either of these systems. * * * * Are we to look to the prostrated cities and temples of aboriginal America for anything which was ever characteristic of the inhabitants of the Ganges, the Indus, the Euphrates, or the Nile, at periods of which history gives us either a record or a glimpse? If so, we must go to epochs which preceded not only the dawn of letters, but of the phonetic, the hieroglyphic, and the cuneiform character. We are driven to the utmost era of the earlier picture writing. We have found no true hieroglyphics in America. There is no instance of an inscription in the arrow-headed character. The utmost attainment of our aborigines, North and South, is the system of ideographic paintings and symbols, at once the most ancient and the most imperfect of all known forms of recording ideas the world ever saw. If we are guided by modern explorations in the East, the pictographic era dates back to the building of Babel and Nineveh." Again, under the head "*Things that carry the mind to eras as remote as those of Nimrod or Job*," he remarks: "The style of many of the Western fortifications is unique. It appears to be too rude and irregular to be deemed derivative from any people who had reached attainments in the art of field-works." Evidently, Mr. Schoolcraft does not consider this a "New World."

"Physical Type of the Indian Race." Under this title it is remarked that the Indian is not capable of enduring as severe or long-continued labors as the European, as in rowing a boat, or carrying a heavy load, but in feats of agility or activity he excels. Tallness of stature is a feature of his physical condition, particularly in the Northern Lake tribes, where the average would seem to be six feet. The lamented Morton has fixed the average facial angle of the Indian at 75°, which is five degrees below that of the European race. To such minutemess have inquiries been instituted, that the Indian pile or hair of the head has been subjected to microscopical examination. It is found to be cylindrical, while in the Anglo-Saxon it is oval, and in the African race eccentrically elliptical. By an intermixture of the three races modifications of these forms ensue. Mr. Browne, who conducted the examination, believes that these modifications are so completely capable of appreciation, under the influence of the magnifier, as to denote with certainty the per centage of blood of the individual under examination, and he has proposed a classification and invented a system of terms to denote this per centage, ranging from one-fourth to one-sixteenth. The epidermis of the Red Man of America is pronounced by Dr. Morton to be "cinnamon-colored," which is considered determinate respecting the tribes of the Northern and Middle latitudes. In the Islands in the Caribbean Sea, in Guiana, Brazil, and California, a darker tint is visible, while in the Northwest the Menomonies of Wisconsin may be said to be of the lightest cinnamon type. Blue eyes and light hair only appear in the intermixed races, and where the aboriginal blood is as four-twelfths to the Anglo-Saxon parentage.

The languages of the American Indians exhibit peculiarities as marked as their race. They are founded and built up of distinct roots having a meaning by themselves. Distinct from the changes which all verbs undergo for time, person, and object, this principle reduces all words into monosyllabic or primordial increments, and as the process of accretion proceeds, throws them into formative elements of a dual or trisyllabic character. Thus, when the Indian wishes to express a term for wine, he uses a word compounded as follows:—

Sho—A grape.
Min—A berry.
Aubo—A liquor.
Shominaubo—Wine or grape berry liquor.

Sometimes, for the sake of euphony, a vowel is interposed, where two short words meet, which would bring two consonants together, and a consonant where two vowels would be in juxtaposition—thus:

Mish—Apple.
i—A connective vowel.
Min—A berry.
Aubo—Liquor.
Mishiminaubo—Cider, or apple berry liquor.

If anything can denote that the national taste is not Hebraic, it would seem to be their great diversity in the principle of naming children. An invariable element in the Hebrew law was the great deity, or the parent of the child, as in El-kanah, Mo-ab. The Indian, however, takes the open firmament of heaven as the field from whence he derives his names, and relies almost entirely on meteorological phenomena. The terms for sky, cloud, sun, star, mist, wind, sound, thunder, lightning, form the stock words for roots. Some of these compounds are exquisitely poetical—thus:

Ba bwa me au she—Low pealing thunder.
Ke wag no quod—The driving cloud.
Esh ta nak wod—Cloudless sky.
Mo kau ge zhig—The sun bursting from a cloud.
Ma zin—The spot on the sky.

It is characteristic of the names of females, that they denote the gender in their terminal syllable, *qua*—thus:

As sin au mik o qua—Woman of the pebbly bottom water.
Ke neance e qua—Little rose-bud woman.
O buh bau mwa wa ge zhig o qua—Woman of the murmuring of the skies.

Combinations assume a power of expression which is calculated to give permanency to Indian names, when they are applied to the geographical features of the country. Thus:

Illinois, from *illine*, man, and *ois*, a French termination.

Chicago, from *Cheegaugong*, a place of leeks, from the resemblance in the odor of the plant to a polecat; from *Chegag*, polecat, and *ong*, a place.

Wabash, from *waub*, the radix of white, and *oshee*, clouds borne by the equinoctial wind, and *ong*, locality.

Chesapeake, from *che*, great, and *sebeeg*, waters.

Manhattan, from *monau*, bad, and *atun*, channel or stream, alluding to the Hellgate passage between Long Island and New-York.

Michigan, from *michau*, great, in relation to land and water, and *saugiegan*, a lake.

Wheeling, from *weel*, a human head, and *ing*, a place.

Mississippi, from the duplication of *miss*, great, meaning great-great, and *sebe* or *sipi* (agreeably to French orthography), a river.

The word *Ontario* is an example of the perfect concrete or union of fragmentary particles, charged with the meaning of whole words. It is from the dialect of the Wyandots. This race, prior to the war waged against them by the Iroquois, lived on the bay near the present city of Kingston. It was the commencement of a portage path into Lake Ontario, by which a circuitous navigation was saved, and the first view on reaching the summit that overlooked the lake, was one of the most picturesque and noble character. The word thus expresses this view: *On*, a hill or mountain; *tar*, rocks upstanding in water; *io*, beautiful water landscape. Thus, Ontario, beautiful prospect of hills, rocks, water.

For a correct knowledge of the history of the Indian race, it is indispensably necessary that we should be acquainted with the state of the arts at the time of the discovery and settlement of the country. There has always been manifested a disposition from the beginning to overrate it. Wonder, by an easy and natural transition, became admiration. The great pyramid temple of Cholulo, and the immense square blocks of basalt which formed the temple of the Senat Cuzco, could only be compared with the pyramids of the Nile and the Euphrates. But how great the difference! The degree of art exhibited in the ruins of Palenque can only be compared, not assimilated, with that which distinguishes the builders of the Ghizeh pyramids. There is more in them characteristic of rude, stern nature, indicating a prior degree of civilization to that which we find in the Old World, though not necessarily indicating them to have existed prior in point of time. Mr. Schoolcraft "is called to doubt whether the rude earth-works and mounds of the Mississippi valley could have been executed by the aboriginal race who formerly dwelt in this valley."

It is by the works of art which a race leaves behind it that we judge of its type of civilization. It is in these as much as in written books that a nation exhibits the degree of cultivation to which it has attained. And as races differ, so do their monuments. Thus we have the ancient Egyptian, the ancient Hindoo, the Assyrian, the Grecian, Roman, Celtic, all totally distinct from each other, yet some of them exhibiting a magnificence of conception which the present age looks upon with awe. In America, the highest type as yet discovered at Palenque, Cholulo and Cuzco, is still different from them all, bearing only such general resemblances to the Asiatic models, as might be expected from their ethnic forms of worship. But it is evident, that the high degree of cultivation exhibited in the remains of the former occupants of Central America, never extended as far north as the present area of the United States; but that, on the contrary, it has been always filled with predatory hunter tribes, whose remains, where they show them to have most advanced in the social scale, prove them to have been unable to consolidate their institutions. In other words, no race has left upon our soil any memorials even approaching the Toltecan or Aztec types, which are themselves of recent date, and inferior in degree to those exhibited in Yucatan, Peru, and Mexico. There are some evidences, however, which would lead us to infer a similarity of origin, at a period near that of the consolidation of the Aztec power, between the hunter tribes of the Mississippi valley and the tribes of ancient Central America, such as a similar mode in the general expression of ideas, by pictographic writing, traces of the worship of the sun and the moon, a national trait in erecting the residences of their priests and leaders upon terraces, and a general unity in manners and customs. Thus also, the zea maize propagated itself northwardly and eastwardly. The cotton plant appears not to have been known north of the Gila, showing that the semi-civilization found in Mexico at the discovery of America could never have extended farther north than lat. 36 degrees. As the south-eastern portion of Asia seems to have formed one centre of civilization, so is it possible that Central America may have formed another, less extensive, however, in its influence. The steady determination which archæologists have exhibited, until very recently, to derive the origin of our hunter tribes from the Old World, has contributed greatly to confuse the popular impression upon the subject. Hence we have claims of the existence of a Grecian and Roman civilization, founded upon evidence existing altogether in the imagination of its authors. Assertions that there is a Celtic element in certain Indian languages, are totally without foundation, in fact, being based upon mere fancied resemblances in sound. The Northern Society of Antiquarians have published a large volume, to prove that America was known to the Scandinavians; but there is no evidence to show that they ever visited any portion of this continent farther south than Greenland. The celebrated Dighton Rock, which was claimed as a monument of the visits of these old Norse vikings, is clearly established by Mr. Schoolcraft to be a specimen of Indian symbolic writing, bearing not a single trace of the Runic character. The "old Stone Mill," there is evident reason to believe, has been erected long since the discovery of America, though the singularity of this structure forbids us to say by whom, or for what purpose. At the same time, it is not impossible that this continent may have been visited by Europeans, yet it is equally evident that such visits must have been made by small parties, who sojourned here for a short time, being unable to maintain themselves against the ferocity of the Indian race.

A general investigation of the facts in relation to the mounds and forts scattered throughout the valley of the Mississippi, would lead us to assign them to a race no higher in the scale of cultivation than we know the ancestors of the present Indians to have been. From observations made upon the cortical annular layers of large trees which have grown upon the ruins of these structures, there are indications that, up to the time of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this region was inhabited by a half-hunter, half-industrial race, who, sustained by a prolific soil, had, in the course of centuries, accumulated these structures, partly for purposes of defence, and partly by their peculiar mode of sepulture; and that at that time violent dissensions arose among them, whole tribes were annihilated, and the modern Indian is the relic of this period of storm and violence—a degraded specimen of an inferior race.

We do not believe we can misunderstand the impression which a vast experience of the Indian character seems to have produced upon Mr. Schoolcraft's mind. Pity for the red man gleams forth in every line of this report. Something must be done, he believes, and that immediately; but we cannot perceive he suggests anything beyond their concentration in some portion of national domain at present unoccupied by the white race. Of their being capable of civilization he has evidently despaired. In his "Plan of Indian Colonization West," he reiterates the statement made by Mr. Monroe in 1825. In a message to Congress, the latter says, "Experience has clearly demonstrated that, in their present state, it is impossible to incorporate them in such masses (i. e., masses with independent governments within the States), in any form whatever, into our system. It has also demonstrated, with equal certainty, that without a timely anticipation of, and provision against, the dangers to which they are exposed, under causes which it will be difficult if not impossible to control, their degradation and extinction will be inevitable."

"Here," says Mr. Schoolcraft, "is the whole Indian question, after an experiment of 220 years, (dating the practical colonization of Virginia in 1606) divested of the exciting circumstances by which it was *then*, and has been at several subsequent periods surrounded!"

He therefore has only one hope, that some plan may be adopted whereby the tribes now existing may be coerced by the strong arm of our government into the adoption of a pastoral life, and the abandonment of their predatory habits, and their final settlement in some territory, guaranteed to them exclusively, forever, and under the government of their own chiefs. Yet we cannot perceive that this will be of any permanent benefit to the Indian. The earth belongs to the race that will till it; and the great law of nature, that by the sweat of his brow alone can man maintain his existence, will inevitably extinguish the hunter tribes who once occupied but neglected this garden spot of the earth. It is otherwise with the negro than with the Indian. The former, in the state of slavery for which he is created, under the favoring care of a superior race, cannot be civilized or made a white man by any length of culture, but his condition can be ameliorated, and he indirectly enjoy the benefits of civilization. But the stern, proud Indian cannot be enslaved. The type of the savage beasts among whom he lives, like them he will disappear before the new tide of human life now rolling from the East, and with the buffalo, will have vanished the red man of America.

Art. VIII.—SLAVE LABOR UPON PUBLIC WORKS AT THE SOUTH.

THE CHEAPNESS OF SLAVE LABOR BELONGING TO COMPANIES IN CONSTRUCTING IMPROVEMENTS, COMPARED TO THE SYSTEM OF CONTRACTS.

THE Commonwealth of Virginia having at this time many improvements in progress of construction, it becomes a question of serious importance, as to the cheapest mode of making these improvements. The system of making contracts with individuals is universally adopted in the free, and generally in the slave States. There can be no question but it is the better plan in the Northern States, and can be done cheaper than if companies were to hire labor; but in slave States, where the labor can be owned by the companies, we are decidedly of the opinion, that the grading, masonry, and mechanical work on railroads, and the entire construction of canals, will be less than half the cost it would be under the system of contracts. To sustain this view of the subject, is the object of our essay, for we are deeply interested not only as a large tax payer, but as a stockholder in two of the most important improvements in the State—the James River and Kanawha Company, and the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad Company.

As a lover of our native State, we should delight to see not only those two important improvements completed, but also the other great lines commenced, and some that are contemplated carried on to consummation. Then, we should expect to see all our geographical divisions healed, and our good old Commonwealth take the position in the confederacy to which she is entitled by the extent of her territory, the productiveness of her soil, and her mineral resources. But this cannot be done if the expensive system of contracts be continued; for the State's Treasury is inadequate to sustain these accumulated burdens, and consequently many sections must be deprived of the advantages of improvements, unless some plan be adopted to cheapen their cost. The plan proposed, we are convinced, will have this effect, and ought to be embraced by all the improvement companies in the slaveholding States.

To sustain the position assumed, it is necessary to compare the cost of labor to a company owning the slaves, and a contractor who hires them, for it is generally known that but a small portion of the laborers can possibly belong to the contractors—that they principally rely upon hirelings—and that they have found slaves the most profitable laborers. As proof of this fact, more than three-fourths of the laborers on the James River and Kanawha Canal the last year were slaves.

The average hire the present year of negro men to work on public improvements is about $120. If a railroad or canal company were to purchase at the present price, say $600, the annual cost to the company compared with the hirelings, will be nearly as follows:

Interest on $600	$36
Insurance of life,	10
Total,	$46

less than half, for a hand to be employed in grading or excavating earth, besides the profit to the contractor; but upon mechanical work, a still greater difference exists. Take masonry, for example, and upon all these improvements a vast amount of masonry has to be done. A sprightly negro man will, in six months, make a tolerable mason, and in twelve months an excellent one, for it is a simple trade, easily learned. Yet masons are scarce, and demand a high price, and a contractor offering for work bases his calculations upon paying these high prices. The cost to a company owning slaves who are masons, and to contractors who hire them, will approximate to the following calculation:

Interest on $600,	$36
Insurance on life,	10
Clothing, &c.,	10
200 lbs. bacon per year,	15
3 barrels corn do.	7 50
Vegetables,	2 50
	$81 00

Eighty-one dollars per annum, allowing 250 working days, are equal to 32½ cents per day; whereas the hired mason will cost the contractor $2 50 per day, more than seven times as much as the mason costs the company who owns him. In this estimate there is no allowance made for tools and overseering, as both use the former; and the hired mason, though white, requires as much overseering as the slave. Other mechanical work will show a considerable difference, but perhaps not as much as masonry.

Again, let us make an estimate of what excavation of earth and masonry will cost a company if owning slaves, and the price that is usually paid to contractors. We will base this estimate also upon the cost of negro men at $600:

Interest per annum,	$36 00
Insurance,	10 00
Clothing,	10 00
Feeding,	25 00
Overseering,	15 00
Tools, including blacksmith's work,	10 00
Entire cost of a man in one year,	$106 00

In excavating earth, &c., ten cubic yards are considered an average day's work for a man—allowing 250 working days to a year, a man will excavate 2,500 yards; then divide $106 by 2,500, and excavation will cost the company about four cents per cubic yard. The usual price for excavation of earth paid to contractors is about twelve cents per cubic yard, for eight cents is the lowest price we have ever known to be paid to a contractor, and frequently fifteen cents. The calculation of excavating rock is attended with more difficulty; but still we can approximate sufficiently near to show that the difference of cost, if performed by labor belonging to a company and by contractors, will be greater than in the excavation of earth; for instance, by the calculation we have made, the entire cost to a company owning slaves, for a man, is $106 per annum, allowing 250 working days to the year, and the cost per day is 42 cents; and as the excavation of three cubic yards of rock is considered a fair average day's work per man, by dividing the 42 by 3, we have the cost per cubic yard fourteen cents, whereas the usual contract price is sixty cents. As a proof that this calculation is nearly correct, the writer made in the year 1839, when employed on the James River and Kanawha Company's canal, about $600 to each hand employed in excavating rock; and a friend told him that last year his hands, similarly employed, made from $600 to $700 each.

From the above calculations, we have these results, that slaves belonging to a company can excavate earth for less than half—can excavate rock for about one-fourth—and can construct culverts, bridges, abutments, locks, dams, &c. at about one-seventh that the same kind of work will cost contractors. With these facts, ought companies to hesitate as to the mode of constructing their improvements? and ought not the Legislature to require the State proxies to vote for the adoption of the system, here proved to be so decidedly superior to one almost in universal use, particularly as the State has so large an interest in all the improvements?

Let us test the two systems in the tobacco crop. Suppose a planter were to cultivate tobacco by contract; advertise that proposals would be received to repair —— miles of fence; plough, re-plough, and manure —— acres of land; burn and prepare —— yards of plant land; put up —— thousand tobacco hills, and plant, work, worm, and sucker this tobacco; cut, hang, house, fire, strip, bulk and prize the crop—at what price could he afford to sell this tobacco? We will answer at not less than twenty dollars per hundred; yet, by owning the slaves, he can realize a small profit at five dollars. It may, however, be answered that greater skill is required to make canals or railroads, than is necessary in the cultivation of tobacco; but we beg leave to rejoin and say, that having had much experience in making tobacco and canals, we believe that more sound judgment is necessary in the former, than is required in the latter operation.

We have frequently heard the objection urged against companies making their improvements with slaves belonging to them—that contractors feel a greater interest, and with fewer hands to superintend, will have more work done by their laborers than companies can have performed by their slaves. It is admitted that this might be the case to some inconsiderable extent; but with a good system, and with a man of good common sense to manage the affairs of a company, we feel satisfied that this difference would be inconsiderable. For proof that this opinion is well formed, we refer to a contractor now at work, both on the canal and railroad, (Mr. Chas. Scott,) who has from three to five hundred men employed, (principally slaves,) and yet, from the best information that could obtained, he makes a larger profit in proportion to numbers than the contractors who work, comparatively speaking, but few hands—he has to rely upon a good system and upon overseers, and so would the president of a company. It is readily admitted that, with inefficient officers—with a president, whose only qualification is the ability to write long reports, with beautiful figures of speech and handsomely rounded periods; and who believes it is his only duty to preside at the meeting of the directors—or one whose time is almost entirely occupied with his own concerns—or one who knows nothing of the management of works of this character, nor of the governing and controlling of men, that such presidents might progress with more ease to themselves, and other officers; but with a good system and good officers, we contend that it is not much more difficult to manage one thousand than ten men.

We would recommend the following system for the government of a large number of slaves upon a work of internal improvement. The slaves, we think, ought to be divided into companies of about thirty men, including boys for the driving carts,, if this be required—each company should have an overseer, a cook, and a blacksmith, with all necessary carts, horses and tools—the companies should be located as nearly to each other as the work, with accompanying circumstances, would justify—for about every ten companies an assistant engineer would be necessary, and for about one thousand men, a commissary, to purchase provisions, carts, horses, tools, &c. It should be the duty of the assistant engineer, aided by two sprightly slaves, (for rodmen) to designate particularly by metes and bounds the work to be executed by the overseers—pass along the work intrusted to his supervision as often as possible, noting in a book, or check roll kept for the purpose, the number of hands at work on each section, and at the end of the month make an accurate estimate of the quantity of work done by each overseer.

It should be the duty of every overseer to keep an account of all tools, provisions, &c., received from the commissary, and a check roll of the number of hands at work each day, with the causes of the absence of any hand.

At the end of the month, the quantity of work done by each overseer would indicate to the president his value, and notwithstanding there is great difference in the quality of earth and rock, yet a man of good common sense would soon form a pretty correct judgment of what could be excavated and removed, and also of the value of the overseer, and should any of the overseers prove unworthy, dismiss them and employ others. With such a system as this, well carried into effect, there is no doubt that the work would not only be well executed, but as much done to the hand as is usually obtained by contractors.

Suppose the James River and Kanawha Company had adopted this system at the commencement of their work, what a different aspect would the pecuniary concerns of that company have presented to what they now do! Instead of the stock being nearly worthless, it would have been the most valuable in the United States. Instead of the State being burdened with a heavy debt, contracted principally for this improvement, without a prospect of remuneration, her treasury would now be receiving large dividends from her investment; for we contend, that the amount it cost to construct the canal to Lynchburg would have completed it to the Ohio, and that the greater part, if not the whole amount of the money expended, might have been returned to the State and to the stockholders.

We are aware that this statement has a visionary appearance, but all we ask is to examine our facts and figures, and see if they do not prove to the satisfaction of any unprejudiced mind, that such is the case.

The canal from Richmond to Lynchburg cost nearly $6,000,000; with that sum it is contended that the canal could have been constructed to the Ohio, (whether a sufficient feeder could have been obtained on the Alleghany, we shall not now attempt to discuss,) and much the larger portion, if not the whole of that amount, returned to the State and stockholders.

When the canal was commenced, negro men were worth about $400, but we are willing to make our calculations upon their present selling price, $600. At the commencement of the work we would have bought one thousand negro men, which would have cost $600,000; and used the first year, $400,000 to purchase the necessary carts, horses, and tools, to pay land damages, engineers' salaries, and all other necessary expenditures, which would have been an ample allowance; and the remaining $5,000,000, at interest, would yield $300,000 annually, which would be sufficient for each succeeding year's expenditure, and to purchase as many slaves as would be probably necessary to keep up their number. When the canal was completed to Lynchburg, the income derived from tolls would be increased from $150,000 to $200,000. This sum, after defraying the necessary expenses of the unfinished canal, might have been made a sinking fund, and as the canal progressed, this sinking fund would be increased, until the completion of this great work; when it would, together with the slaves, have been sufficient to pay back the $1,000,000, together with the greater part of the interest annually drawn to carry on the work.

With this system difficulties would be overcome, which, under that of contracts, would be impracticable for the want of funds; for after the net amount of tolls received exceeded the annual expenditure, it would be merely a question of time, and not of cost; for if the net amount of tolls, when the canal reached the Alleghany, exceeded $300,000, (the annual estimated expenditure,) which it certainly would have done, and if the three were required to make the necessary tunnels, (the annual expenditure being less than the annual income from tolls,) the company, when the tunnels were finished, would be richer than when these tunnels were commenced, and the same state of things would continue until its consummation.

But is it too late for that company now to adopt this system? I think not; for no doubt the State could be induced to advance the necessary funds to purchase one thousand men, and by husbanding its resources, these slaves might be supported and pay all the necessary expenditures.

The same system might be applied to railroads, with the exception of the cost of the rails. Take, for example, the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, the grading of which, we are satisfied, might be done for less than half it will cost under the system of contracts. If negro men were purchased as fast as the funds of the company would justify the expenditure, and the first two hundred of the negroes so purchased (except such as might be required for other particular services) put into companies with a skilful and prudent mason to superintend and instruct them, in one year they would be good masons, and whilst learning the trade, effect a large saving over the system of contracts; and at the expiration of that time, their value would be doubled to the company. The same system might be pursued as to carpenters and blacksmiths; and when the company had sufficient funds for the purpose, negroes might be purchased to do part of the excavation of rock and earth, until the road was completed, when a large number will be always required to keep it in repair, to work at the depots in loading and unloading the cars, and in cutting wood and locating it where it may be wanted for the use of the steam-engines.

We have selected the James River and Kanawha Company, and the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad Company, to apply the reasons which induce us to prefer the system above advocated, because we are a stockholder, and have, in addition, a direct personal interest in each of these companies.

In conclusion, we will say, that we ardently desire to see such improvements constructed, as will fully develop the agricultural and mineral resources of this, our native State; but, at the same time, we do not wish such an accumulated debt as must necessarily cause excessive taxation, or the disgraceful alternative, repudiation.

The system proposed will, it is thought, obviate to some extent the danger of these evils, and as such, it is recommended to the attention of the various improvement companies and to our fellow-citizens.

Art. IX.—THE MARITIME PROSPERITY OF CHARLESTON.

[We draw upon the *Charleston Standard* for the material of the present most interesting article.]

In order to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the exact condition of the maritime interests of this port, we have procured the following list of vessels, owned at the present time in this city, registering one hundred and fifty tons and over. The list, of course, could have been greatly, very greatly, augmented by placing upon it the large number of small vessels, of less tonnage, belonging to the place, but that was unnecessary. The schedule, as it stands, is sufficient. It shows that our maritime property has increased at the ratio of forty per cent. within the last two years. This highly gratifying result has been produced almost entirely by the newly awakened spirit of enterprise that is rapidly diffusing itself throughout the City and State. Our people in all sections are fairly aroused; they are at work with a determination to place their State upon a footing, so far as internal prosperity is concerned, with the first of the nation. Nature has lavished upon them all the requisites for commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing greatness; they have opened their eyes to this fact, and are alive to the importance of turning all these blessings to account. They see the necessity of opening better channels of communication to the seaboard, for the more speedy transmission of their products to market. They know that Charleston, in reality, is the most central point, and can be made more easy of access than any other place on the sea-coast. Here, in time, must come, for shipping abroad, a large portion of the products of the great West and South-west. This must eventually become the main depot for the imports and exports of many of the States in the interior—the very heart of the country—including North Carolina, the greater portion of Georgia, the southern part of Kentucky and Ohio, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and the States and Territories still farther west. So soon as our railroad projects are completed, a large amount of the commerce and travel of this vast range of country will be poured into the lap of Charleston. It is "manifest destiny."

The mercantile marine is co-existent with internal prosperity. Our maritime commerce was at its height from 1820 to 1824; but in the latter year, from circumstances which may be directly traced to internal causes, it commenced falling off, and gradually dwindled away until it was reduced to a mere cypher. Within the last few years, however, we are happy to say, it has evinced signs of returning to the glorious path of enterprise. It has risen, and is now rising with a degree of strength and rapidity that bids fair to eclipse the expectations of its most sanguine friends. The main pillars, upon which are based our future wealth and greatness, are our commercial marine and our railroads. They are, to a considerable extent, dependent on each other. At this moment the business success of our merchant vessels is of more importance than any other branch of trade—it is, in fact, the first stepping-stone to prosperity. The bar in our harbor may be removed without a material increase in our shipping interest; but an increase in our shipping interest will not only remove the bar, but will apply the stimulant of individual exertion to the work, in which case it must succeed. We shall refer to these important matters again. In the mean time, we would refer with infinite satisfaction to the following:—

List of Vessels of One Hundred and Fifty Tons burden and upwards, owned in Charleston, S. C.

Name of Vessel.	Class or Denomination.	Tonnage.	Name of Vessel.	Class or Denomination.	Tonnage.
Muscongus	Ship	669.13	Cherokee	Bark	232.91
Alliance	“	524.69	Acadia	“	199.67
Wateree	“	680.74	Delaware	“	198.19
South Carolina	“	1,301.03	Julia Dean	“	298.40
Delia Maria	“	583.87	Convoy	“	249.40
Harkaway	“	545.05	Jedo	“	242.30
Catherine	“	477.69	Delta	Brig	198.31
Gen. Parkhill	“	554.22	Orchilla	“	180.43
John Ravenel	“	700.14	Factor	“	154.56
George A. Hopley	“	249.45	Clarendon	“	182.70
Luminary	“	432.00	Enterprise	“	196.62
Tremont	“	368.14	Louis Walsh	“	152.39
Camillus	“	716.48	Yankee Blade	“	220.84
Franchise	“	699.80	Emma Eger	“	196.73
Susan G. Owens	“	730.11	Saint Andrew	“	157.52
Caroline	“	722.18	Commerce	Ketch	174.06
Noemie	“	547.39	Broadfield	Schooner	165.58
Gondar	“	642.33	St. Lawrence	“	153.25
Isabel	Steamship	1,115.85	Fanny	“	363.23
James Adger	“	1,151.28	Charleston	Steamboat	235.30
Nashville	“	1,220.30	Massasoit	“	178.35
St. Lawrence	Bark	223.40	Marion	“	258.71
Virginia Ann	“	295.39	Gen. Clinch	“	256.16
Como	“	224.69	Wm. Seabrook	“	284.43
Dudley	“	249.68	Florida	“	344.85
Harmony	“	308.64	Nina	“	338.00
Sumter	“	380.70	De Kalb	“	154.52
Isabella	“	355.75	Wm. B. Meares	“	199.69
Susan	“	281 72	Carolina	“	447.32
General Greene	“	242.53	Darlington	“	298.08
Edisto	“	365.84	Jasper	“	247.31
Etiwan	“	325.71	Gov. Dubley	“	408.30

Total tonnage, 25,785 53-95, exclusive of a large number of schooners and sloops, being an increase of 40 per cent. in the last two years.

Art. X.—AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CITIES—BALTIMORE, 1853.

No. IV.

THE following statistics are made up from the *Baltimore Prices Current*, and are for the year ending 30th December, 1853. Those for previous years are condensed in our INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES.

COFFEE.—The importations of this important article of our trade have fallen off somewhat the past year, as will be seen by our table below.

This, however, is to be attributed to the difficulty that has existed of executing orders at Rio, on account of the advanced prices there. Of Laguayra, there is likewise a decrease in the importations. The stock on hand in this market January 1st, 1853, was 32,500 bags; the importations of all kinds during the year amount to 208,702 bags, being 44,990 bags less than in the year 1852, and about 100,000 bags less than 1851. Stock on hand January 1st, 1854, 40,000 bags—a small portion only being in first hands, and the residue divided pretty generally among the trade.

In referring to the files of this paper for the past year, we find that the market for Rio opened very quiet in January, but grew more active towards the close of that month, the ruling prices being for run of cargo 9 a 9½ cts. February opened brisk, and prices slightly improved, reaching for prime parcels 10 cents; these quotations continued to rule with but little variation until the beginning of summer; in the meanwhile, however, large purchases were made on speculation—based upon statements contemplating a short crop in Brazil—at an average of 9¼ cents for run of cargoes. Subsequently the market again became dull and inactive, principally on account of the large stock in importers' hands, which in the month of July amounted to 87,000 bags; prices were nevertheless well sustained at 9½ a 10 cents until the close of the month of August, when a more active demand prevailed, and the article began to improve, the stock sensibly decreasing under large sales and light importations. This feeling continued during the month of September, the quotations being 11½ a 12 cents. Subsequently, the market declined again to 10¾ a 11½ cents, and continued to rule at those figures until the middle of November, when it was considerably relieved by large shipments south, leaving a reduced stock. Favorable advices were also received from Brazil confirming previous intelligence of a short crop and enhanced prices, and a corresponding improvement was realized here; since when, prices have continued to advance, the market closing firmly at 13 for prime, 12½ cents for good, and 12 cents for ordinary Rio. The average price during the year has been 10 cents; during last year, under larger importations, it was 9¼ cents per pound.

IMPORTS OF COFFEE AT THIS PORT FOR FOUR YEARS.

	1853.	1852.	1851.	1850.
From Rio Janeiro	182,338	224,082	266,240	150,194
From Laguayra From Porto Cabello	12,241	16,241	21,081	24,040
From Maracaibo		554	5,873	2,754
From West Indies	3,367	8,535	8,114	6,532
From Coastwise	10,756	4,280	3,885	3,934
Total	208,702	253,692	305,103	187,454

COAL.

Receipts of Coal at Baltimore for the past nine years, to the 31st of December.

	Cumberland.		Anthracite.	
1845	16,600	tons.	90,000	tons.
1846	18,393	"	100,000	"
1847	50,259	"	110.000	"
1848	60,289	"	125,000	"
1849	71,699	"	140,000	"
1850	146,645	"	160,000	"
1851	163,855	"	200,000	"
1852	256,000	"	125,000	"
1853	406,000	"	183,000	"

Flour.—The total inspections of both Howard street and City Mills flour for the last year show a slight falling off compared with those of 1852. Among the principal causes assigned for this decrease is the short crop of wheat raised in some sections of Western Virginia, from which a large proportion of our supplies of flour are obtained, and the unusually low stage of water in all the streams, from which the millers have suffered very materially. It will be seen, at the same time, that the receipts of wheat are about the same as those of last year, which is accounted for by the fact last mentioned, and it is supposed that but for the long-continued scarcity of water, the inspections in Baltimore would have amounted to some three hundred thousand barrels more than the quantity given below.

We present as follows a brief review of the course of our market for the last twelve months. Few years have been attended with more remarkable fluctuations in this exceedingly sensitive article than the one just closed, nor do we think it has often been the case that so active an interest has been felt in its rise or fall by those not immediately interested in the trade. The rupture between two great European powers has been watched in all its phases as affecting breadstuffs, and as the prospect of peace becomes less and less apparent, the whole continent being now the same as involved in the "last resort of kings," it deeply concerns the people of this country to know the probable extent of a future foreign demand, so long as we maintain friendly relations with all the world.

Howard street.—The market opened active in January, under favorable European advices, with large sales at $5 18¾ a 5 25, and continued to rule at those figures for the remainder of the month. February opened with an improvement, the sales being at $5 25 a 5 37½, but the market declined again in a few days to $5 12½, and on the 18th to $4 81¼ a 4 87½. During the rest of the month it was unsteady, running up to $5 25, and closing at $5 00. March opened dull at $5 00, and on the 11th March market declined to $4 75, at which it ruled quite steady for some days, and then further declined to $4 62½, at which the month closed. April commenced dull at same figures, but the prices improved on the 8th, the sales being at $4 81¼, and on the 15th to $5 00, but declined again to $4 75 on the 21st, and for the balance of the month fluctuated between $4 75 a 4 87½. May opened at $4 87½, but market declined on the 20th to $4 68¾, and closed at $4 56¼. In June prices ranged from $4 50 a 4 75, principally at $4 56¼ a 4 62½. In July the market opened at $4 62½, and continued to improve, reaching $5 25 on the 22d—the advance being mainly attributed to the small stock on hand and the active demand which then existed, but towards the close of the month the foreign news created a decline, sales being made at $5 00 a 5 12½. In August the market was brisk under favorable European advices, and prices further advanced to $5 25 a 5 37½ but declining again to $5 12½ a 5 25 at the close. September opened active under continued favorable news from Europe, and prices advanced to $5 50 on the 2d, and to $6 12½ on the 15th; prices again receded on the 23d to $5 87½, and closed on the 30th at $6 25. October opened at $6 25, market advanced to $6 75 the first week, and on the 14th touched $7 00, declining again on the 21st to $6 25, at which it continued steady through the following week, closing, however, at $6 37½. November opened at $6 37½, and under further foreign news, the market again advanced to $7 00 on the 4th, declining again on the 18th to $6 37½, and closing at $6 75. In December this price prevailed for a time, but the market declined on the 17th to $6 25, advancing again towards the close to $7.

FLOUR INSPECTION FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS.

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Howard Street	474,619	549,233	533,549	729,532	593,807
City Mills	245,753	295,236	324,158	486,096	439,590
Susquehanna	16,272	17,057	23,399	51,317	65,587
Ohio	—	—	—	6,291	56,210
Family	27,874	35,171	34,494	33,929	26,409
Total	764,518	896,697	915,600	1,307,165	1,181,603
Rye	8,011	5,480	7,578	6,450	5,394
Corn Meal	54,837	45,360	33,145	57,138	38,478

GRAIN.—It affords us much satisfaction to be enabled, after an almost incredible amount of labor, together with the generous assistance of one of the largest houses in the trade, to spread before our readers to-day another full and reliable exhibit of the receipts of this highly important article of the business of our port, which will be found under their appropriate heads below, as well as the disposition of the same during the past year. Whilst there appears, by this exhibit, to be a slight falling off in wheat, it is more than made up by the receipts of corn, which swell the aggregate even above that of 1852. The crop of wheat, as a general thing, in the sections from whence Baltimore draws her supplies, was large, and in quality superior to that of last year.

Wheat.—The year's business opened with very light receipts, which continued, notwithstanding a steady active demand, until the receipts of new crop, which was early in July. Sales of white parcels were made early in January, at $1 18 a $1 23, and $1 14 a $1 17 for red. In February and March supplies continued light, although at the close of the latter month a decline took place, and in the beginning of April the quotations were $1 08 a $1 12 for white, and $1 a $1 04 for red. From this time the market gradually improved, until it reached $1 15 a $1 17 for white, and $1 12 a $1 14 for red, but receded subsequently. In July, new crop sold at $1 10 a $1 15 for red, and $1 15 a $1 18 for white, under the influence of European advices. Much of the wheat which came to market within the ensuing month proved damp and sprouted, or otherwise unsuitable for shipment or immediate grinding. Since that time prices for good parcels have continued to improve as the market advanced abroad. The closing prices are the highest realized during the year, being for red $1 55 a $1 60, white $1 63 a $1 68. The receipts have been as follows:

WHEAT.

By the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad	bush.	185,000
“ “ Susquehanna Railroad	“	144,263
“ Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad	“	5,000
“ Tide-Water Canal and wagons	“	322,370
“ Water-borne from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina	“	2,755,332
Total		3,411,965

Which has been disposed of as follows:—

Shipped coastwise	1,091,000
“ to Europe	242,459
“ British North American Colonies	5,789
Ground by city millers	1,727,017
Stock held by millers	240,000
“ others, and on shipboard not cleared	112,000
Total	3,411,965

The stock held by millers, December 31st, 1852, was estimated at 320,000 bushels.

Corn.—January, receipts were fair; sales of white at 64 a 66 cents; yellow, 60 a 64 cents, ruling quite steady during the month. February, white 55 a 57 cents; yellow, 60 a 62 cents. March, prices had declined to 51 a 52 cents for white, and 55 a 56 for yellow. Subsequently the market improved, the variations being but slight until near the close of May, the quotations then being, for white 55 a 57 cents, and yellow 60 a 61 cents; still further advancing, reaching July 21 to 70 cents for white, and 69 cents for yellow. In August, prices were, for white 60 a 62 cents, and yellow 68 cents. In September, sales of white were at 70 a 71 cents, yellow 74 a 75 cents. In October, opened at 82 a 84 cents for white, 80 a 82 cents for yellow; and closed at 64 a 67 cents for white, and 68 to 70 cents for yellow. In November new crop began to arrive, and sold at 58 a 63 cents for white and yellow; and during the remainder of the year fluctuated considerably, closing quotations being 60 a 62 cents for white, and 64 a 66 cents for yellow. We give the receipts as follows:—

CORN.

By the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad	250,000
“ “ Susquehanna Railroad	207,978
“ Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad	12,000
“ Tide-Water Canal and wagons	90,000
Water-borne	3,346,516
Total	3,906,494

Which has been disposed of as follows:—

Shipments coastwise	2,553,189
“ to Europe	138,322
“ to West Indies and British North American Colonies	89,983
“ to K. D., corn meal	150,000
Taken by distillers	575,000
City Consumption	400,000
Total	3,906,494

The following are the comparative receipts of grain for four years:

	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Wheat	2,300,000	2,600,000	3,451,150	3,411,965
Corn	3,250,500	2,650,000	3,745,900	3,906,494
Oats	600.000	450,000	800,000	780,000
Rye	140,000	150,000	165,000	160,000
Peas	30,000	15,000	10,000	13,000
Beans	5,000	3,000	5,000	4,000
Total	6,325,000	5,868,000	8,177,050	8,275,459

TOBACCO STATEMENT.

Showing the Quantity in the several Warehouses on the 1*st of January,* 1853, *the Inspections by each House for the year ending December* 31, *Deliveries for the same period, and Stock on hand January* 1, 1854.

State Tobacco Warehouses.	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	Total.
Stock January 1, 1853	2,142	1,869	1,882	3,124	2,943	11,960
Inspections of 1853	10,678	9,865	8,714	7,583	11,827	48,667
Total	12,820	11,734	10,596	10,707	14,770	60,627
Deliveries in 1853	11,404	10,564	9,077	8,351	11,452	50,848
Stock January, 1, 1854.	1,416	1,170	1,519	2,356	3,318	9,779

NOTE.—Add Tobacco on shipboard not cleared, 760 hhds., and the total stock on hand, January 1, 1854, will be 10,539 hhds.

The following Statement shows the Stock in Warehouses on the 1st of January, 1853, and the quantity of each kind inspected for the year ending December 31.

Stock in warehouses January 1, 1853 ....hhds.		11,960
Inspections from January 1, to December 31, 1853, viz. :—		
Maryland	29,248	
Ohio	17,947	
Kentucky	1,380	
Virginia	78	
Pennsylvania	14	
		48,667
To which add received from District of Columbia. and not inspected		600
		61,227

EXPORTED, 1853.

To Bremen	18,947	
To Amsterdam	9,980	
To Rotterdam	10,395	
To France	5,380	
To Trieste	1,619	
To England	2,773	
All other ports, including coastwise	1,594	
		50,688
Stock on hand January 1, 1854		10,539

Manufactured Tobacco.—The receipts of this article within the past year have been sufficient to meet a very large increased and increasing demand in our market, dealers who have been in the habit of going eastward for their purchases having found stocks here not only well assorted, but of a character to meet any demand. Prices within the past few months have not been remunerating to manufacturers, but the probability of their doing a materially curtailed business during the present year, the high prices of the raw material, and the firmness of the markets in Virginia, together with large European orders for that article, incline us to the belief that better prices may be obtained for the manufactured article before the closing out of the present stock on our market. We quote—

Fancy Tobacco	50c.	a	$2 00
Pound lumps, No. 1 brands	30	a	40
" medium	20	a	28
" common	10	a	18
Best Brands, 5's, 8's, and 10's lump	17	a	22
Medium	14	a	16
Common	10	a	13
16's, 18's, and 20's lump	8	a	10
Ladies' twist and best ½ lb. rolls	21	a	25

WHISKY.—We are, as usual, at a loss to determine the exact amount of business done in this article during the year. From what information we have been enabfed to glean from several very reliable sources, however, we are justified in stating that the receipts have amounted to but little short of 146,000 bbls., from Pennsylvania, New-York, and Ohio, and inclusive of the business done by the four city distilleries. The following is as close an estimate as we are enabled to make of the receipts at present, and although not wholly derived from direct data, may be relied upon as very nearly correct. Those set down as per railroads and the Tide-Water Canal are right as far as they go:—

Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad	bbls.	29,904
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad		12,156
Susquehanna and Tide-Water Canal		12,698
Coastwise vessels		25,000
Wagons		6,000
Turned out by city distilleries		60,000
Total receipts		145,758

PRICES OF RAW WHISKY IN BARRELS AT BALTIMORE, ON THE 1st AND 15TH OF EACH MONTH OF 1853.

	Cents.		Cents.
January 1st	21¼ a 23	15th	24½ a 25
February 1st	24 a 24½	15th	23½ a 24
March 1st	23½ a 24	15th	22½ a 23
April 1st	23½ a 25	15th	22½ a 23
May 1st	22½. a 23	15th	22½ a 23
June 1st	22½ a 23	15th	22½ a 23
July 1st	23 a 23½	15th	23½ a 24
August 1st	26½ a 27	15th	26 a 26½
September 1st	26 a 26½	15th	29½ a 30
October 1st	28½ a 29	15th	32 a 32½
November 1st	30 a 31	15th	27½ a 28
December 1st	27½ a 28	15th	27½ a 28

INSPECTIONS OF FISH AT BALTIMORE IN 1853.

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	Condem'd.	1853. Total.	1852. Total.	1851. Total.
Mackerel......bbls.	547	542	9,493	1,174	11,756	20,581	29,601
" ....halves.	197	237	1,223	26	1,683	5,513	6,629
Herrings......bbls.	26,758	465		8,492	35,715	28,348	22,404
" ....halves.	1,841	15		66	1,922	1,608	1,513
Shad.........bbls.	5,877	276		55	6,208	4,702	3,031
" ....halves.	905	22			927	726	1,144
Codfish........bbls.	186			10	196	278	174
Salmon	77				78	57	67
Scalefish	10				10	22	142
Whitefish				18	18		

GUANO.—As generally anticipated, the importations of the favorite article under this head, Peruvian, have greatly increased during the past year, not only at this port, but at other ports of the United States, and we need hardly add that if the government agents had been enabled to supply our markets with four times the quantity imported, it would have been readily disposed of. The demand is in fact only limited by the supply; but arrangements having been made by which a far greater quantity may be received in this country than ever heretofore, there is no reason to believe that agriculturists will again be subjected to the inconveniences from which they have suffered so materially within the past year. So deficient has been the supply, notwithstanding the marked increase of the importations, that other descriptions of guano have been substituted to an unusual extent, and when obtained from speculators, the most exorbitant prices have frequently been paid for them. Recently discovered deposits of this excellent fertilizer have attracted the attention of some of our importers, and there has been quite a considerable quantity of Mexican received at Baltimore during the last three months, amounting in all to about 4,000 tons, including several cargoes from the Caribbean Sea.

There have been imported into the United States during the year 1853, in 107 vessels, 70,530 tons of Peruvian Guano; of which 50 vessels have arrived at Baltimore, and 57 vessels at other ports.

IMPORTS OF PERUVIAN GUANO AT BALTIMORE FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS.

1849	2,700 tons.
1850	6,800 "
1851	25,000 "
1852	25,500 "
1853	32,152 "

IMPORTATIONS OF SUGAR AT THE PORT OF BALTIMORE FOR THE LAST FOURTEEN YEARS.

	From New-Orleans.		From West Indies.	
	Hhds.	Bbls.	Hhds.	Bbls.
1840	7,433	233	8,007	1,905
1841	4,184	11	8,750	4,006
1842	6,103	264	10,828	1,253
1843	7,642	741	7,483	735
1844	5,172	114	10,885	436
1845	12,602	413	5,161	209
1846	9,845	517	6,541	224
1847	6,013	183	18,240	4,236
1848	10,279	3,268	14,841	2,393
1849	9,851	2,384	12,570	5,654
1850	11,066	3,146	11,454	1 420
1851	7,174	3,432	16,732	2,542
1852	13,153	307	12,619	2,653
1853	10,476	383	2,006	13,967

Art. XI.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN CONVENTION IN CHARLESTON.

No. II.

In the last issue of the Review, we published a detailed list of the members of this highly interesting body, together with the names of the officers elected and the resolutions which were finally adopted.

In order that our readers may be possessed of a complete record of the proceedings of the Convention, which will not only be of present interest and value, but will be most useful for future reference, we shall in this and the next number continue, and, if possible, conclude the subject. For our material it will be necessary to draw upon the ample reports of the city press, and chiefly upon those of the *Courier*, which have been furnished us for the purpose.

FIRST DAY.

Hon. W. C. Dawson was conducted to the Chair, amid general applause. He returned his thanks most forcibly and feelingly for this renewed mark of confidence, received from a large representation of the South. Under all the circumstances,he felt constrained to accept the honor on condition that it was admitted and supposed he had first declined it in good faith and sincerity. The duties of such a post were far more arduous than would be supposed by a casual spectator, and he only felt assured by the conviction that the confidence which placed him there, would induce his fellowd-dlegates to support and sustain him under his assumed task. He then proceeded briefly, but most forcibly and pertinently, to review the topics that would naturally and properly engage the attention of the Convention, which were chiefly those embodied in the resolutions adopted by the Memphis Convention. He laid special stress, however, on the improvements demanded by the state of the Mississippi river, both as to its mouth and its current, which he contended should receive the timely attention of this body, and of the Federal Councils, "so far up as the Constitution ran," and urged prominently the necessity of Hydrostatic guages to note and record the changes affected by the current on the banks of that noble outlet.

He was frequently interrupted by vehement and continued applause.

On motion of Mr. Thomas P. Hutchins, of Maryland, the Vice-Presidents were requested to act as a committee to prepare and report a plan of voting for the Convention.

G. A. Trenholm, Esq., who in the consultation meeting had been appointed Chairman of the South Carolina delegation, offered the following resolutions:—

"That this Convention recommends in the most earnest manner, to the people of the South, and more especially to merchants in Southern seaports, to embark a suitable portion of their capital in the construction or purchase of ships, to convey directly to foreign ports our agricultural and other productions, and to bring home return cargoes of foreign commodities.

"That a commercial marine capable of this service would relieve the South from an enormous tribute now paid to other States of this Union and foreign countries, and turn the gains of this lucrative and invigorating pursuit into new elements of Southern opulence and strength."

Accompanying these resolutions was a report entering into details on the subject.

Mr. Trenholm also offered a resolution that "in the opinion of this Convention a material reduction or a repeal of the duties now imposed on railroad iron, would materially conduce to the interests of all the States, and that the Convention do earnestly recommend the matter to the immediate and favorable attention of Congress."

Mr. Trenholm also offered a resolution to the following effect:—That this Convention recommend to all the States here represented an exemption for one year upon importations of all foreign commodities directly imported into a Southern port.

These resolutions and documents were referred to the General Committee on Business, hereinafter named.

Mr. Morgan, of Virginia, submitted, as information, sundry reports and proceedings of the Central Southern Rights Association of Virginia, which were referred also to the General Committee.

Mr. Marshall, of Miss., submitted a resolution declaring—

That it is the deliberate sense of this Convention, that the object for which we are convened is the general development and maintenance of the rights and resources of the Southern and Southwestern States; and while we regard Commerce as the great colonizer, civilizer and christianizer of mankind, which, with its various carrying interests, demands our special consideration, we also recognize as our legitimate business, all other matters of a practical character, tending to the accomplishment of the general design; embracing Education, Agriculture, Home Manufactures, Navigation, and the occupation of our vast uncultivated regions.

In support of the above resolution, Mr. Marshall addressed the Convention in the following terms:—

Mr. President—I desire to submit this resolution for the action of this body, at this period, for the purpose of enabling us to define our position before the world. The Convention is called "Commercial," but we do not wish it understood that its sole object is to deal in matters that smell of the Custom-House or the Ledger. Yet, the idea has gone abroad, that our labors are confined to the interest of trade alone. If I understand the true position of this body, this is altogether an erroneous conclusion.

But the conclusion has been reached by very many intelligent citizens of the States represented here, through the imperfect representations made by the news press, of the views of former meetings of this body. We wish to correct these false ideas. We want the whole sisterhood of States represented here to feel that all subjects of practical interest to them, are legitimate matters for our consideration and action. The Convention is not the creature of any class,—and it is only called the "Commercial Convention" by way of eminence, because Commerce is the great Briarean agent of colonizing, civilizing and christianizing the world.

But, Mr. President, we wish so to define these views, that every gentleman who may have ideas to suggest or plans to propose, having a tendency to improve and advance the general well-being of the States, may feel that he is acting in harmony with the general design and spirit of this body, and not contrary to it, when he shall appear in our midst and take part in our toils and discussions. There are many matters of vital importance to our section of the Union that do not at the first blush show their connection with trade and its carrying interests—its railroads, ships and steamers.

Some of these belong to the great work of Education, and the books and operations essential for the carrying forward of that work. And can these matters be neglected or overlooked by us? Why, these States are purchasing thousands, and hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of school books annually that are got up, printed and published in the other sections of this country, not well adapted to our latitudes, nor always teaching the doctrines of philanthropy and Providence, on which we rest for our support, defence, and responsibility.

Nor do any of those productions surpass in any way similar works which Southern scholarship has, to some extent, prepared, and may, by the proper fosterings of Southern institutions and Southern men, produce within our own borders in unlimited abundance.

Mr. President, men everywhere are hobby-horsical; and it is fortunate for the world that they are so. The concentration of genius, energy, and perseverance, will insure success in almost any enterprise. The several gentlemen composing this Convention have their favorite schemes; and hence they have matured their views and consolidated their arguments on them. The merchant, the manufacturer, the navigator, the railroadist, have their plans; and they are plans that refer at once to the full development of the country. And we say to each and all of them, God speed you. But when your unopened forests shall be inhabited, and thousands of our population shall pass on to sunset, what provision shall they find made for the necessities that will press upon them?

Sir, every bar of railroad iron laid westward is pregnant with at least as large a family as that contained in Noah's ark. And when those forest homes are established, we want their hearths cheered and illuminated with the periodicals of our own presses; and the field schools, the colleges, and the universities taught from standard works produced by our own authors, philosophers, and printers. And, Mr. President, I rejoice that both at the Convention last June, at Memphis, and this morning also, again, you were pleased, in such powerful terms and arguments, to insist on the importance of these matters.

But we desire to obtain the deliberate, and, if possible, the unanimous expression of this distinguished body on the general matter of the entire resolution. We want your views stereotyped. Then, in all coming time, men occupying different positions, and cherishing plans and views full of good things for the people and posterity, will feel that they are in the legitimate sphere of their rights and duty, when they take part with us, though commerce and railroads may not be their favorite hobbies.

Nor is this the only good that may result. The people, the press and the parties interested in those local improvements, which these assemblies may, from time to time, endeavor to facilitate, will not view with a narrow and jaundiced eye the action of their members, if they do not adjourn to the spot of greatest interest to them with the arms of the knight of the ditch, canal or railroad on their shoulders, to perform in person the work so desirable to be done.

Another consideration of great moment is the fact, that men of great wisdom, experience and sagacity devised this Convention; and men of sound judgment and distinguished practical sense have united with them in the expression of the opinion that its meetings should be kept up from year to year. And if this be done, who can tell how multifarious will be the fields of future labor, or calculate the amount of good that may be accomplished?

We know that some unreflecting men have asked, and others will continue to ask, what good can be achieved by a voluntary convention? If no other good results, and no other fruit of our assembling shall be found hereafter, the simple advantages of becoming known, each to the other, and exchanging our views and sharing the hospitalities of our neighbors, and being thus drawn into more intimate relations, and thereby cemented into one common brotherhood, will compensate the States, and those who may represent them, a thousand times over. But, in order to realize the great practical results which must follow, sooner or later, we must welcome to discussion and development every question of practical moment that may ask a response or a solution, and let it be everywhere understood that the Convention will so act.

The resolution then took the usual course.

On motion, the rules of the Congressional House of Representatives, so far as applicable, were adopted for the Convention.

T. A. Parham, Esq., of the *Chattanooga Advertiser*, and a delegate from Tennessee, who was occupying one of the seats assigned to the Press, called the attention of the Convention to the difficulty experienced by his brethren of the editorial corps, as to names. The names of gentlemen offering resolutions were not in all cases known to the chair, and he hoped the proper steps would be taken to afford information to those who wished to report the proceedings.

At the suggestion of several other members, it was finally agreed that the Vice-Presidents announce the names of speakers from the several States.

It was also ordered, on motion, that the daily sessions of the Convention should extend from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M.

At 3 P. M., the Convention adjourned. The General Committee met for a few minutes, and appointed Lieut. M. F. Maury as their Chairman.

SECOND DAY.

The Convention met at the appointed hour, and was called to order by the President, Hon. W. C. Dawson, of Georgia.

The Journal of Monday's proceedings was read by Mr. De Saussure, the Secretary, who afterwards read a report of the Committee of Arrangements, on the following points:

1st. Requesting members of the Convention to wear their badges conspicuously.

2d. Informing the Convention that the Reception Room (Market Hall) was open from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M., and would be furnished with the latest dates of newspapers, supplied by the press of Charleston, and with stationery for the use of Delegates.

3d. Requesting the General Committee of the Convention to use the Reception Room, if necessary, during the session of the Convention, as it will be furnished with all necessary conveniences.

Mr. Oakey, of Louisiana, offered a resolution requesting the President to furnish the Secretary with a copy of the address delivered by him on taking the Chair, that it might be published with the proceedings of the Convention.

The letter of J. D. B. De Bow, Esq., (which appeared in the *Courier* of Monday), was read by the Secretary, on motion of Hon. C. C. Clay, Sr., of Ala., and will be found below.

"WASHINGTON, *April* 5, 1854.

"DEAR SIR:—I cannot but regret that the pressing requirements of a public office will prevent my attendance at the approaching Convention in Charleston, to which, in the name of the committee, you have so kindly invited me. The regret is heightened by the reflection that I must be debarred the satisfaction of revisiting my native city under circumstances the most auspicious, and of mingling in agreeable and instructive intercourse with intelligent citizens from every section of the South and West, who, I see by the papers, are to be present, and with whom I have had the honor of serving in several of the great conventions that have been held, beginning with that of Memphis, in 1845, memorable from the presence and action of Mr. Calhoun.

"It is difficult to resist the evidence that these conventions, originating from the interference of other sections in the policy and institutions of the South, though convening afterwards upon purely industrial grounds, have contributed largely to that great development which has been exhibited everywhere in the last eight years throughout the South, extending her railroads, enlarging and diversifying her commerce and manufactures, stimulating her agriculture, inviting and concentrating population, leading to new combinations, and to still higher hopes, and fixing upon all minds the conviction, growing each day stronger, that in these great yet long-neglected elements of power, more than in political agitation and party platforms, is the South to vindicate, if vindicate she does again, her right to an equal rank and position in the Union.

"Nor have these been their only influences. They have torn the veil from the eyes of the South, and brought her to see and feel, in the humiliation which such knowledge must bring, that, with all of her population, and wealth, she has been, even in matters not of a material character, the willing vassal of other sections: reading, learning, or admiring only what may be found in their books, periodicals, and newspapers; in their schools and colleges; on the routes of their railroads; in their thriving cities; at their crowded watering-places; which, to the exclusion of everything of the kind at home, she has fostered and supported. This, too, without reciprocity, and in the face of the fact, that the power she was thus bolstering up, grown wanton and arrogant, has been pressing upon her rights and institutions, and offering, through its "provisos," in forced exchange for inalienable birthrights, the merest mess of pottage.

"In all the modes in which the South has been paying tribute—in her commerce and manufactures, in her carrying trade, in her education, and her travels—it would be fair to assume that 100,000,000 annually have been abstracted from the capital, which otherwise would have accumulated in her midst. What a country would she have been with this money retained at home! What ships and navies possessed! What dense metropolitan and magnificent cities! What manufacturing establishments, making every hill and valley vocal with the whirl of machinery! What railroads, radiating to every village and town, like the arteries from the human heart! What watering-places, crowded with wealth, and fashion, and beauty! What schools and colleges, in which her sons were reared to fidelity to their native hearths! What dense population, what wealth, and what power!

"I have not referred, though I ought to have done so, to those earlier Conventions of 1838–9, convening at Charleston, and Augusta, and Macon, consecrated by the presence and co-operating action of the Harpers and Haynes, McDuffies and Elmores, over whose ashes the best tears of the South have been shed. When were documents ever put forth to the world more masterly than the reports of those Conventions? When was the true policy of the South so vindicated, or the great principles of political science established and confirmed, which lie at the foundation of all national power and development? Could those noble patriots return from their graves, and visit us to-day, how would their hearts swell with pride at the spectacle which is exhibited! Well could their precepts be altogether followed, and their bright examples imitated.

"I will not attempt, in the brief space allotted in this letter, to indicate any of the important subjects which have occurred to me, from time to time, as proper for the action of the Convention. There are two or three, however, to which I will barely allude, as of vital interest in the present condition of the South and West, and upon which I had prepared, and intended some remarks, had it been possible for me to be present. I refer to the deepening of the Passes at the Mouth of the Mississippi, the reduction for a period of time, or the entire abrogation, of duties upon railroad iron, and the adoption of the policy, by the Federal Government, (by the cession of alternate sections, advocated at one time by Mr. Calhoun,) of returning to railroad companies a portion, if not the whole, of the additional value imparted by them to the public domain which they intersect, upon the same principle that private landholders voluntarily tax themselves.

"Time nor space admits of an argument upon either of these propositions, though I have upon the table before me collected, with some pains, material upon each sufficient, I think, to establish incontrovertibly its justice, expedience, and constitutionality.

"The railroad system of the country is increasing at the rate of 2,000 miles per annum, and at the present duty will pay yearly into the national treasury $6,000,000, without conferring any material benefit upon the iron interests, for whom this duty was intended, who are confessedly able to supply but a small portion of the demand, and who, if they were able, the facts satisfactorily prove, have in this particular little or nothing to fear from foreign competition. Under a repeal of the duties in 1832, heavy imports of iron were made for the benefit of railroad companies in the old States, and now it would seem but fair that the new States, in the infancy of their population, and in the paucity of their capital, should enjoy a like advantage—an advantage which will eventually be felt by every section of the Union.

"The opening of the Mississippi, and adoption of the land system above referred to, are interesting to most of the States represented in the Convention, and more particularly to my own State of Louisiana.

"I cannot but believe that a memorial to Congress, setting out and defending these measures, emanating from a Convention every way so respectable, must have great, and perhaps controlling influence, and I trust that such a memorial will be adopted.

"In conclusion, let me express the earnest desire that the sittings of the Convention will be regularly provided for, at such places and seasons in the future, as shall seem most convenient. It was proposed in New-Orleans in 1851, that the Southern Convention, then in session, should resolve itself into an association for the promotion of the interests of the Southern and Western States, meeting alternately at Charleston, Memphis, New-Orleans, Mobile, St. Louis, Richmond, &c. Would not Richmond be an admirable selection for the next meeting, a short time previous to the opening of Congress?

"If the gentlemen who attend at Charleston will resolve that this shall be done, and resolve to be present themselves, and to influence their several communities to be represented, the work will already be accomplished. Calmly, yet boldly, let us advance in this great work of regeneration at the South, without the spirit of recrimination—without sectional bitterness or enmities, but acting towards others upon the broad platform of duty to ourselves.

"Your obedient servant,

"J. D. B. De Bow."

"H. W. Conner, Esq.

Senator James C. Jones, of Tennessee, introduced resolutions declaring that the Pacific Railroad is a matter of the greatest national importance, beyond the ability of individual enterprise, and recommending, therefore, to the General Government to secure, by all Constitutional means, the right of way through Mexico, by what is called the Southern route, and to take measures for constructing the same immediately. The resolutions were received with much applause, and the mover announced his intention to address the Convention to-morrow (this day) on the subject, at length. For this purpose they were laid on the table.

Myer Myers, Esq., Norfolk, Va., addressed the Convention in a forcible and earnest manner, on the subject of direct trade and intercourse between the Southern ports and Europe, and offered resolutions looking to the establishment of a line of steamers for that purpose. The resolutions were referred to the General Committee, according to the usual practice of the Convention.

Various other resolutions were offered on the subject of a Pacific Railroad connection. Among others, by Gen. Combs, of Ky., Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Miss., and others—all of which were referred.

Mr. Norcross, of Ga., offered some remarks on the inefficiency and futility of resolutions, and efforts on paper. One of the most obvious and most sensibly felt wants of the South, in her attempts at self-development, was a deficiency of capital. He offered resolutions on the subject, contemplating means and efforts to induce the application and location of capital among us—which were referred as usual.

Albert Pike, Esq., offered resolutions on the Pacific Railroad question. He deprecated and denounced reliance or dependence on the General Government, which he contended would only build a road, if at all, through free soil. He recommended the formation of a Pacific Railroad Company to secure the right of way from Mexico, and the Indian tribes,—Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks. These tribes, he believed, would take at least three millions of stock in the enterprise.

He also recommended the appointment of a special committee, to address the Governors of the several States interested, with the view of securing charters and co-operation from the several Legislatures, by extra sessions, if necessary.

Mr. Pike's resolutions and remarks were received with enthusiastic applause.

Dr. Gibbon, of the United States Branch Mint, Charlotte, N. C., offered resolutions as to a uniformity of standard, &c., in coinage, and the development of Southern mining interests.

Mr. Nelson Tift, of Ga., offered resolutions recognizing and declaring the advantages and necessities of a railroad system, connecting all important points of the Southern States, and prescribing the terms on which he contended Congress should aid the work by grants of land.

A delegate from Virginia offered resolutions declaring that the Federal Government should make an offer of mediation between Russia and Turkey, in order to prevent a general European war, which would necessarily inflict great commercial distress on the country, and especially on the Southern States.

After a most eloquent eulogy on Gen. Winfield Scott, he suggested his name, with Ex-President Fillmore and Hon. A. P. Butler, of S. C., as proper persons to take charge of the delicate duty of interfering as mediators or peace commissioners.

Mr. C. K. Marshall, of Miss., also spoke in favor of these resolutions.

He considered the Czar of Russia one of the greatest philanthropists of the age, and thought our government should say to him, in substance: "If you cannot rule your people according to our notions, do the best you can, and *clothe them in cotton* at all events."

His speech was studded with points of pathos, humor, and illustration, and was received with much applause, not only by the Convention, but by the crowded array in the galleries, including some of the best specimens of the Southern fair sex. He hoped that the action of this Convention, in view of the present condition of European affairs, and the state of China, would open new marts for the great staples of the South. The Southern States liked to take their tea—Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, &c., could give cotton in exchange. Louisiana could furnish sugar, and Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky. &c., could ask the Czar, and our other new acquaintances of the East, to take a cigar.

Mr. Nelson Tift, of Ga., offered a resolution, providing for a special committee, to report on the most simple, practicable, and Constitutional means in the reach of the Southern States, which would defend and secure their rights in the Union.

Gen. Tilghman, of Md., objected to the resolution, as foreign to the purposes of the Convention.

Senator Jones, of Tenn., thought it might at least be referred to the Business Committee, which was accordingly done, after some conversational discussion.

Mr. Wm. P. Smith, of Maryland, moved that hereafter the daily sessions of the Convention be opened with prayer.

The President stated that he would accordingly consider himself instructed and requested to secure and invite the attendance of the clergy for the purposes indicated.

Mr. Campbell, of Tenn., offered a resolution for a Special Committee of one from each State represented, to memorialize Congress immediately for a remission of the duties on railroad iron.

Mr. Underwood, of Tenn., offered a resolution, directing inquiry by the General Committee, as to the expediency of establishing a press, to carry out specially the objects of the Convention.

W. M. Lawton, Esq., of Charleston, S. C., proposed a resolution, requiring all speakers addressing the Convention to take position on the stage. The resolution was adopted, and its propriety was acquiesced in generally, not only by the members, but by all "outsiders," and especially all connected with the *press*. The theatre is constructed, as all theatres should be, with special reference to the stage, and it is very difficult to hear speakers from other portions. A speaker standing in the parquette or dress circle, may even exert himself, and still not be heard in some portions of the house, and, as Mr. Lawton remarked, no one desires that members and delegates from other portions should expose themselves to an attack of bronchitis.

The adoption of this resolution, and the determination expressed by the President to enforce it—except in reference to resolutions, and the few remarks necessarily accompanying them—will greatly accommodate the Convention, and the large representation of the Southern and Southwestern press in attendance.

Mr. McKenzie, of La., offered a resolution, requesting Southern planters generally to form district, county, and State associations, for the purpose of establishing cotton depots, direct lines of steamers, supporting home markets and enterprise, &c. These were referred to the General Committee on Business and Resolutions, which will be understood of all other resolutions where a different disposition is not indicated. One recommendation of Mr. McKenzie was that "planters should get out of debt"—a very good piece of advice, which the creditors of planters will no doubt endorse.

Gen. Lewis M. Ayer, of Barnwell, S. C., offered resolutions directing the General Committee to inquire as to the propriety of legislation by the Southern States, exempting the real estate of actual occupants from taxation and execution for a certain period. The resolution was based on a preamble, asserting the importance of a dense and permanent population.

G. A. Trenholm, Esq., of Charleston, S. C., offered a memorial (not read) from R. W. Habersham, Esq., editor of the *Self-Instructor*, on the subject of education, which was referred.

Gen. Gibbs, of Tenn., offered resolutions recommending the States and cities on the South Atlantic and the Gulf, to procure charters for companies to institute direct trade, by steam and otherwise—each State interested to become a stockholder.

Mr. Chas. A. Price, of Fa., (one of the Assistant Secretaries,) offered a resolution, declaring that the interests of the South required a railroad across the Peninsula of Florida, the eastern terminus to be at the mouth of the St. John's, and the western at some point south of the Suwannee.

Mr. Wilcox, of Tenn., offered a preamble and resolution, requesting the General Government to make cotton and tobacco subjects of special diplomatic negotiation, in view of the aspect of Eastern affairs.

Mr. Whittle, of Va., offered a resolution for appointing a committee of three from each State represented, to provide for the permanent organization, and regular periodical meetings, of the Southern and Southwestern Convention.

The Secretary presented, on behalf of Gen. Leslie Combs, of Ky., (who was engaged on the General Committee,) a memorial from the Chamber of Commerce of Louisville, Ky., requesting the next meeting of the Convention in that city.

Mr. Brownlow, of Tenn., followed with some remarks.

It was ascertained, soon after 12 M., that the Committee would not be prepared to report to-day, and accordingly the Convention adjourned.

Art. XII.—MOBILE AND NEW-ORLEANS RAILROAD.

THIS important link in the chain of Southern improvement, connecting as it will two of our largest and most prosperous cities, is, we are glad to see, likely soon to be supplied. The address of this Company, and some extracts from the reports of the engineer, are annexed:—

Address of the President and Directors of the Pontchartrain Railroad Company to the Common Council of New Orleans, relative to the proposed construction of the Railroad from New-Orleans to Mobile.

The undersigned, the President and Directors of the Pontchartrain Railroad Company, respectfully submit the following statement:

Previous to making application to the Legislature of Louisiana to pass the bill which authorizes the city of New-Orleans to subscribe for 15,000 shares in the stock of the Pontchartrain Railroad Company, payable in bonds of the city at thirty years date; every preparatory step had been commenced and is now consummated, that was essential to provide for the construction of a railroad from New-Orleans to Mobile, so that if your honorable body shall deem it conducive to the interests you represent, to sanction the subscription, the work can at once be put in operation and pushed forward with all speed.

The preparatory steps alluded to were:

First, A thorough survey of the contemplated line of road, to ascertain the practicability of the work and its cost, the surveys, drawings, field notes, profiles, and estimates of which, together with engineers' reports (made out with great completeness and accuracy), are now ready for inspection at the office of the Company, in the First District, over the Southern Bank. When this work was finished, it was made clear that no impediments existed, either physical or pecuniary.

Next, Competent legal advice was had in examining the charters granted by the States of Alabama and Mississippi to the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad Company. They were found defective, and at considerable labor and expense, have been amended in every particular to subserve the interests of the Company; and copies of all in printed form are now submitted. One invaluable provision has been secured in the Mississippi charter, which is, that no other road can be built to run parallel to the New-Orleans and Mobile Railroad, through the counties of Jackson, Harrison, and Hancock, for the space of twenty-five years. This privilege is in terms exclusive (see Sec. 2, p. 12), thus affording a most important security to the city of New-Orleans, that no rival road will impair her interests in this company, and giving like security to the capitalists who have proposed to take the bonds for the *whole work*, without which the undersigned have reason to know that the entire negotiations could not have been effected.

The next point was, to ascertain the practicability of selling the bonds. It was idle to go through the various labors attendant upon bringing this measure in practical business form before your honorable body, unless there was some certainty of selling, not only the bonds issued by the city of New-Orleans, but as much more of the bonds of the companies as would be necessary to complete the whole undertaking.

The house of Messrs. Corning & Co., of New York, propose to make the entire negotiation; at the same time this negotiation may be unnecessary, as parties offer to take the contract for constructing the road, payable in bonds. So much attained, the right of way came then to be considered. At the New-Orleans terminus the Company already owned in fee simple a river front of sixty feet, running back the same breadth, to where the road will diverge onward to Mobile; and owned its depot on the Levee. It remained to obtain similar advantages at the Mobile terminus, and the right of way through that city. By a judicious choice of the point for the depot, objections were overcome, and the privilege asked for will be granted.

On the line of the road through the rural part of the State of Alabama, the right of way through private property has in every instance been accorded without charge, and the consent of the parties thereto in writing is deposited in the office of the Company in Mobile, and the agents of the company have nearly completed the entire route through Mississippi with equal success.

An ample supply of iron, through the courtesy of the Opelousas Company, is placed at the disposal of the Pontchartrain Company, sufficient to last until its own can be brought to New-Orleans.

The Legislatures of the States of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, have passed joint resolutions, instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives to obtain donations of the public lands within those States on the line of the road from Mobile to New-Orleans, for the benefit of that enterprise, which would secure to it 360,000 acres; and the Commissioner of the Land Office at Washington, agreeably to the following notice, preparatory, as is usual, to the donation of lands, has withdrawn them from sale or entry. This bill has already passed the Senate:

[No. 500.]

"Notice of withdrawal of certain lands in the States of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, situated on the routes of the following proposed railroads, viz.:

"From Mobile to Girard, Ala.; from Selma to Gunter's Landing, on the Tennessee River, Ala.; and the continuation of the road from Savannah, Ga., *via* Mobile, Ala., to New-Orleans, La.; and the branch thereof from Albany, Ga., *via* Eufaula, on the Chattahoochee River, to Montgomery, Ala.

"In pursuance of the orders of the President of the United States, bearing date of the 13th and 21st instant, all the public lands within the following named townships, situated along the routes of the proposed railoads above mentioned, in the districts of land subject to sale at the several offices herein mentioned, will be withheld from sale or entry until further notice.

"Given under my hand, at the General Land Office, at the city of Washington, this 28th day of February, 1854.

"By order of the President:

"JOHN WILSON, *Commissioner.*"

The final point to ascertain, then, was whether suitable persons could be found to contract for the work. Satisfactory evidence of this will be furnished to the committee to whom the Common Council may conclude to refer this matter, and from which it will appear that the entire work can be completed within two and a half years at furthest.

These are the preparatory steps taken, referred to in the commencement of this report. Are they not conclusive? Do they not show that only one more step is needed, which is the action of your honorable body in subscribing for its share of stock as authorized by the statute of the Legislature now before you? And after the thorough consideration which that body gave to the subject, the undersigned cannot but entertain every confidence that the bill will receive your concurrence, especially after review of the foregoing facts, accompanied with its voucher, in a form not to be questioned.

Perhaps in the history of railroads in our country there is hardly a parallel case, wherein every provision for payment and construction was made so complete as in this one, before any part of the manual work was commenced. But this may be all granted, and yet the question be asked—

Will the road pay?

Railroad experience has settled this fact. Short roads are more expensive to work than long roads, considering differences of toll: therefore, the Pontchartrain Railroad, in this point of view, is now worked to every disadvantage, and yet, as your honorable body is probably aware, it has earned the last fifteen months, and is now earning, a net sum of ten per cent. on its capital, and has paid dividends accordingly, as will be seen by the statement annexed of its earnings and expenditures for the year past. And it should be borne in mind that this ten per cent. has been paid on a capital of $500,000, and the road being not five miles long, the cost is equal to $100,000 each mile! Now, is it not quite consistent with railroad experience to say, that if you lengthen this road one hundred and forty miles, at the great diminution in cost to about $25,000 to $28,000 a mile equipped, and preserve its trade, with its concurrent increased rate of toll, it must maintain its rate of revenue? This view of the case should satisfy any candid mind, without further statistics. But in the opinion of the undersigned, the trade will not be stationary. When a man can leave his door at the Bay of St. Louis, Pass Christian or Biloxi, at a convenient hour in the morning, and be at his business at New-Orleans by 9, or leave Mobile in the first morning train, and be home again the same night, no practical man can doubt that a railroad with such a secured trade as this one does and will enjoy, and such a prospective trade, can fail, under any ordinary management, to pay less than eight per cent.

Consider the augmented population which convenience to our market and travel will draw to and spread along the shores of Lake Borgne and the Gulf. Add the increased travel which may be supposed, when an unbroken railroad communication from New-Orleans to Maine is completed, and that which will come whenever the New-Orleans and Opelousas Railroad shall be the great thoroughfare through our State onward to Texas and thence probably to the Pacific, and what has been said on the subject of dividends will appear moderate in the extreme.

A most important consideration to the city of New-Orleans, and which should engage her in this enterprise, is the great increase in the assessed value of property, and the corresponding increase in trades, occupations, and population, which must and does inevitably follow railroads. It is not too much to predict that in a few years the increase in the tax roll of the city, from this source alone, would of itself go far to compensate the city, independently of any dividends.

A continuous line of railroad, lacking a few miles, is already constructed from the shores of Canada and along the Atlantic Board to Columbus in Georgia. Opposite Columbus, from Girard, a road is being built to run into the city of Mobile: the contract is taken and the work begun. For a length of 1600 miles civilized man has said this thing must be! Will New-Orleans stretch out her hand to meet that civilization, and complete the last link—140 miles—and the iron horse may sweep from our doors to the shores of the St. Lawrence? Think of it, even Alabama has preceded us! and leaves us the last lagging step to take in one of the most striking features of our national progress. Shall we allow it to be said, that from the most Northern extremity of this great Union to its most Western on the seaboard line, every State therein has contributed its quota of road with the sole exception of the line from New-Orleans to Mobile? Capital, industry, intelligence, are here ready for the work, if your honorable body will but say the word, and give your sanction to it in the manner indicated by our Legislature.

In conclusion, the Board ask of your honorable bodies the right to be heard before the people—the right to the people themselves to decide for themselves whether they deem it advisable that this great and last link in railway communication to New-York and the Canadas shall be constructed; and whether they deem it advisable that the city of New-Orleans, emulating the example of Mobile, shall lend her credit and aid to the enterprise.

John Egerton, *President.*
H. M. Wright,
G. Miltenberger,
Louis De Saulles,
M. Heine,
D. N. Hennen,
Edw'd Ogden.

Statement of the Pontchartrain Railroad Company.—Statement of Receipts and Expenditures of the Pontchartrain Railroad for the year ending November 30, 1853:

232,020 passengers, at 25 cents each	$58,505 00
Freight, &c.	51,742 95
	$110,247 95
Rents and mail transportation	4,500 00
	$114,747 95
Gross expenses for the year	59,427 97
Net gain	$55,319 98
Capital . . . . . . $500,000—Dividend	50,000 00
Surplus	$5,319 98

P. H. Goodwyn, *Secretary.*

New-Orleans, *April* 15, 1854.

Brief Synopsis of the Report of Lewis Troost, Esq., Consulting Engineer, on the Preliminary Surveys of the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad, made by the late Colonel A. A. Dexter, C. E., for the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad Company.

Several preliminary lines were surveyed by Col. Dexter from Mobile to Pass Chef Menteur, all of them passing through the watering-places on the Gulf; of these the following line is the most favorable: Commencing at Mobile River, in Mobile, fifty feet northwardly of the north line of Virginia-street, the line runs parallel with Virginia-street to the western boundary of the city; thence deflecting to the southwest, it runs to Pascagoula Bay, near Mers. Rne Kreb's—crossing North, Middle and South Forks of Dog River at the head of navigation, and keeping about three and one-half miles southeast of a direct line between Mobile and Pascagoula, in order to avoid the ridges between the waters of Mobile Bay and Escatapa River.

Thence crossing Pascagoula Bay, it runs along and near the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, in the rear of Ocean Springs, the villages of Biloxi and Mississippi City, Pass Christian and Shieldsborough, to the Great Rigolets, at its entrance into Lake Borgne; intersecting in this distance the Bays of Biloxi and St. Louis and East Pearl River.

Thence crossing the Rigolets, the line runs nearly direct to New-Orleans, intersecting the Little Rigolets and Pass Chef Menteur—the latter at the mouth of Bayou Gentilly, near Fort Wood.

The country from Mobile to Pascagoula (40.19 miles) is a flat, piny woods for 13.94 miles, and gently undulating for 26.25 miles. The soil is light sand and mud and clay mixed, and is very favorable for grading.

From Pascagoula Bay to the Grand Plaine marshes (52.67 miles) the country is very level, and from eight to fifteen feet above the surface of mean tide in the Gulf of Mexico, and the soil is composed for the most part of sand.

Grand Plaine marshes consist of a sandy alluvion, seldom, if ever, subject to overflow, covered with occasional patches of live oak.

The sandy alluvion is from three to five feet deep, and rests on hard strata of sand and shells sufficiently firm to sustain an embankment.

The marshes between Pearl River and Chef Menteur are covered by occasional patches of live oak, and consist of sandy alluvion, resting on firm strata of sand and shells, at depths varying from five to ten feet, capable of sustaining a good roadway. The borings and soundings for foundations on this line show that good and firm foundations may be obtained for bridge structures over the rivers and bays at the depths exhibited in the following

TABLE OF SOUNDINGS.

Name of River or Bay.	Extreme depth of good foundation below surface of medium stage of water.	Depth of water at same sounding.	Depth of sand, mud and shells at same sounding.
East Pascagoula River	35 feet	18 feet	17 feet.
West Pascagoula River	55 “	24 “	31 “
Bay of Biloxi	35 “	18 “	17 “
Bay St. Louis	40 “	12 “	28 “
East Pearl River	60 “	45 “	15 “
Great Rigolets	65 “	44 “	21 “
Little Rigolets	62 “	40 “	22 “
Chef Menteur	53 “	49 “	4 “

The result of these soundings and borings is very satisfactory, and at once demonstrates the practicability of constructing a permanent road. The stratum on which this firm foundation can be obtained consists of compact stiff yellow and blue clay.

The following table will exhibit the characteristics of the line:—

Total length of line	miles	139.
Total length of straight line	miles	133.32
Total length of curved line	miles	5.68
Total deflection in degrees		322° 45′
Shortest radius of curvature	feet	5730.
Total length of level grade	miles	87.20
Maximum grade each way per mile	feet	26.40
Total length of grades, from 0 to 10 feet per mile	miles	26.27
Total length of grades, from 10 to 26.40 feet per mile	miles	25.53
Total length of maximum grades of 26.40 feet per mile	miles	14.58
Total rise and fall in feet	feet	704 29
Highest summit above mean tide to be overcome	feet	137.

The grades and curves of the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad, as shown in the above table, are remarkably favorable. With a good railroad, and a strong iron rail, trains containing 1,000 or 2,000 passengers can safely pass over it, at a speed of 40 or 50 miles per hour, and freight trains with a load of 275 tons freight, may be hauled over it at a speed of 15 miles per hour, thus making the time of transit for passengers between Mobile and New-Orleans from three to four hours, and for freight from nine to ten hours.

Omitting the details of plans of construction and of estimates, it is sufficient to state that they are made for a first class railroad in every respect; all the timber exposed to the action of the sea-worms is to be protected by metal sheathing; all navigable rivers and bays are to be provided with draw-bridges, 60 feet wide, except the Great Rigolets, where it is proposed to have two double draws of 120 feet opening each; the charter of the Pontchartrain Railroad in Louisiana may render it illegal to build a permanent bridge across the Great Rigolets with openings, for navigation, as proposed. In this event, it would be advisable to make a temporary crossing, with a steam vessel so arranged as to take passenger and freight trains on deck, and rely on the wisdom and justice of future legislation for permission to substitute a permanent bridge.

The total cost of the construction of the entire road complete, including an equipment for the first and second year's business, is estimated at $3,836,360, or $27,016 per mile.

Lewis Troost, *Civil Engineer*,
Office Eng'r Dep't M. and N. O. Railroad.

Mobile, *April* 10, 1854.

Art. XIII.—THE OHIO VALLEY AND THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC.*

The Kentucky Legislature, as we recently stated, has granted a liberal charter to what is called the Kentucky Union Railway Company, whose object is to make the last link in the railway line from Cincinnati to Charleston. The charter is a good one—the object a grand one—and the capital, we cannot doubt, will be found when the plans are fully matured. The Union Railway will, in Kentucky, be from 140 to 160 miles in length. The Tennessee part, completing the line to Knoxville, can, we believe, be easily made.

The distance by the route adopted will be as follows:—

Cincinnati to Danville	132 miles.
Danville to Knoxville	130 "
Knoxville to Charleston, via Blue Ridge Railroad	370 "
Aggregate	632 miles.

This route may be modified in several particulars; but, as there is a railroad nearly finished to Danville, Ky., that route will probably be preferred. There may be, however, difficulties which will throw the balance in favor of another route. It is not perfectly certain that a good line can be found from Danville to Knoxville. The more direct route, undoubtedly, would be to leave the Covington Road at Paris, and proceed through Richmond, Kentucky. It is not, however, of routes we would speak, but of the immense advantages, both to the South and West, of such a work. We doubt whether any railway in America will ever be of such vast importance as one which shall connect the valley of the Ohio with the Southern Atlantic, on the most direct route. The productions of the different sections are totally different; the habits and usages of the people are different. The interior country, reached from either end, is full of the most valuable mineral resources, and thus all the exchanges would be beneficial, both in a commercial and moral aspect. It is now nearly twenty years since this subject engaged the profound attention of the people of Cincinnati, Charleston, and all the intermediate country. We have before us the pamphlets and letters published and written at that time. They exhibit the proceedings of various public bodies, and the records of many distinguished men, now commemorated by history. Among them were Gen. Harrison and Dr. Drake, of this city, and Gen. Hayne and Col. Blanding, of Charleston.

Time has only proved what was then said of the great importance of this work, and rendered its necessity to the country more apparent.

The completion of this grand route, from Charleston to Cincinnati, is now entirely within reach. From Cincinnati to Danville is nearly completed. From Charleston to Anderson, South Carolina, is finished. The Blue Ridge Railroad from Anderson to Knoxville, via the Rabun Gap, is secured by the ample aid South Carolina and Tennessee have given to the work. From Knoxville to the Kentucky State line, is secured by the State aid and County subscriptions. The line covered by the Kentucky Union Railway charter is, therefore, the only one wanting. By its connection with other roads, and the immense through traffic which must inevitably take place, the stock of the road will undoubtedly be good, notwithstanding the sparseness of the country through which it passes.

There is no enterprise in which the merchants and capitalists of Cincinnati have a deeper interest than in this, and we trust it will meet with the encouragement which it so eminently deserves.

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* From the *Cincinnati Railroad Record.*

Art. XIV.—RAILROAD IRON.

EXTRACT FROM A FULL ACCOUNT OF ITS PRODUCTION IN THIS COUNTRY PREPARED FOR THE PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN.

Railroad Mills and their estimated production for the year 1854.

Montour Iron Works, Danville, Pa.	18,000	tons.
Rough and Ready, Danville, Pa.	4,000	do.
Lackawanna, Scranton, Pa.	16,000	do.
Phœnix Iron Works, Phœnixville, Pa.	20,000	do.
Safe Harbor, Safe Harbor, Pa.	15,000	do.
Great Western, Brady's Bend, Pa.	12,000	do.
New Works, Pittsburg, Pa.	5,000	do.
Pottsville Iron Works, Pottsville, Pa.	3,000	do.
Cambria Iron Works, Cambria, Pa.	5,000	do.
Trenton Works, Trenton, N. J.	15,000	do.
Massachusetts Iron Works, Boston, Mass.	15,000	do.
Mt. Savage Iron Works, Mt. Savage, Md.	12,000	do.
Richmond Mill, Richmond, Va.	5,000	do
Washington Rolling Mill, Wheeling, Va.	5,000	do.
Crescent Works, Wheeling, Va.	5,000	do.
New Mill, Portsmouth, Ohio,	5,000	do.
	160,000	do.

Represented Items in the production of 160,000 *tons of Railroad Iron.*

Pig iron required—1⅓ ton per ton of rails					213.333	tons.
Coal used	5¼	"	"	"	840,000	do.
Iron Ore	3½	"	"	"	560,000	do.
Limestone	1⅓	"	"	"	213,333	do.
Total number of tons raw material					1,826,666	do.

Labor employed from the Materials in the ground, to the finished rail in Market.

In mining, transporting, and delivering Coals, per ton of coal at $1 92	$1,612,800
In mining, transporting, and delivering Iron Ore, per ton of ore at $1 60	896,000
In mining, transporting, and delivering Limestone, per ton of limestone at 65 cents	138,666
At and about the furnace, per ton of Pig Iron at $3 11	663,466
At and about the Mill, per ton of Rails at $12	1,920,000
Carrying Rails to market, say average $2	320,000
No. of men employed, 18,500—Yearly earnings $300 per head	$5,550,932
Population supported, 5 times 18,500, equal to	92,500
Breadstuffs consumed per annum, 92,500 persons, at $50 per head	4,625,000
Capital employed in Rail Iron Works now erected	10,000,000

Other interests as below :

Owners of Coal lands—royalty—valued on ton of rails at $1 84	$294,000
Coal Operator—his average profit valued on a ton of Rails at 95 cents	152,000
Owners of Ore lands—royalty—valued on a ton of Rails at $1 41	225,600
Owners of Limestone quarries—Quarry Cave—valued on a ton of Rails at 13 cents	20,800
Capitalists—use of money, interest, &c., valued on a ton of rails at $1 50	240,000
Transportation Companies—clear profits over and above working expenses, valued on a ton of Rails, at $3 78	604,800
Storekeepers and others, for mdse., oil, brass, fire brick, &c., valued on a ton of Rails at $2 39	382,400
	$1,919,600

Such is the extent and sphere of a business commenced only a few years ago, at great hazard and expense, by men who had the enterprise and ability to go into it. Now that they have learned the art, obtained the proper experience, and invested their fortunes in the new business, it is heartlessly proposed, by certain great railroad corporations—themselves the recipients of the bounty of the General Government to a degree bordering on rapacity, and especially by those who depend upon selling bonds at a discount greater, in many cases, than the whole amount of the duty—it is proposed by these to annihilate the domestic manufacture of railroad iron—to quit the production of an article which sane men would suppose they ought to desire, to foster, and encourage to the utmost possible extent, because it is as esential to the construction of railroads as bricks and mortar to the building of houses.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

The following is the work of Samuel M. Dewey, a public-spirited citizen of Virginia:—

List of Valuable and Interesting Minerals, including some of the Principal Ranges of Rocks, known to abound in the Counties of Henry, Patrick, Carroll and Floyd, in Virginia; and in Rockingham, Stokes, Forsyth, Surrey and Yadkin, in North Carolina: a Section of the Piedmont Country, embracing the Northern Head-waters of the Great Yadkin, and all the Tributaries of Dan River.

1. Iron Ore of every desirable species or kind apparently boundless in quantity; beds or veins of one or more valuable varieties existing in each of the above named counties, all of which, except Carroll, Henry and Forsyth, having yielded ores that have been successfully converted into iron of the best quality.

2. Coal—Anthracite, or Stone Coal, in Rockingham and Stokes, approaching nearly or quite to the line of Henry County, if it does not pass to that section of Virginia; the Fossil Coal is of excellent quality, and to all appearance is exhaustless, as regards quantity.

3. Limestone—Primitive, Granular Limestone, or the finest qualities of White, Gray, Mottled and other colored Marble; there being seven quarries in Stokes, three in Forsyth, two in Yadkin; besides an extensive range of impure Limestone, in the counties of Stokes and Forsyth; a single range or bed of the same in Patrick; and several quarries of secondary Limestone in Rockingham, some of the latter being Hydraulic Limestone, while others are of the most beautiful and valuable qualities of Granular, Black, Variegated Marble, superior to any other known to be found in the United States.

4. Lead Ore—In Carroll, Floyd, Stokes and Surrey.

5. Copper Ore—In Patrick, Carroll, Floyd, Forsyth and Surrey.

6. Gold—There have been recently discovered three auriferous deposits in Patrick, one in Carroll, three in Stokes, four in Forsyth, three in Surrey, and four in Yadkin; making eighteen Gold deposit mines, each of them being believed to be traceable to veins that have not been sufficiently penetrated or tested to be pronounced workable, or rich enough to justify their being worked.

7. Manganese—Three beds in Patrick, one in Carroll, one in Henry, two in Forsyth, and one in Surrey.

8. Plumbago, or Black Lead—Occurs repeatedly in Patrick, Stokes, Forsyth, Surrey, Yadkin, and Rockingham.

9. Native Alum—Exists in several parts of Patrick and Stokes.

10. Saltpetre—Exists in Patrick, Henry, Floyd, Stokes, and Surrey.

11. Fire Brick Clay—In Patrick, Stokes, Surrey and Rockingham.

12. Porcelain Clay—In Stokes and Surrey.

13. Potters' Clay—In Forsyth, and throughout the other counties.

14. Pure White Talc—or crude French Chalk in Surrey—there being an extensive range of impure Talc in Patrick, and also one in Carroll.

15. Itacolumite, or perfectly fire-proof Elastic Sandstone, in Stokes.

16. Bronze-colored, Satin-lustred Serpentine, in Stokes and Forsyth.

17. Variegated and other Valuable Kinds of Stealite or Soapstone, in Patrick, Carroll, Floyd, Stokes, Forsyth, Surrey and Yadkin.

18. Primitive Sandstones—Suitable for a variety of purposes, such as Grindstones and Whetstones, in Patrick, Carroll, Stokes and Surrey.

19. Secondary Sandstones—Suitable for Grindstones and Whetstones, in Henry, Rockingham and Stokes.

20. Mill-Stone Grit, in Patrick, Henry, Stokes and Rockingham.

21. Burr-Stone, in Floyd, Stokes, Surrey and Forsyth.

22. Jasper, of many varieties, including the Opal, Striped, Yellow, Red, Brown, and other hues—some of them being drusy, or incrusted with minute Quartz Crystals—also Botryoidal and Mammillated concretions, in four parts of Stokes.

23. Calcedony, of all tints and colors, embracing the Wax-lustred, the Milky or White Cornelian, Rose-colored, Blue, Pink, Honey, Yellow, Sard, &c., with Mammillated and Botryoidal concretions, also the Druse, in nine sections of Stokes, and one of Forsyth.

24. Agates—Mossy, Yellow, Scarlet, Green and Gold-colored, with waving lines, &c., in two parts of Stokes.

25. Garnets, in Carroll, Patrick, Stokes and Forsyth.

26. Black Schist, or Tourmaline, in Henry, Patrick, Carroll, Stokes, Forsyth and Surrey.

27. Yellow Tourmaline, in Yadkin.

28. Stalactitic Quartz, with Jasper base, in Stokes.

29. Hornstone, of Honey, Yellow, Claret, and other colors, in Stokes.

30. Amethystic Quartz, Crystals, in Henry and Forsyth.

31. Limpid, Corrugated, Yellow and Pink-colored Auricular Pyramidical and Prismatic-shaped Quartz Crystals, in Henry, Forsyth, Patrick, Carroll, Floyd, Rockingham, Stokes, Surrey and Yadkin.

32. Actinolite, or Cotton-Stone, in Floyd, Stokes, Surrey, Yadkin and Forsyth.

33. Tabular Druse, Quartz, in Forsyth and Yadkin.

34. Selicious Petrifications in Stokes and Rockingham, constituting a vast range of petrified trees, or parts of trees, some of them measuring nine feet in circumference, and some that were evidently more or less decayed, previous to undergoing the process of petrifaction, contain clusters of Quartz Crystals. This remarkable body of fossil curiosities extends from Germanton, in Stokes, to Leaksville, in Rockingham, a distance of about twenty-five miles, and fully merits the name of Petrified Forest.

Principal Rocks.—1. Granite; 2. Syenite; 3. Gneiss; 4. Hornblende Slate; 5. Mica-Slate; 6. Clay-Slate; 7. Micaceous Schist and Shales; 8. Primitive Sandstone; 9. Secondary Sandstone; 10. Calcareous Sandstone; 11. Iron or Ink-stone; 12. Secondary Shales, Talc and Slates; 13. Augite, of many varieties; 14. Basalt and Cling Stones; 15. Wacke; 16. Porcelain Granite; 17. Blivine; 18. Primitive and Secondary, also, Trapean Porphyry; 19. Talc; 20. Stealite, or Soapstone; 21. Cellular, White, Gray, Rose, Smoky, and other Quartz.

In Stokes, near Danbury, the county seat, is a large hill, or mound, composed of the purest and most beautiful species of Calcedony, deserving to be called—a CALCEDONIC MOUNTAIN.

CARBONATE OF LIME.—Says the *Danville Register*:—"Through the politeness of Prof. S. W. Dewey, Mineralogist and Geologist, we have been put in possession of two handsome specimens of *Carbonate of Lime*, or marble, as it is usually termed. These specimens are from the Abbot and Martin Lime or Marble Quarries, in Stokes County, North Carolina. The one from the Abbot Quarry is that known to mineralogists under the appellation of *Common or Compact Limestone*, of a grayish-white color. This specimen, although a surface one, is of exceedingly fine grain, and susceptible of the highest polish. The quarry is extensive, and believed to be almost inexhaustible. From it, blocks and shafts of marble, of any requisite length and thickness, can easily be cut to order, with an assurance that it will be more durable, and retain its polish in this climate much longer, than any foreign marble. This quarry lies only one mile from Hairston's Falls, on Dan River, up to which the river is navigable from this place.

"The specimen from Martin's Lime Quarry is known to mineralogists as *Granular Limestone*. It differs from the former both in texture and fracture. When broken, it appears to be composed of small crystals or grains, which have a shining or glimmering lustre. The specimen before us is also a surface one, but bespeaks it the true Carbonate of Lime. It is white and pure, with a fracture resembling that of loaf-sugar. It is a true specimen of the marble so extensively used for monuments, statues, and architectural decorations. This quarry is also thought to be inexhaustible, and capable of furnishing marble equal in texture and quality to the finest specimens from granular limestone quarries hitherto opened in any country of the world. It is located some nine miles from Hairston's Falls, and is destined to become a valuable deposit.

"Professor Dewey, who has devoted some five or six years of his life to the discovery and developing the mineral resources of the region of country on the head-waters of the Dan and Yadkin, assures us, that these Limestone or Marble Quarries furnish specimens of *compact* and *granular* marble equal to any that he has met with in the mineral cabinets of the Northern cities. For monuments, tombstones, and architectural decorations, he considers them infinitely superior to foreign marble, from the fact, that they will stand the ravages of climate, and retain their polish longer, in the Middle and Southern States, than the finest Italian marble.

"PATRICK SILVER MINE.—It appears that the specimens of what was once thought to be silver ore, found on the plantation of Mr. Epperson, in the County of Patrick, have proved to be a species of Sulphuret of Iron, known as common pyrites, of a grayish color. At one time we were assured that a competent mineralogist had pronounced these specimens genuine silver ore. Since then, we have been assured by an equally skilful mineralogist that it is nothing but *gray iron pyrites*. We are not disposed to attach more importance to the opinion of the one than the other; and as there appears to be some doubt as to the nature of the specimens in question, we propose that they compromise on *nickel*, or *laminated mica*.

"MINERAL SPECIMENS.—We have in our possession a number of Mineral specimens, collected by Professor Dewey, to which we propose inviting the attention of our readers, from time to time, by way of giving them a faint idea of the vast amount of mineral wealth of the region of country above this place. We would give them a list of all the minerals hitherto discovered, with their respective places of deposit, but this would preclude us from such remarks on the specimens in our possession as are calculated to awaken that degree of interest requisite to make an indelible impression upon the mind. We are extremely anxious to see these minerals fully developed, and consequently shall spare no pains in imparting, from time to time, all the facts gleaned by us in relation to them."

EDITORIAL NOTE.

SEVERAL NOTICES of late publications are excluded from this number, but will have place in the next.

OUR PLANTING FRIENDS seem not to have agreed with us in regard to the value of the REVIEW, as a medium for advertising estates or lands to be sold or wanted to be purchased. They prefer their own local papers; and yet the REVIEW reaches the hands and homes of planters throughout *all the Southern States*, and our rates of advertising are very moderate. The same remark may be made with reference to professional men in the interior, schools, colleges, watering-places, etc.

THE EDITOR offers his thanks for the promptness with which a large number of subscribers answered a late circular asking for remittances. It is thus that efforts of this kind can only be sustained. We shall endeavor to reciprocate such attentions. To those who have not yet responded, we cannot surely be considered importunate in entreating again for remittances. Many thousand dollars are due to the REVIEW, and the expense of publishing the work absorbs a large part of the receipts, and leaves but small profits at the best. *Remit, then, remit immediately,* upon being reminded by the receipt of this number. Who pays quickly may almost be said to pay doubly, and agents' commissions are also saved. We hope to have a great many new subscribers in the coming year, and to have no discontinuances. Will not our friends stand by us? If the South will not sustain this work liberally, who will? Is the North so partial to it? We apologize to those who receive bills at any time after having already paid. Such errors are unavoidable, and are corrected the moment they are noted. The mortification is ours. In the whole history of the REVIEW, no individual has been allowed to pay the same subscription twice, although in a thousand instances they have been paid to irresponsible persons. Don't discontinue for such a cause, then—*it is not just.*

THE INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES, 3 vols. for $6, are still offered for sale, and can be sent by mail. This is below the cost.

REMITTANCES may be made in any bank-notes, in post-office stamps, in gold, in orders upon merchants in any city, payable upon receipt of crops. The head-quarters of the REVIEW are at New-Orleans. An auxiliary office has been established at Washington, D. C., where the Editor will remain the present summer.

DE BOW'S REVIEW:

A MONTHLY JOURNAL

OF

Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Internal Improvements,
Statistics, etc., etc.

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Art. I.—THE PROGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC.

If there is one sentiment which more than every other characterizes the American citizen, it is that of an earnest and intense devotion to the institutions of his country, coupled with a practical and working faith, stronger than all power of refutation, that ours is the very best country, and we the very best people, and that little or nothing in the policy or progress of neighboring nations is calculated to excite our envy or to provoke our emulation.

This comfortable conviction seems to have neither the affinities of the North or the South, or the East or the West, to sustain it, but everywhere over our broad domain—in the workshop—in the hamlet—on the hustings—in the Senate, is welling up spontaneously from the heart, defiant of every corrupting art of the fanatic and the demagogue, smoothing over the rough and jagged points of sectional rivalry, settling the terms of great compromises.

I am a Roman—never carried with it higher claims to power, or was uttered with sterner pride, than—I am an American Citizen.

Is this but the amiable vanity of country, which exists alike in China and Patagonia—is it but the spirit of bravado and gasconade, of which foreigners everywhere accuse us, and of which I feel we are not altogether guiltless; or have we indeed a reason for our faith, an intelligible reason—not sufficient only to satisfy ourselves, but all men, that it is founded in truth and right?

When the Revolution handed over to us the Republic, won by the blood and the sword of our ancestors, it embraced a territory little greater than that of our possessions on the Pacific at the present moment. Exposed on its frontiers to the attacks of numerous tribes of remorseless savages—cut off in its western limits from the ocean, by the possessions of a power hostile to us in feeling, and different from us in language—the Republic has advanced in its course, dealing with the savage with justice and magnanimity, and obtaining only by fair concessions what was necessary to its development; and in passing the boundaries of the Mississippi, and sweeping across the great mountains to the Western Ocean, it has violated no law of good neighborhood, but relied upon those of negotiation and purchase, or the results of a just war, undertaken in maintenance of the integrity of the national domain. From a territory of less than 900,000 square miles the Republic has swelled into over *three* millions of miles, being nearly one-half of the whole of North America. This vast domain is nearly ten times as large as that of Great Britain and Ireland and France combined—three times as large as the whole of France, Great Britain and Ireland, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark together—one and a half times as large as the Russian Empire in Europe—one-sixth less only than the area covered by the fifty-nine or sixty empires, states and republics of Europe—of equal extent with the Roman Empire, or that of Alexander, neither of which is said to have exceeded three millions of square miles.

Already does our empire extend over domain wider than that of the Romans in their proudest days of conquest.

From the Island of Brazos in the Gulf of Mexico, to the Straits of Fuca on the Northern Pacific; from the Arostook Valley to the Bay of San Diego, the Union extends its leviathan proportions. The inhabitants of these extreme points, more distant than the shores of the Old and New World apart, on the usual routes of travel, are brothers and fellow-citizens under common laws and with a common destiny. It is as though the Shetland Islands and the Bosphorus, Siberia and the gates of Hercules, were made the outports of an empire which embraced the whole of Europe. For such an empire Alexander and Cæsar sighed in vain, and Napoleon deluged Europe in blood.*

Viewed in its great geographical divisions, the portions which are watered by rivers falling into the Atlantic and the Pacific are respectively of very nearly equal areas; whilst the great interior valley has an extent but little less than the Pacific and Atlantic regions combined.

Considered in less geographical divisions, the area of the Northwestern States is nearly two and a half times as large as that of the Northern—twice as large as the Southwestern—four times as large as the Southern—eight times as large as the Middle States—fifteen as large as New-England.

Divided as slave territory and free territory, exclusive of unformed territorial governments, the slave States have one and a third times the territory of the free States.

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* **An occasional passage in this article has previously been used by the editor.**

The shore line of this great empire, including the indentures of bays, &c., is 12,609 miles, equal to one-half the circumference of the earth; or if we follow the irregularities of islands and enter the rivers as far as tide extends, the total shore line of the United States will be found to be 33,069 miles, or one and one-third the circumference of the earth.

The possession of so vast a domain would almost (under any other form of government than that which has been devised by the wisdom of our forefathers) have been an element of weakness and oppression rather than of strength. The happy idea of clustering together separate sovereignties, each independent of the other, and legislating for its own immediate wants, yet all of them combined together into one for certain domestic and foreign purposes, clearly defined by compact, has for the first time in the history of the world rendered Republicanism compatible with unlimited extension and liberty—compatible with permanency and strength.

Without this principle of our system, the power of the national government would soon degenerate into tyranny—a tyranny not the less crushing because it would be one of numbers or of majorities, rather than of one man or of a few men.

A central power legislating for interests as diverse and as remote from each other, would have none the less of the attributes of that of Alexander or Darius, or the Czar of Russia, from being named democratic, and men would appeal to arms and to revolution against its aggressions. Even with our present system, the founders of the Republic doubted of its capacity of indefinite extension, and nothing but the discovery of the railroad and the telegraph has taken away the wisdom of that doubt.

It becomes us, after all, to reflect that mere territorial aggrandizement in itself has but a small part in constituting national power and greatness. The history of the world has proved this. Of what rank is Russia, with all of her immense domain, in contrast with Britain? Things, the most glorious and great in the world's history, have been achieved by states territorially as unimportant as the smallest of ours. Let this fact rebuke that thirst for new empire, which is taking such foothold on the Republic, and which is urging us to the commission of crimes against the majesty of law—the comity of nations—and the principles of universal justice. To populate and develop the great regions already under our flag, will be the work of centuries to us and our descendants. Better a league of Switzerland than all the arid plains of Tartary.

Let us not unveil too rapidly that future which is marked out for us, whether we will or not. Under Heaven, as it was the destiny of the savage aboriginal, incapable of civilization, and with no law of progress engrafted upon his nature, to fade away before the steady advances of European arms and policy, so, the Anglo-Saxon element of America, by its flexibility and its power by the new elements which it has taken to itself in the trying, yet triumphant scenes through which it has passed, will and must, in the inevitable course of events, preside over the destinies of the Continent of America, aiding and directing them, adding life and vitality, rousing dormant and sleeping energies, and developing upon the theatre of the world, movements, in comparison with which, all that history can furnish, before the deluge, before the era of Christ, and since, shall dwindle into insignificance. It needs no ardent temperament to draw a stronger picture.

The population which achieved the Revolution was somewhat less than that of the present State of New-York. It was a population which had under the then system of colonial government required two hundred years in forming.

In less than 70 years from that time twenty millions of people have been aded to that little Revolutionary nucleus—a ratio of increase without a parallel in the annals of mankind.

In the period between 1840 and 1850 the total increase reached about six millions of persons—an increase as considerable as the increase of Great Britain in 30 years, and of France in 40 years.

Of this population of the United States, two millions in 1850 were foreign born, and one million more may be estimated as the descendants of those who have come into the country since the Revolution, leaving over twenty millions independent of all emigration since the Revolution, but the descendants of those who formed a part of it.

Of the foreigners among us, 1,400,000 are natives of the British dominions, (1,000,000 nearly being Irish,) 600,000 are Germans, and 50,000 French. Thirteen millions of the natives are residents of States in which they were born, and over 4,000,000 are residing out of the States in which they were born.

One of the secrets of our marvellous energy and development as a people is the facility with which we adapt ourselves to new circumstances and relations of life. There is nothing in the charms of home—nothing in the dearest and tenderest associations of life, which can interpose a barrier for a moment to the spirit of restless adventure which is ever impelling us back from the old States to the new—from the Atlantic into the forests of the Mississippi, or across the frightful passes of the mountains, as fortune may seem to beckon us.

A growing American family will have its off-shoots in every section of the Union, and soon the old homestead will pass into the hands of a stranger. How marvellously must this strengthen the national feeling, and intensify the interest which the citizen of one part of the Union will have in every other!

What a striking illustration has been presented in the case of

California, of the restless spirit of American adventure, and of its indifference to local ties, to which we have adverted!

Men of all ages, of all arts, and pursuits and professions, from all classes of society, even surrounded with the greatest comforts and highest allurements of home, have forgotten their legitimate avocations, thrown aside lucrative posts and callings as utterly worthless, and braving the ocean for thousands and tens of thousands of miles, or inhospitable climes and frightful journeys through trackless wildernesses, in handfuls or in vast cavalcades, full of hope and enterprise, taken up their extraordinary pilgrimage to endure the fierce hardships of the placers of the Sacramento, and the mountain gorges, in the ceaseless search for gold. Wonderful, wonderful is this great passion for wealth, which, like a despot, rules over our wills, and controls and masters our associations and affections, and breaks up with remorseless strokes every link, and bond, and sacred connection in life! God, by it, works out the destinies of man.

Great as is the stimulant which this roving tendency of our people, noticeable by Burke so long ago, in his speech upon the colonies, has in the development of our national honor, let us not forget that it brings with it too a blight, closely wrapped up and concealed within it. Where will be the faith of a people who are ever destroying local attachments and the sympathies and affections of the family—with whom nothing is consecrated by time—with whom nothing but new and exciting scenes seem to be worthy of a moment's attention? Does it not endanger that State pride, which is the basis and hope of our institutions, and seek to give to nationality a power which in the event must be fatal to our liberties? Does not the existence of such a spirit impede the highest and noblest aspirations of the heart, and give to man something of the character of the mechanism of the iron locomotive which conducts his motions?

It is not possible that the tide of emigration from abroad to our country can continue very long. The improvements in the arts, and the discharge of the surplus, will render the inducements abroad to emigrate less and less. New outlets to emigration are opening in other countries, as in Australia, Canada, &c. It is against all the precedents of history that such a state of things should long continue. Though our territories seem to be boundless, population has not a necessary tendency to swell in the ratio of territory. But whether the increase continue or not, experience has shown, against all expectation, that this large influx of foreigners has not deteriorated the national morals, or endangered the national liberties. The danger of our country's tending towards rank and monarchy, from the influx of persons brought up under such forms of government, seemed to be the most pressing; but the very reverse has been the tendency, and we have run and are every day running more and more into extremes of *democracy*. The foreign element may increase this tendency, but its proportion being annually less and less to the native born, and its diffusion being very general over large sections, its effects must be neutralized. The States which have been most increased by such population, have shown nothing less of the pride of Republicanism, the principles of progress, and the desire for mental development, than those that have derived no such increase. It is only in the large cities that the foreign element has ever been unfavorably felt; and this is rather owing to the fact that the worst portions of such population will stop there naturally, and because in great cities vice and crime are more natural even with the natives. In many of our large Northern cities, there is a species of native population, known by various billingsgate designations, who, in readiness for lawless excess, are certainly nothing in advance of the worst class of foreigners. A people who have derived so much from foreign increase, should be the last to complain of its operations. With one-third of our standing army of foregn birth, and with so large a foreign portion of the physical working power, which has been extending our wonderful system of public improvement, and so fast filling up the wilderness, it little becomes us to express distrust. The foreigner soon assimilates to the soil, and he, and his children after him, are the ready defenders of the flag of the country. If they are for a time more exposed than any other population to the wiles of the demagogue, we should be willing to adopt any safe and practicable checks, compatible with their rights to citizenship, within a period which shall neither be so short as to be inconsistent with a knowledge of our institutions, nor so long as to involve a condition at war with the theory of our system of a large free population, without the right of representation, and forming no part of the government.

The density of population in the United States does not exceed seven persons to the square mile, whilst in Great Britain there are 234 to the square mile, and in Belgium 385. Whilst the densest of our States, Massachusetts, contains 137 to the square mile, the least dense, Minnesota and Oregon, have only one inhabitant to every 30 or 40 square miles.

With the same density as Massachusetts, the United States would embrace 420 millions; with the density of Belgium, our territory is vast enough to include all of the present inhabitants of the earth.

It is not in the power of man to conceive of a case more typical of the wonderful advances of our country, than the growth of some of its great cities—for example, Cincinnati. About the time when the Federal Constitution was adopted, Mathias Denman, of New-Jersey, bought for $550, 800 acres of the land on which the whole of all the great business streets of Cincinnati are now located. In 1800, but 750 persons had made their residences here. In 1840, there were 46,000; in 1850, 115,000—a three-fold increase in 10 years. At the present moment the number cannot be less than 150,000, which will make Cincinnati the fourth or fifth city in the Union. Thus can men, in its midst, in the very activity and meridian of life, in sweeping the eye over its densely compact streets, its marts of commerce, its richly laden warehouses, its palaces of wealth, its splendid cathedrals of religion, its school-houses and its colleges, its quays, with their fleets of steamers, its railroads and telegraphs, approaching from every point of the compass, remember and recount scenes of the Indian wigwam and the Indian war-whoop, and when in all of its splendid and almost enchanted prospect was heard but the woodman's axe.

The State in which it is situated is another miracle of the present century. Admitted into the Union in 1802, with a population of 45,000, or two-thirds the population of Delaware, she already vies with Pennsylvania, and does not fall far short of the population of all of the New-England States together. She has 920 miles of canals, built at a cost of $17,000,000, and 1,418 miles of railroads, a greater extent than any other State in the Union, except New-York. Her roads in progress (1853) were 1,736 miles, making a total programme of 3,154 miles. The magic lamp of Aladin, in Eastern story, scarcely developed more rapid creations of wealth and power. The quick and infinite changes of the kaleidoscope are the only parallel for these.

The great interior valley, too, of which it is a part—the central basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries—what enchantment at every step! The smoking cabin, the stealthy savage, the stalwart pioneer, the victim at the stake, the tomahawk and the scalp—the hunter's horn, the log house and the picket—the interminable forests—the arrow trail! The nineteenth century opened thus upon the mighty West! It is so no more—the mansion rises, the plough speeds, the locomotive whizzes by, the paddle-wheels of the steamer dash into spray the slugged waters of every tortuous stream—fields laden with produce, wealth heaped up on every quay, the fashions of Paris, the elegance, the civilization, the intellectual culture of European Courts! The spirit of the Anglo-Saxon has brooded over this waste, and chaos has broken up into life and light, and a thousand forms of attractiveness and beauty. *Westward* has been the tide of empire. It has been leaving even Ohio behind, and in its rapid footsteps making of it a very far down-east State. No longer may it be sung of her as of yore,

> "Together let us rise,
> Seek brighter plains, and more indulgent skies,
> Where fair *Ohio* rolls her amber tide,
> And nature blossoms in her virgin pride."

The centre of representative population of the Union is now west of the mouth of the Ohio. Standing at this point, four great arms of an inland ocean are opened to either point of the compass. To the east the Ohio ascends 1,000, penetrating in its tributaries the interior of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—to the west the Missouri sweeps 3,000 miles towards the waters of the Western Ocean—to the north and the south old Mississippi, father of all rivers, conveys his waters to the ocean. It has been working its way onward, that old river, further than our fancy may trace it—through all climes, and lands, and peoples—from whe e its remote source, a sleeping lake, deep set in impenetrable shades, on mountain heights, beyond all haunts of civilized life, mirrors savage and unchased beast, it has worked itself on, father of all waters, among mountains

> "Where rolls the Oregon and hears no sound
> Save his own dashings,"

through glades, over crags and precipices, now gaining breadth, now tapering and constrained again, then rushing impetuously forward—here showing limpidly a pebbled bottom, there deepened and frowned upon by heights rising upon heights, rugged and snow-capped—onward gaining in strength and in vigor, as kindred waters meet and blend and sweep on together, leaving the savage the intractable forests, and its inmates to be cheered by sounds of busy nations of toiling men as old Ocean nears at last. Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New-Orleans, fair sisters, creation of the waters of the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi, as the Venus of mythology, was the creation of the waters of the great deep.

The area of the great Western Valley has been calculated as follows:—

Ohio Valley	200,000	square miles.
Mississippi proper	180,000	"
Missouri	500,000	"
Lower Mississippi	330,000	"
Total	1,210,000	"

Its outline is 6,100 miles, and this portion of the Union included, embraces Western New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri; Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio; Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin, whose total population may be estimated at 10 or 12,000,000. From 1800 to 1810, the population of the valley doubled. In half a century its population has increased twenty-fold, an average duplication every 12 years. The average density to the square mile is now but 10 or 12. If as densely populous as Britain, there is space enough in our interior empire for 300,000,000 of people.

Mr. Calhoun, in his great report on the Memphis Convention, (1846,) kindled with the magnificent theme which was presented before him—a population pressing upon the limits of the Rocky Mountains, a tonnage augmented thirty-fold in thirty years, a trade already equalling the whole foreign exports and imports of the United States together—three hundred millions of dollars—and this but in the beginning.

"Looking beyond to a not very distant future, when this immense valley, containing within its limits one million two hundred thousand square miles, lying in its whole extent in the temperate zone, and occupying a position midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, unequalled in fertility and the diversity of its productions, intersected in every direction by the mighty stream, including its tributaries, by which it is drained, and which supply a continuous navigation of upwards of ten thousand miles, with a coast, including both banks, of twice that length, shall be crowded with population, and its resources fully developed; imagination itself is taxed in the attempt to realize the magnitude of its commerce."

After these tedious details, let us rise to some calculation which must become of exciting interest. What may we reasonably calculate as the increase of the population of the United States in the next hundred years? If its increase be as great as in the last 60 years, we shall have 497 millions; if as great as between 1840 and 1850, deducting foreigners that have come in and formed a part of the population, it would be 252 millions; if it were no greater than the increase of Delaware, which has increased the least of all of the States, it would be 48 millions. At a mean of this ratio and that of the Union in 60 years, we shall have in 1950, 114 millions. This calculation will no doubt be nearer the truth than any other.

A probable distribution of the population of the United States in 1950 would be, the Atlantic States 20,000,000, the Missipippi Valley 65,000,000, the Pacific coast 15,000,000.

But these are idle dreamings. Those who have prophesied before have proved such indifferent prophets, that we cannot but be considered on dangerous ground. Who shall dare to compute what waves from the ocean of eternity shall come rolling in—year, and year, and year again, in a whole century which is before us? What wars, what pestilences, what famine, what social or political convulsions, what breaking up and building up of dynasties, what territories gained, what territories lost!

Will the liberties of our people subsist, then, and their vital energies be preserved? In a hundred years nations have risen to glory, or have perished and been lost. In a hundred years the whole face of the earth has been changed. Sweeping over this great continent and over the neighboring isles from the Northern Ocean to the Southern Seas, under the flag of the great Republic, will these hundred millions of human beings assert their liberties as we are doing to-day, or, corrupted and broken up into factions, will they present to the world a second Rome in ruins, whose decline and fall it will be the melancholy part of another Gibbon to indite? God protect and watch over us as a people, keep for us our liberties and our national honor, aid and sustain us in our amazing progress, and let a hundred years to come produce the great results indicated for them by the past, and such as were the object of the prayers of the wise and good fathers of the Republic.

Let us pass in rapid review some of the evidences of the industrial progress of the United States which are displayed in its commerce, agriculture and manufactures.

In the five years which preceded the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the exports and imports of the country did not exceed together 55 million dollars annually, being about one-sixth as much as the commerce of Great Britain, and one-third as much as that of France. In the last year the same commerce has reached $500,000,000—a tenfold increase, being considerably more than that of France, and three-fifths of that of Great Britain. Eight or ten years ago the commerce of Great Britain was not larger than ours at the present time, and her trade with all the world near the close of the last century did not exceed her present trade with us.

What shall be the future of our commercial empire, is more than the mind of man can now conceive. It has been gaining annually 7 or 8 per cent. on that of Great Britain, and even at this ratio, in 12 or 15 years, the two countries will share equally of the empire of the seas. But there is every reason to expect a larger ratio of increase when the great fields of the West are entirely opened and developed, when the South shall be stimulated to her utmost powers of production, when the shores of the Pacific shall be as populous as those of the Atlantic, and the commercial empire of the Indies be opened to us by a great overland railroad, and fleets of steamships—when all of our mineral and manufacturing resources shall be brought into full development—then shall open to us a commerce which the world has never paralleled in any single nation, and which will be as considerable as that of all the combined powers of the world. Great and benignant are the results of commerce upon the families of men. Let us take the extremest limits of the ocean, the stormiest islet of the deep, struggling against a thousand billows, and what do we find? The sailor and the trader have been there, and the return of the white wings is hailed by anxious multitudes, who bring out their richest treasures to be bartered for the veriest trifles of civilization. From the intercourse which arises, new wants are stimulated in their bosoms. They begin to think with the new objects which occasion thought; their views and ideas are naturally expanded to a wider compass, and they are insensibly moulded in the type of those who have excited their highest admiration and wonder. Mysterious, beneficent and wise, are the ways of Providence, when even the interests of men are called into requisition to work out the great problem of their existence.

The tonnage of the United States is 4,500,000 tons, as large as that of Great Britain five or six years ago, if, indeed, upon a close calculation, the two countries do not already vie with each other. At all events, the ratio of increase of our tonnage is twice as great as that of Britain. Nearly 2,000,000 tons have been built by us in the last five years, which is four times as much as in the five years preceding 1820. The North controls this tonnage, and it is calculated by Mr. Kettell, realizes fifty millions a year out of the carrying trade which she is permitted to conduct for the South. The steam marine of the Union is 600,000 tons, being four times as great as in 1840.

The home or inter-State trade of the country, under the influence of perfect freedom, and without the restraint of the revenue laws, may be estimated at $1,000,000,000. The commerce which floats on Western waters is estimated at $400,000,000; and the commerce of the Great Lakes at $300,000,000.

During the war of Napoleon, the carrying trade of the world was in our hands, and produced an amount of prosperity in the country which was unexampled. In the event of another general war in Europe, were it possible for us to be kept out of the fray, an extension of our commerce would result, which even figures might refuse to express.

The manufacturing progress of the United States is scarcely less marvellous than the commercial. We have invested in them 6 or $700,000,000, and our manufacturing product reaches $1,000,000,000. In 1807, we manufactured but 800 bales of cotton; in 1834, 216,000 bales; in 1852, over 600,000 bales, greatly more than is manufactured by France, and one-third as much as Great Britain, though 20 years ago we only manufactured one-fifth as much as she did. The South and the West in the same period have doubled the proportion which their cotton manufacture bears to that of the Union. Cotton goods constitute one-half of the whole exports of Great Britain, and seven-eighths of the whole amount consumed in Europe and

America is the product of Southern slave labor. In the manufacture of cotton, it is computed that more than seven millions of people are immediately interested, and that $1,200,000,000 capital is invested.

I shall be brief on the subject of agriculture. In 1840, it was estimated to produce for us $600,000,000. In 1850, by a close calculation on a deficient crop, the amount swells to $1,000,000,000, and at this moment may be taken to be $1,200,000,000. The produce $150,000,000 in cotton, against 2 or $300,000 at the beginning of the century. Our sugar crop is already 14 or $15,000,000. There was a third more of wheat, and double as much corn, produced in 1850 than in 1840.

We have 113,000,000 acres of land in cultivation, and 300,000,000 in occupancy, or about one-sixth part of the area of the Republic. These are carved out into about 1,448,000 farms, or distinct agricultural interests, with $3,500,000,000 invested in farms, implements, &c.—an average extent to each farm of 282 acres. What other country in the world can show results like these? If four-fifths of the slaves of the South be added, the amount of capital invested in the agricultural interests of America will be $5,000,000,000.

The physical well-being of a people has much to do with their social advancement. In the United States, fourteen-fifteenths of the free families have houses to themselves, whilst in Great Britain only six-sevenths are so favored, or about half the proportion. Comparing the different sections of the Union, it would appear that the territories have most houses in proportion to population; the South comes next; the Southwest next; then New-England, and last the North. The number of persons to a family is smallest in the territories, next in New-England, and largest in the North.

When we come to the education of the people, we find that 2,150,000 boys, and nearly 1,900,000 girls, are at schools and colleges, being about one-fifth of the population. The proportion in England and Wales is 1 in 8; Spain, 1 in 17; Russia, 1 in 77. The number of white persons over 20 years of age in the United States who cannot read and write is 1,053,000, about one-twelfth of the persons of that age. In England and Wales, in three years, half the persons who registered their marriages were incapable of reading and writing.

In comparing different sections of the Union with regard to education, we find that whilst in New-England only 1 adult in about 375 cannot read and write, in the Middle States 2 in 100 cannot; Southern States 9 in 100 cannot; Southwestern, 8; Northern, 5; Northwestern, 17, growing out of the great proportion of foreign-born,—14 out of every hundred there being incapable of reading and writing, which is the same proportion of the foreign-born in New-England. In the whole Union, 1 in 25 cannot read and write of the native-born, and 1 in 12 of the foreign-born.

These are gratifying results, and they should incite us to still further efforts in the cause of education. Shall a great and wealthy country pause to consider the difficulties or enumerate the cost of distributing light and instruction throughout all its extent, and of bringing home to each embryo citizen,—even the veriest offspring of beggary and want,—the means of becoming a nobleman in the only sense in which our institutions admit of nobility, and in which the might of intellect can make us all noble? I know of no patriot service more exalted than of that man who will come forward in our legislative halls to produce and carry out, from an enlightened appreciation of the subject in all its bearings, such educational movements as the exigencies of the country demad.

Let us diffuse knowledge throughout the length and breadth of this great country; multiply the means of information,—send the schoolmaster into every hovel,—dot every hill with the schoolhouse and college,—let the Press, without intermission, night and day, pour forth its steady streams of light,—foster Science and the Arts,—let the civilizing and godlike influences of machinery uninterruptedly extend. Then will the future of our country open, boundless and great, beyond all example, beyond all compare, and countless ages bless its mission and acknowledge its glorious dominion.

It was our intention to have said something about pauperism and its attendant ills in our country, as compared with others, but this is unnecessary: the number is not one-thirtieth as great as in Great Britain; this is an evil, however, which advances with an advancing country. The social and agrarian doctrines of France cannot take root among us for a very long period, unless we encourage class legislation, and incite the poor to think there is something of robbery in the idea of property; the sound patriot will resist the teachings of the demagogue which lead to this. He will know the true nature of property and of its laws. He will know that it is natural,—and, if natural, proper, though we may not see the reason,—that property, and want, and disease, and misery, should be the next door neighbor of wealth and unbounded prosperity. The towers of the palace cast their shadows down upon the roofless hovel, as naturally as the mountains do upon the neighboring hills. Yet that nobleman has not oppressed that beggar. He may, indeed, be liberal, and generous, and just, and mourn over the misery all the wealth in the world could not relieve. Nor is the beggar a victim of society and its laws; without that society, or those laws, he had not existed—he could not exist with the same security, his fathers before him had not prospered, (for generations of misery in the same household is scarcely a supposable case,) and his children would have no hope. Exclaim against Nature, that she has sent you in the world half finished, maimed, diseased, imbecile, an idiot—that you were born under the frozen serpent of the North, and must struggle against tumbling icebergs, or in the death-dealing breath of torrid suns—but limit not your complaints to these. In evincing her partiality in these respects, has she proclaimed an impartiality in every other? Is it not equally an outrage upon your rights, your equality, that your neighbor is taller, or stouter, better favored, more intellectual—or that he has broader acres, greater possessions, and more comforts? All the governments in the world could not prevent these distinctions. The worst government only would attempt it—for in the effort, how much injustice and wrong must be done to those who, to say the least of it, have as much right to their possessions, however earned, as you have to take them away! The remedy is within ourselves. It is for us to apply it. Be industrious, be frugal, be circumspect; if these remove not the evil, we have a claim upon the *benevolence*, not upon the *justice*, of our fellows. Sue, but not demand. If this benevolence fail, we are simply another victim of that inexplicable, yet, as we ought to believe, wise Providence, which strikes down without reason or explanation, and teaches the utter nothingness of man by her frequent indifference to his fate.

In 1828 we began the construction of railroads: in 1830 we had 41 miles; in 1840, 2,167 miles; in 1854, 15,648 miles; being twice the extent of those in Great Britain, and considerably more than in all the rest of the world together. Whilst the average cost in our country has been about $30,000 a mile, the cost in Europe has averaged about $100,000. We have put in operation in the last year about 3,000 miles, and have in course of construction a programme of 12,612 miles.

The mineral resources of the United States include almost every article of great commercial value. The coal and iron resources of some of our Western States are as large as those of the whole of Britain; we have lead and copper in profusion, and the gold resources of California are almost equal to those of the fabulous reports of Ormuz and the Ind. Labor cheapens, and population centralizes, and becomes dense. The mineral resources of the Union will be developed, and it need give us little concern that they remain undeveloped now, since our capital and labor are so abundantly and profitably employed in a thousand other channels. The patrimony we shall leave to our children. The results of the gold mines of California alone, in market value, equal almost the value of the whole cotton crop of the Southern States of the Union.

But, to conclude—in sketching thus rapidly the history of our country, how striking is the contrast of its early colonial periods with the present hour! It was in the sixteenth century that the leading European powers were introduced to a minute acquaintance with the continent of America. Adventurous navigation had rescued a world from savage dominion, and there were adventurous spirits enough to people that world, and identify thenceforward their destinies with it. A hundred years after, and civilization planted her abodes through all this waste. Peculiar indeed is the feeling with which these infant days of our country is regarded; so like an illusion does it all seem—so like a dream of glowing imagery. We look back as to a classic era, and the romance of Pocahontas and of Raleigh, of Fernando de Soto, and Juan Ponce de Leon, do they thrill us less than the beatific visions of the Greek, recurring to ages long ago, when Ilion resisted the shocks of Agamemnon's heroes, and the Argo sailed away to distant Colchis? The dim antiquity seems gathered around both of them alike. But let it pass, all—the romance of our history! They imagined not, the men of that day imagined not, the stupendous results which have occurred so soon. They saw not the benign and regenerating influences of a virgin land, preserved for countless ages uncorrupted by tyranny and ignorant of oppression. Could such a soil have nurtured else than freemen? They saw it not, and do we, even we, see other than darkly yet, the great consummation, the mighty destinies of the regions which three centuries ago were proclaimed from the mast-head of a crazy ocean bark, a speck upon the distant horizon?

The developments of American character are replete with instruction, and solve one of the most remarkable problems in the history of mankind. The untried scenes of a new world, cut off by trackless oceans from contact and communion with the civilization of unnumbered generations, were sufficient to introduce, what might have been predicted of them, results new, striking, and without a precedent. The indomitable will, the stern endurance, the inflexible and hardy spirit of independence, the high daring, the lofty patriotism, the adventurous, unlimited enterprise, the genius resolute, active, intrepid, inexhaustible in resources, elastic in vigor and in freshness, buoyant ever and hoping on, and executing, amid every trying scene, every danger, and difficulty, and disaster—triumphing everywhere and in all things. Philosophy could have argued this complexion for the men whose fathers braved so much beyond the ocean, and would philosophy have won less than the fame of prophecy by her judgment?

Let us trace a few of the influences which have been at work in our country, and which more than all others have been felt in the development of its character and power.

1. With the benefit of the experience of other great powers, the United States have inherited none of the abuses which in them have been consecrated by time, and which cannot be touched by the hand of the reformer without endangering the whole frame-work of society. It is thus that the patriotism of Europe is conservative, whilst that of America may boldly approximate to radicalism. We may touch the springs of society, and rearrange its delicate machinery, without the apprehension which is felt in other governments of throwing the whole into inextricable disorder.

2. Freedom of religious faith and worship has been guaranteed in every period of our history. The divorce of Church and State is the indispensable condition of the prosperity of either. Leagued with the Church, the State has ever been able to derive such sanctions for its abuses as are the most imposing upon the minds of men and the most fatal to their liberties. Degraded and corrupted by such contact, the Church, in its despotism over the consciences of men, has crushed out all true religion. Better all the "isms" which our free system has brought; all the scandal of fanatic excess; far better than the tythe system, the trading in Church benefits and presentations, the Courts ecclesiastical, the thunders of excommunication, the princely estates of the clergy—robbing honest industry of its hard-earned gains, and converting into an engine of stupendous plunder the meek and lowly religion of Christ. The religion of America is the spontaneous offering of the heart, and in elevating and enlarging it, has imparted to us no little of our power. Free to choose our form of worship, and to contribute as it may please us to its support, our people are already ministered to by 27,000 clergymen, have constructed 38,000 churches at an expense of $87,000,000, and have church-room to accommodate at one sitting 14,000,000 of people.

3. There are no privileged classes in America—no rank, except that of honor—no nobility, except that of the intellect and the heart—no title of distinction higher than that of the gentleman, which, in its fulness of meaning in our country, involves all, and often more than all, that is claimed abroad for proudest earl or marquis, duke or prince of the realm. The way to greatness is opened alike with us to the son of the mechanic and the millionaire. What a premium is here offered to the virtues—what a field for promotion to energy and talent! A splendid ancestry may, indeed, sometimes illumine the way to greatness, and furnish models for the descendant. It is more often the justification of indolence and the palliation of vice. The merit

of dead men, when claimed for the living, is like stars, we are told, seen on the water, which would not be there but for their bright originals in heaven. Wealthy classes we must have and shall have—men estranged from the cares and necessities of daily business—men to be the patrons of art and of letters, and to cultivate them in elegant repose, retired scholars and gentlemen. Such are necessary to correct the strong material tendencies of our people—to teach them that there is a progress of the moral and the intellectual, as well as of the physical—that authors and artists, and poets and books, are as necessary as railroads and telegraphs—that letters are as important as land. We want these, and they are fast presenting themselves. In the forest, in contests with nature and the savage, America has been too busy in acting out her great national epic to have had time to write it. Let Europe sneer at our want of a literature. We have begun at the base, and not at the apex. We are teaching the people to read books, which is more than she has ever done. The mines of thought which are being sprung throughout our reading masses will, as soon as the pressure of the physical is entirely removed, give to us Augustan and Elizabethan ages which shall not be memorable by their exception.

4. In the United States, local legislation has been left where it ought to be, in the hands of local legislators, which is the greatest safeguard that could be devised against excessive and unequal legislation, the bane of all other countries. The nearer the government can be brought home to the people, the more intimate will be the part they will take in it; the greater the responsibility exacted, the wiser and more intelligent the rules of action adopted. Local legislators can better understand the interests and wants of their constituency, than could a central Congress legislating in detail for great communities. Under a system like ours, there is no room for the tyranny of sections—but each is entirely adequate to its own security and protection. Thus is power distributed and not concentrated. Thus may it be subjected to wise restraints, and preserved most effectually for good, and least effective for evil. We find here what may be called the compromises of the American System. Let us adhere to them. The encroachment made to-day upon the reserved rights of the weakest and most remote of our co-sovereigns, will to-morrow have a yoke for our own necks. If this great system is to be preserved, there must be respect paid to the rights of all of its parts. The North, as well as the South—the East as well as the West, must share equally of the benefits or the burdens. Only ruin can follow the infraction of the rights and privileges of any section. Melancholy experience has taught us this, and may we profit by that experience.

5. The people of the United States have been content to

take care of their own affairs, without intermeddling with those of others. The exceptions have been few, and ought not to be called in precedent. The Father of the Republic counselled this course as suited to our exigencies, and enabling us the better to be employed in the development of our own nationality. Moral influence we may give to the struggles of brother Republicans abroad—wise counsels, sound examples, without setting ourselves up as the propagandists of political principles, or entering upon a Don Quixote crusade against oppression and wrong throughout the world. Let Europe, for the present, fight out her own battles. Her old and decayed system must crumble down—her people must be born again, before they can be fitted for the full blaze of the light of liberty, which dazzles not our eyes. Time alone can bring about this. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." The liberties of the millions now and hereafter inhabiting our country, will be task enough for one nation adequately to maintain and guard. "The Greeks are at our doors." If the wise rule of our ancestors is ever to be departed from—and it is not claimed as applicable rigidly to every period of our national being—the case must be one of far greater merit than Europe has presented in the last half century. Now that the Old World is likely to be convulsed again—that the fires which have been lit by Cossack and Turk by the shores of the Bosphorus, threaten general conflagration—that Poland, and Italy, and Hungary, may be found again asserting in arms their liberties and nationalities—that English bayonet and French artillery shall awaken all the dire elements of war, which have slumbered so long, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean—hard indeed will it be for us to resist the pressure from our sympathies and retain our *wise neutrality*. Much will there be to gall our pride; much to tax our endurance and outrage the noblest sentiments of the heart—yet once let us yield and become involved in these great struggles, and when and where shall we be disentangled from them? The drama of our future will be one of violence and blood. Neither manhood nor religion require from us greater love for others than for ourselves. We are doing more for Republicans throughout the world, by furnishing it a home and proving in it the practicability of Republican institutions, when wisely framed and administerd, than could be afforded by all the material aid and intervention which fleets and armies could carry. The gallantry of Ingraham, sustained by the President and by Congress, has sufficiently aroused Europe to the fact that Republican America well knows how and when to extend the protection of its flag and the power of its nationality.

6. Freedom of speech and of the press are the inalienable birthright of the American citizen. With such levers, what abuse cannot be probed—what outrage redressed? We dare to

speak our thoughts and to print them. This magic power of the press is at work throughout the land. Two thousand five hundred newspapers are discussing and elaborating measures of policy, and criticising the actions of public men. It is a power that is hundred-eyed, and hundred-armed, and sleeps not—watchful sentinels of the liberties of the people. There is something almost divine in its action. Licentious at times though it be, prostituted to base uses, better this than the gag law and the censor, and the other restraints which despotism throws around it in Europe. The freedom of the press is the ægis of our liberty.

7. Finally, we have preserved the family relation, in all of its sacredness, in America. No elder sons usurp rights and powers, no daughters are disfranchised. The fame and the inheritance of the father descend alike to all of his offspring. Here only is the true position of woman in society, recognized and guarded—not her right to be unsexed, to brawl in political assemblies—to be elbowed up to the ballot-box, to make Amazonian displays in the forum. Oh, no—nothing of this. It is the delicate softness of the sex which makes the influence of woman omnipotent—give to her the sinews and the muscle, and the capacities for stern resolve of the other sex, and she becomes his slave. Beautiful by the hearth—beautiful at the domestic board—beautiful in her ministering of charity—beautiful in her guiding counsels to infancy, in her tender, pious solicitudes for manhood—as the sister, the wife, or mother—the women of America have been performing their high and holy mission; and execrations upon the heads of those who would substitute for her—so soft, so lovely, so cherished and adored in the innermost heart of man—that modern Amazonian creation, which is born of the monstrous conception of a "Woman's Rights Convention." The idolatry which is offered to woman in our country has been nerving us for great deeds. "Only the brave deserve the fair." Crime flies from the rebuke of her presence. She is a soft, steady, exhaustless lamp—guiding the virtuous to safety and to God.

Art. II.—THE HISTORY OF STATISTICS.

There have been in ancient and recent times, various ways for collecting general statistics. Those have proved themselves the most reliable, which have been carried out for religious interests by churches, etc., and those ordered by governments for civil and political exigencies.

First—The first method may be traced back to the very simple service of Polytheism, although reliable and fixed statements may be only looked for in the Christian Church. The ancient Romans were at the earliest times of the Republic—and according to Dyonisius of Halicarnassus, even under the king, Servius Tullius—already by law compelled to announce, under penalties, the births at the Temple of Juno Lucina, the deaths, at that of the goddess Libitina, and all young men, having attained to puberty, had to appear at the temple of Juventus. In the Christian Church, children were baptized by priests, for a certain fee, in the fourth century, which fact we learn from the decrees enacted by the Spanish Concilium, in the year 304, which prohibits the exaction of the said fee. In the sixth century, this fee had become a fixed tax, often mercilessly demanded, to which soon a similar one was added for solemnizing marriages, which latter, however, became not legally necessary before the second half of the eighth century. Funerals were almost among all nations attended with religious ceremonies, under the management of the priesthood. Immediately after the introduction of the Christian religion into the Roman Empire, by Constantine, it became usual to bury the dead in sacred places for a fixed fee, from which, however, the poor were exempted. That this must have been done in a certain degree, is beyond doubt, as very often rich persons were the benefactors of the Church. Therefore they kept registers of deaths, which, although very incomplete, could easily be perfected.

In the sixteenth century, we first meet with formal orders to keep complete church-books, addressed to all ministers. The oldest ecclesiastical order known is that of the Synod of Seez, in 1524, after which followed the secular ones of the English king, Henry VIII., of 1537, and of the French, Francis I., 1539. In Germany, it appears that it was already long before that time, in cities, customary to keep official lists. Thus we find them in Augsburg, since the year 1501; in Breslau, for the Protestant Church, since 1555.

Secondly—The census by order of the governments have always taken place for the State's exigencies, either very irregularly, or for discharging duties towards the State, and then generally repeated in regular periods. In antiquity, at Athens, a census was taken not very often. It usually embraced only the number of actual citizens, when there happened to be an occasion for distributing corn or great amounts of money confiscated by the government. However, we find also a general list of the whole grown male part of the population, citizens, aliens and slaves, in the times of the Archon Demetrius Phalereus. The same took place in other Greek States, although we possess only very insufficient and scarce materials. Another mode of ascertaining the number of the population was the census of the citizens of Rome, but which also comprised only the male adults, as all those which could bear arms, to which, however, after the greater extension of the Roman Empire, the allieus (socii) were added. Whether this census was taken regularly every five years, or if there were sometimes intermissions, is not exactly to be asserted.

In the middle age we do not meet with any statistics of population at all, and the data in our possession are founded only on estimates and the public registers of landed property, as the Doomsday-book of William the Conqueror, and those of the Courtly March of Brandenburg of the time of the Emperor Charles IV., or the books on fiefs of the Teutonic Knights, on the southeastern shores of the Baltic. In recent times, standing armies increased financial exigencies, etc., have urged the necessity of more exact statistical statements, so as to be enabled to survey at a certain period the strength of the nation in so far as it is defensible or taxable. The commencement of such was in the middle of the 17th century, as the age of Louis XIV., by the great demands it made upon the defensive and financial strength of the nations, made the census a lasting necessity. Since that time censuses have been taken in all Christian States, and are extended over the whole territory, everywhere except in Russia. In France, the first census was taken under Louis XIV., in England in 1701. It is repeated in both of these countries now at regular periods. In Prussia, the first general census took place under the reign of the elector Frederic William, 1683, and it is now repeated every third year. The same is the case in the kingdom of Holland. The larger States of the German Confederation, every third or fifth year, have an exact list of the population made out. In Denmark, the first census was executed in 1769, and it has been repeated since that time, 1787, 1801, 1834 and 1849. In Sweden, a general census took place at first in 1748, and has been repeated in the last century every 25 years, (1773, 1798,) and in the present, 1810 and 1825. In Spain Charles III., 1787, ordered the first exact census, which has been renewed in 1820 and 1833. In the United States the census is taken every ten years, and in most of the States it is taken independently every 5 or 10 years.

Art. III.—GOLD AND SILVER PRODUCED BY THE MINES OF AMERICA FROM 1492.

With the exception of statements made by some of the early adventurers of the amounts of gold obtained of the aborigines in particular instances, there is little else than conjecture as to the amount of the precious metals gathered by the early discoverers of America. Humboldt, whose opinion is perhaps entitled to more confidence than that of any other writer, has estimated the average annual amount of gold which America furnished to Europe, from 1492 to 1500, at £52,000 sterling.

According to the accounts of Herrara and others respecting the operations of the early adventurers, the estimate of Humboldt would seem correct for the whole period from 1492 to 1519, when Cortez first landed in Mexico. Up to this period gold only had been found. Twenty years after the conquest of Mexico, that of Peru was made by Pizarro. The process by which the Peruvians had procured their gold and silver before the arrival of the Europeans, was simple, rude, and with little regard to extracting the whole of the precious metals from the ores. The use of mercury was not adopted till forty years after the conquest. The smelting was performed in small, portable furnaces, or cylindrical tubes of clay, very broad, and pierced with a great number of holes. In these the Indians placed layers of silver ore, galena and charcoal, and the current of air which entered the holes quickened the fire, and gave it a great degree of intensity. These furnaces were moved from one elevation to another, according to the degree of high or low wind. When it was found that the wind blew too strong, and consumed too much of the fuel, they were removed to a lower situation. By these means the natives obtained argentiferous masses, which were smelted again in their own cottages. This was performed by a number of persons, ten or twelve at a time, blowing a fire through copper tubes, from one to two yards in length, pierced with a small hole at the extremity towards the fire, which thus acted in the same manner as the modern blow-pipe.

The mines of Potosi were discovered in 1545. Several mines had been previously worked, but there is no account of the gold and silver which they yielded. The estimate of Humboldt up to this time, which is adopted by all the leading writers, is as follows:—

The annual addition in twenty-nine years, between the discovery in 1492 and the conquest of Mexico in 1521, at £52,000, would amount to	£1,308,000
The amount for twenty-five years, from the conquest of Mexico to the discovery of Potosi, at the annual rate of £630,000.........	15,750,000
Total addition in 63 years	£17,058,000

Writers have estimated that the quantity of gold and silver in the old world had been reduced to thirty-three or four millions, and that the supply of the European mines at the discovery of America was equal to that which was annually consumed by wear.

The discovery of the mines of Potosi was accidental. It was made by an Indian hunter, Diego Hualca, who, in pulling up a shrub, observed filaments of pure silver about the roots. The mass, on examination, was found to be enormous, and a large part of the population was attracted to the spot. A city soon sprung up. The mountain was perforated on all sides, and the produce, in a few of the first years, exceeded whatever had been recorded of the richest mines of the world.

During the first ten years after the discovery, no account was kept of the quantity of treasure obtained, but during the succeeding twenty-three years, from 1556 to 1578, a tax of a maravedi upon each marc of silver was laid. The account of this tax gives as its amount nine millions eight hundred and two thousand two hundred and fifty-seven peros, and the treasure therefore must have amounted to $49,011,285, or $2,130,925 annually. Humboldt and other writers have concluded that the yield of the mines did not exceed during the first ten years that of subsequent and equal periods. This opinion is based upon the improved processes of amalgamation introduced after the end of the ten years. During the next twenty-one years, from 1579 to 1600, the amount of treasure according to the tax was $29,185,990, or $1,389,859 annually.

During this period Chili yielded some gold, but the principal supply of treasure came from Mexico. Humboldt is chiefly followed by all writers in the estimate of the annual supply during all this period, which is reckoned at $10,000,000. This, in the period of fifty-four years, terminating at 1600, would amount to $540,000,000.

It would be an interesting subject to investigate the influence which this accumulation of treasure had upon the social condition of the inhabitants of Europe. The advance in prices, the rise in wages, the increase of luxury, and the more general diffusion of comforts, are distinctly marked in the pages of history.

The sum which formed the stock of money current in Europe at the latter end of the fifteenth century, is thus estimated by one of the most laborious English writers who has investigated the subject:—

1st. The stock existing at the time of the discovery of America.....	£34,000,000
2d. That produced in the hundred and twelve subsequent years, after making allowance for the loss by wear and tear	138,000,000
	172,000,000
Deducting what had been conveyed to Asia, and what is supposed to have been applied to the purpose of commodities of all kinds....	42,000,000
	£130,000,000

This is equivalent to quadrupling the quantity of coin in Europe in the first century after the discovery of America. A conclusion which will admit of great difference of opinion.

After the year 1600 the mines in the district of Potosi in Peru declined greatly. In the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century they yielded $1,670,344; and in the last fifteen years, from 1685 to 1699, both years inclusive, the average amounts to no more than $559,943. This decline is not ascribed to the exhaustion of the mines, but to the cruel conduct of the Spaniards.

During the same period, the district now known as Bolivia was productive of metals. Mines were opened and worked in Carangas, Oruro, Andacava, and Chaquiapu, or La Paz. At the same time the silver mines in the northern part of Peru at Gauricocha, or Pasco, were opened, and yielded a large amount of that metal. Thus, although the district of Potosi declined, the other parts of Peru advanced so considerably as more than to compensate for the deficiency. This increase of silver was greatly promoted by the extension of the mines of mercury at Huancavelica. The quantity at first obtained from them was small, compared with that which they reached between the years 1598 and 1684, after which they appear again to have declined. The principal one of these mines became choked up about 1790, which was a great misfortune to the mining interest of South America. The superintendent of that day removed the pillars which had been left by the excavators of the galleries to support the roof. By the superincumbent pressure the roof fell in, and the passages became blocked up. "The master miners," says Humboldt, "accused the intendant of having removed the pillars to ingratiate himself with the Court of Madrid, by procuring in a very few years a great quantity of mercury. The intendant, on his part, affirmed that he had acted altogether with the consent of the master miners, who thought the pillars might be replaced by heaps of rubbish."

Meantime the increase of gold was taking place both on the north and south of Peru. In Chili the Spaniards and Indians were sedulously employed in washing for gold in those streams which descend from the Cordilleras. The climate and soil there are exceedingly favorable to gold washers. "It is usually observed," remarks a traveller who visited that country, "that in those countries where great mineral riches exist, the soil is of a barren and unproductive nature; but Chili affords a striking and almost solitary exception to this rule. Streams abounding in gold wander through the most luxuriant corn-fields, and the farmer and the miner hold converse together on their banks."

At this period some silver, but more gold, was found in New Granada, but the principal quantity of gold was obtained in the ravines of the mountainous regions of Antioquia in the valley of Cauca, between the central and western Cordilleras, and especially in the southern extremity of the province of Popyan.

About the year 1630, the mines of Guanaxuato, in Mexico, were greatly extended, and those of Tasco, Zultepec, Zacatecas, and Pachuca began to improve, and so continued to the end of the century. The ancient documents on the subject of the product of treasure are very obscure, but Humboldt has concluded that the precious metals produced in Mexico so increased between 1600 and 1700, that in the last ten years of the century the mines delivered to the mints, in gold and silver, to the amount of more than five million piastres. It is estimated by Jacobs, that South America, exclusive of Brazil, yielded during the century terminating in 1700, in conjunction with the produce of Mexico, $10,500,000. Brazil is estimated at another million, and the amount not reported at the Mexican mints, but conveyed away by contraband means, is estimated at $2,000,000. Thus we have an annual yield from all the American mines, of $13,600,000, for the hundred years terminating in 1700.

The following estimate of the coin in circulation at the end of 1699, throughout the world, may be new to many of our readers, and may also serve as a landmark in the progress of our subject:—

Stock of coin left at the end of 1599		£130.000,000
Deduct for abrasion and loss in the course of the century past		43,000,000
		87,000,000
Produce of the mines of the world in one hundred years	£337,500,000	
Transferred to India and China	33,250.000	
	£304,250,000	
Deduct one-fifth converted to other objects than that of coin	60,250,000	
	£244,000,000	
Deduct for wear and tear	34,000,000	210,000,000
		£297,000,000

The produce of mineral treasure from this period was slow, but uniform, throughout America, until nearly the close of the century. The great mine of Valenciana, says one of the writers upon this period, which during forty years yielded to its proprietors a clear profit of from eighty-five to one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling yearly, was neglected until near the year 1760, and after ten years' labor and expenditure, when the richest part of the vein had been reached, continued for upwards of forty years to yield more than half a million sterling in gold and silver. The rich district of Guanaxuato, in Mexico, which in the years before 1766, yielded only three hundred and eighty thousand ounces of silver annually, produced in the latter years of its prosperity more than one million five hundred thousand. The mineral repository of Catorce was only discovered in the year 1773, but it yielded a very large quantity of gold and silver till 1798, when the value of the minerals declined. The vein of Biscaina did not become enormously productive until 1762. In twelve years from that period, the owner of it gained a profit of more than a million sterling, with part of which he presented to the King of Spain two ships of war, one of them of one hundred and twenty guns, and also lent him upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, which was never after repaid. The mines of Zacatecas, which in 1750 scarcely furnished silver to the amount of more than one hundred thousand pounds, increased in a few years to ten times that amount.

The following is the statement of the product of the mines of Mexico in gold and in silver, delivered to be coined at the several mints in periods of ten years, reduced to sterling at the rate of four shillings and two pence the piastre, according to Humboldt and Ward.

In the ten years from	1700 to 1709	£10,777,298
" "	1710 to 1719	13,697,297
" "	1720 to 1729	17,131,921
" "	1730 to 1739	18,860,355
" "	1740 to 1749	23,302,633
" "	1750 to 1759	26,197,936
" "	1760 to 1769	23,505,012
" "	1770 to 1779	34,912,858
" "	1780 to 1789	40,318,948
" "	1790 to 1799	48,191,711
" "	1800 to 1809	47,142,814
		£304,039,783
It is estimated by Humboldt that the gold and silver of Mexico which did not pay the duty to the king was equal to one-fifth of that which did. Taking it at that amount, there may be added		60,807,956
		£364,847,739
This is an annual average product of		£3,316,706

The greatest quantity of silver from Peru has been extracted from the mines of Pasco. They are in the midst of mountains covered with perpetual snow, and are themselves at a height of thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and, consequently, in a severe climate and barren soil. They are said to contain masses of silver equal to the quantity found in the district of Guanaxúato in Mexico, and at no great depth below the surface. But the unhealthiness of the climate, the expense of conveying necessaries to such an elevation, and the water by which the pits are often submerged, have been impediments to extensive operations. Nevertheless, these mines yielded, subsequently to 1700, even throughout the century, annually eight hundred thousand ounces of silver. In the province of Truxillo the Hualyayae, Gumachuco and Conchuco mines have been worked since 1772, and yielded annually eight hundred thousand ounces of silver. The ores of the district were said by Humboldt to be richer than those of Potosi.

The gold and silver obtained from the mines in Peru was ordered to be brought to Lima to be coined. No regular returns of the amount are attainable of an earlier date than 1754. The gold and silver which paid the duty on coinage from this date to

1809, was 240,408,058 piastres. Writers upon this subject, especially Jacobs, have reckoned the amount the same for the preceding fifty-nine years, and thus concluded the amount of gold and silver yielded by the mines of Peru for the one hundred and ten years previous to 1810, to have been $480,816,116.

The western part of Columbia has yielded gold from the earliest period, but no silver of account. The gold is obtained in alluvial districts. Veins have been found in the mountains of Guamoco and Antioquia, but the working of them has been neglected. The gold obtained from the washing was coined, and paid duty at Santa Fe de Bogota. In 1801 it averaged 2,500,000 piastres, from which amount it had not varied materially for a long period.

The gold and silver obtained in Chili was coined at the capital, Santiago, where the tax was collected. It amounted to about $850,000 annually, and for the period from 1700 to 1810, it is estimated that the gross yield of the mines and washings was $93,500,000.

Buenos Ayres, which at one time included the mountain of Potosi, had many rich mines about this period, especially La Paz, Carangas and Oruro; the annual product of which is stated by Humboldt to have been $4,200,000, or in one hundred and ten years $462,000,000.

Bringing together under one view the products of the gold and silver mines of Spanish America, and regarding the amount of contraband, or which did not pay a tax, we have the following results:—

Peru	£100,169,524
Columbia	57,341,666
Chili	19,532,166
Buenos Ayres	96,250,000
Product paying duty	273,293,356
Product on contraband	68,323,339
	341,616,995
Product of Mexico as above stated	364,847,739
	£706,464,434

But Brazil belonged to the Portuguese, and its product of gold must be added to the amount of gold and silver obtained in Spanish America. In the appendix to the report of the Bullion Committee of the English House of Commons in June, 1810, there is an account of the product, or duty of one-fifth, from the 1st of August, 1751, to December, 1794, for the two greatest mining provinces of Brazil, those of Minas Geraes, and of Minas Novas; and also of the district of Goiazes. By this statement, it appears that there was a decrease in the amount of the quintos on gold as follows:—

	Arobas.	Mures.	Ounces.
Annual average from 1752 to 1762	104	7	5
" " 1763 to 1773	90	3	1
" " 1774 to 1784	69	20	4
" " 1785 to 1794	45	41	5

Thus the tax of one-fifth the weight amounted to 3,369 arobas of gold; the value of each aroba in sterling is £1,821 17s. 4d. Consequently, the whole amount produced from the mines in fifty-one years was £30,719,335. The yield of the other mines for the same period is estimated at £9,281,665.

The only method without statistics, which do not exist, by which to arrive at the results of the preceding period of fifty-nine years, is through an investigation of the commerce of the period, with all those incidental circumstances which have a degree of influence upon it. After such an investigation, Jacobs, among other writers, has reckoned the amount produced as equal to that of the subsequent period, and the total from 1700 to 1810 at £80,000,000, thus:—

Spanish America	£706.464,434
Portuguese America	80,000,000
	786,464,434
Or an annual product of	£7,146,767

Since the commencement of the present century, the product of the mines originally of Spanish and Portuguese America has rapidly declined. This has been in consequence of political disorders and wars, and not from any failure in the mines. Thus in Mexico, the money coined at the mint in 1809 was $26,172,982 in gold and silver; but in 1812 it had declined to $4,409,266. In Guanaxuato, according to Mr. Ward, the amount of the precious metals diminished from 8,852,472 marcs of silver, and 27,810 marcs of gold; the product of fifteen years preceding the revolution, to 2,877,213 marcs of silver, and 8,109 marcs of gold. The mines of Sombrerete declined from five hundred thousand to three hundred thousand annually. The product of the mines of Catorce, which was second only to that of Guanaxuato in the amount of silver raised, being nearly three millions of dollars annually, was so reduced as to yield, on the average for the fifteen years of the revolution, $599,400. The Bisciana vein, which yielded $857,042 annually, declined during the period from 1800 to 1823, to $14,285 annually. In each district the principal mines, with a single exception, were abandoned; the machinery was allowed to go to ruin, and the silver raised was merely the gleanings of more prosperous times; the workings were confined almost entirely to the upper levels. Reports have been made of the quantity of money coined at the four mints between 1810 and 1829, including both gold and silver. This amount is $220,403,183.

The produce of gold and silver in Central America was always included in the returns from Mexico previous to 1820. At that time a mint was established, which, up to 1829, had coined about $2,893,710.

The entire amount of gold and silver supplied by the late Spanish dominions in America, for the twenty years terminating in 1829, is thus estimated:

Mexico	$220,043,200
Guatimala	2,893,710
Columbia	33,564,267
Peru	64,688,429
Buenos Ayres	30,000,000
Chili	16,618,880
Brazil	19,892,400
	$387,700,886
Or at 4*s*. 2*d*. the dollar	£80,736,768

As early as 1824 gold was found in North Carolina; to wit, 1824, $16,000; 1825, $17,000; 1826, $20,000; 1827, 21,000; 1828, $46,000; 1829, $128,000. Also in Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, small quantities were found at the same time.

A recapitulation of the amounts thus far stated, presents the following results of the produce of precious metals from the mines of America:

From 1492 to 1600	£130,458,000
1600 to 1700	337,500,000
1700 to 1810	786,464,434
1810 to 1829	80,736,768
	£1,235,159,202

We have thus far followed chiefly the estimate of Humboldt and Ward and Jacobs. Some discrepancy must necessarily exist in the absence of positive reports, between the results of every investigation.

For the following tables we are indebted to M. Michel Chevalier's *Remarks on the Production of the Precious Metals:*

Production of the Silver and Gold Mines of America prior to the Discovery of California.

Countries.	Silver.		Gold.		Total for each country in millions of Francs.
	Weight in Kilogrammes.	Value in Millions of Francs.	Weight in Kilogrammes.	Value in Millions of Francs.	
United States	....	......	22,125	76	76
Mexico	61,985,522	13,774	389,269	1,341	15,115
New Granada	259,774	58	566,748	1,952	2,010
Peru Bolivia	58,765,244	13,059	340,393	1,172	14,231
Brazil	....	......	1,342,300	4,623	4,628
Chili	1,040,184	251	250,142	862	1,098
Total	122,050,724	27,122	2,940,977	10,026	37,148

Quantities of Gold and Silver supplied to the European Markets by the following countries in three centuries ending in 1848.

COUNTRIES.	SILVER.		GOLD.	
	Weight in Kilogrammes	Value in Millions of Francs.	Weight in Kilogrammes.	Value in Millions of Francs.
Europe, exclusive of Russia	9,000,000	2,000	445,150	1,500
Russia....................	1,485,000	300	319,330	1,100
Africa and the Islands of the Malay Archipelago, &c...	....	......	725,750	2,500
Total..............	10,485,000	2,300	1,490,230	5,100

In 40 years, from 1790 to 1830, Mexico produced £6,436,453 of gold, and £139,818,032 of silver. Chili, £2,768,488 of gold, and £1,832,924 of silver. Buenos Ayres, £4,024,895 of gold, and £27,182,673 of silver.

The following table shows the annual product (approximate calculation) in value of fine gold and silver for 1846 and 1850, the former being two years before, and the latter two years after the discovery of the gold mines of California. We are indebted for it to the *Western Journal and Civilian.* The statistics of later date may be found in previous volumes of our REVIEW and INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES.

	1846.			1850.		
	Gold. £	Silver. £	Total. £	Gold. £	Silver. £	Total. £
California........	....	....	....	12,000,000	62,088	12,062,078
United States.....	237,336	1,864	239,230	115.430	11,444	126,854
Mexico...........	249,753	3,457,020	3,706,773	382,901	5,383,333	5,766,234
New Granada....	252,407	42,929	295,336	252,407	42,929	295,336
Peru	96,241	1,000,583	1,096,824	96,241	1,000,583	1,096,824
Bolivia...........	60,337	460,191	520,548	60,357	460,191	520,548
Chili.............	145,585	296,029	442,614	145,585	297,029	442,614
Brazil............	259,871	2,003	261,874	289,068	2,227	291,295
Total of North & South America	1,201,560	5,261,619	6,563,179	13,341,989	7,259,824	20,601,813

* * *

Art. IV.—THE PUBLIC LANDS AND LAND SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.

[In this admirable treatise, prepared by the Hon. John Perkins, of Louisiana, as an argument before Congress on the subject of the public lands, is condensed the whole history of the system, and a multitude of most interesting facts relating to the statistics of our public lands. The subject was never so thoroughly discussed before, and it will recommend itself to the attention of all of our readers. Gen. Cass has spoken of the argument in the highest terms, and agrees that "the administration of the domain had better be committed to the respective States upon some such general principles as it advocates."—*Ed.*]

OF all the great questions that have been discussed within these walls, no one has so deeply affected the legislation of the country as that of the disposition of the public lands. Like agriculture in our material interests, it is at the bottom, and has affected every other interest. In addressing the House in explanation of the substitute I have offered, I should feel great diffidence if I proposed more than to recall the views of those who have already discussed the subject. Within the hour allowed me, I can only state principles and facts, and indicate, without arguing, their application.

Mr. Calhoun once remarked to Chief Justice Marshall, who frequently repeated it in illustration of the mental analysis of the great South Carolinian, that there were but two things to be considered in the formation of government—*the organization and distribution of power*. The force of this remark is especially felt in any attempt to discuss the policy or operation of our land system without first tracing it to its origin. From an insignificant agency under a clerkship of the Treasury Department, it has, with our increase of population and extension of territory, become a distinct branch of the government, extending, in its various ramifications, into thirteen States of the Union, and exerting an influence that, looking to the delicacy and importance of the interests affected, and the nature of our institutions, can find no parallel, except in the India Board, governing from London the immense territories of England in the East.

It was looking at this great development in 1839, when we had only about three-sevenths of our present territory, that Mr. Calhoun said he was satisfied that the period had arrived when its entire revolution, as applicable to the States, was unavoidable. His words were: The States "have outgrown the system. Since its first adoption they have come into existence—have passed through a state of infancy—and are now arrived at manhood. The system which was wise and just at first, is neither wise nor just when applied to them in their changed condition."

What was originally this system? What its operation? In what is it defective? What are the remedies proposed? Are they constitutional and expedient?

The bill which I offer is directed rather against a vice of organization than of principle. It was first proposed in a resolution introduced into the Senate of the United States, in 1826, by Mr. Tazewell, of Virginia; it was indicated in the message of General Jackson, in 1832, and brought to the notice of the Senate by Mr. Calhoun, in 1837, in a bill almost identical in terms with the present one.

In 1839, Mr. Calhoun advocated it in the Senate. In 1840, he secured a report in its favor from the Senate Committee on Public Lands, composed of Robert J. Walker, chairman; Fulton, of Arkansas; Clay, of Alabama; Prentiss, of Vermont; and Norvell, of Michigan. In 1841, Judge Young, of Illinois, again introduced it into that body, where, after discussion, there were eighteen votes in its favor and twenty-two against it. Among those voting for it I find the names of Allen of Ohio, Anderson, Benton, Calhoun, Clay of Alabama, Fulton, King of Alabama, Linn, Lumpkin, Mouton, Nicholson, Norvell, Robinson, Sevier, Smith of Connecticut, Tappan, Walker of Mississippi, and Young of Illinois.

Before explaining its provisions, it will be necessary to state briefly the history of the acquisition of the public lands, and the policy which has controlled their disposition.

After the declaration of independence, and before the adoption of the articles of confederation, the disposition of the vacant lands in the West, claimed by the several colonies, became a subject of controversy. Maryland, and other of the smaller States, contended that this unsettled domain, if wrested by the common blood and treasure of the thirteen colonies, should be "common property, parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner and at such times" as Congress should determine. Maryland refused to accede to the confederation, because this point was not yielded. The other States acceded, reserving their rights to these lands as common property.

In March, 1780, New-York, to remove this dissatisfaction, tendered to the States her western lands; and in the same year, Congress passed a resolution "earnestly" recommending the other States having like possessions to do the same; declaring by resolve, on the 10th October, "that the unappropriated lands" which should "be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular State," should be "disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States," which should become members of the federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty and freedom, and independence of the other States;" the lands to be "granted or settled at such times and under such regulations" as should afterwards be agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

In March, 1781, the Maryland delegates signed the articles of confederation; and under this compact the union of the colonies was complete.

The cession of New-York was accepted October, 1782. One of its conditions was, that the lands ceded should "be and inure for the use and benefit of such of the United States" as should "become members of the federal alliance," and for "no other use or purpose whatever."

In March, 1784, Virginia's cession was executed and accepted. One of its conditions was, that the lands ceded should be—

> "Considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the United States, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure,

and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever."

In 1785, '86, and '87, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina made cessions of their lands on similar conditions.

Our present government was organized on 5th March, 1789. The only allusion made to the public lands in the constitution was:

> "The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State."

North Carolina's cession of land was accepted in April, 1790, and Georgia's in June, 1802. These cessions, almost in the terms of those of Virginia, except that Georgia's omitted the clause, "according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure," were, like those of all the other colonies, a response to the recommendation of the confederation, and adopted by, and made binding upon, the government, to guard them as a common fund for the common benefit of all the States.

In May, 1785, within a year after the cession by Virginia, and before that from any other State, except New-York, Congress passed an ordinance regulating the survey of the public domain, which is the basis of our present system. From this it has been gradually built up by a long course of executive direction and congressional legislation.

On the 18th May, 1796, Congress passed the first law for the sale of the public lands.

The first land offices were opened at Cincinnati and Pittsburg. The price fixed was $2 per acre—one half cash, the residue in one year. On the 10th of May, 1800, Congress extended the credit to one-fourth cash, the residue in four years. The credit granted induced excessive purchases, and in 1805 and '6, and at different periods subsequently up to 1820, Congress passed relief laws in mitigation of the system. In 1820 the present cash system was adopted, and the price reduced to $1 25 per acre.

Appeals to Congress for relief now ceased. This was the *first* decided improvement in the system.

After this, acts of pre-emption were, at various times, passed by Congress, but limited and remedial in their character, until the 4th September, 1841, when our present prospective and general pre-emption law was passed. This was the *second* great improvement in the system.

A graduation bill, founded upon the exercise of the discretion a proprietor exhibits—discriminating in price according to the value of his lands—I consider the *third* great improvement in the system. This, although often urged upon Congress as a constitutional and wise mode of disposing of the large tracts of nearly worthless land owned by the general government within the limits of the land States, has never yet become a law. A bill of this character, introduced by the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. Cobb,] passed this House a few weeks since, and now awaits the action of the Senate.

Such is the history of the original acquisition of the public lands by the general government, and their organization under our present land system.

The machinery for their administration was inaugurated in the idea that the public lands were common property, pledged for the common debt, under the exclusive, but not unlimited, control of the general government, and to be used for the common benefit. It acted upon them as a surrender in the common interest, surrounded by the same checks, and to be disposed of subject to the same constitutional limitations, as the funds of the common treasury. Their management was placed under the Treasury Department; their proceeds paid into the common fund; and, except in the discrimination imposed by a proprietorship in kind, rather than in money, the same principles were to govern their administration.

Under these views, the machinery of the system has been developed from a single room in the Treasury Department, at an annual expense, in 1802 in Washington, of $1,754 and throughout the country, $4,765 26—total, including land offices and surveyors, $6,519 26—into a General Land Office, created in 1812, with a Commissioner, appointed by the President, and elevated, in 1848, into almost a distinct branch of the government, under the Secretary of the Interior, at a cost, according to the estimate of this year, of $189,875 for the Land Office at Washington, and $342,640 for the other land offices and surveying departments—in all $532,515, exclusive of California.

		Acres.
The land system began its operation upon the land in the Territories alone, amounting to		243,990,821
Acquired from Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut	158,660,299	
From Georgia	58,898,522	
From North and South Carolina	26,432,000	
And has extended to those since acquired, amounting to		1,165,389,741
Acquired from France, 1804	751,363,501	
From Spain, 1819	37,931,520	
From Mexico, 1847	376,094,720	
Making in all, within the Territories and thirteen States of the Union,		1,409,380,562

It had, in 1802, eleven employés throughout the Union. It has now in the Territories and thirteen land States 336 federal officers, operating upon interests purely local, and of the highest importance to the citizens of the States—all controlled by, and in direct correspondence with, the general office at Washington.

Under its administration there had been surveyed, up to June 30, 1853, 336,202,587 acres—leaving then unsurveyed, 1,073,177,975 acres.

The expenses of all the branches of the government have increased in the same time, from $3,737,080 in 1802, to about $50,000,000 in 1853.

The population of the United States, at the time of the system's organization, in 1800, was 5,305,925; in 1850, 23,191,876.

The bill that I have offered as a substitute to the one before the House, is in the idea that this system has become unwieldy; and from a development, unanticipated at its institution, failed to accomplish the purposes of its creation.

It proposes to take nothing from the present land system which experience has shown to be valuable; but freeing it of incumbrances, to make permanent its three great improvements, and render them more effective.

It does not propose to sell or give away the public lands to the States within which they lie, but simply to transfer to them their administration, on conditions highly just and equitable to all the States—insuring greater attention to local interests, contravening no mooted constitutional point, simplifying the system, curtailing executive patronage, and confining its operation, as originally, to the Territories.

The amount of public lands within the States, (excluding California, which has 113,682,436 acres,) the administration of which will be conferred upon the States, is 168,178,818 acres; the amount of public land in the Territories, upon which the present system will continue to operate, is 864,069,170 acres.*

The vast importance of this public domain to the future interests of the country cannot be appreciated. While in Great Britain proper an equal distribution of land would give a little over two acres to each individual, in the United States it would give 105 acres. This is the great peculiarity of our country. It is our security, and a magnificent basis upon which to erect our future greatness. We should not hasten to destroy it, but leave its settlement and reduction to cultivation to the operation of natural causes, aided by permanent laws.

I have said the substitute I offer is directed against a vice of organization, and not of principle. I will be better understood, perhaps, if I say the evils of our present land system result chiefly from its organization. These evils will be best considered in connection with the remedies proposed.

What is the substitute?

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL.

It provides for the cession of the public lands in the States of Alabama,

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* See Appendix A, at the end of this article.

Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and California, to these States respectively, on certain conditions.

The said States are to pay into the United States treasury 75 per centum on the gross amount of their sales of such lands.

"That the minimum price, as now fixed by law, shall remain unchanged until the 30th day of June, 1855; but after that period, the price may be reduced by the States respectively, according to the following scale: all lands theretofore offered at public sale, and then remaining unsold ten years or upward preceding the 30th day of June, 1855, aforesaid, may be reduced by said States to a price not less than one dollar per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold fifteen years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, may thereafter be reduced to a price not less than seventy-five cents per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold twenty years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, may then be reduced by said States to a price not less than fifty cents per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold twenty-five years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, may thereafter be reduced by said States to a price not less than twenty-five cents per acre; and all lands that may have been offered at public sale, and remaining unsold thirty years or upward preceding the said 30th day of June, 1855, shall be ceded immediately to the States in which said lands are situated: *Provided*, That all lands which shall remain unsold after having been offered at public sale for ten years, and which do not come under the above provisions, shall be subject to the provisions of pre-emption, graduation, and disposition aforesaid, at the respective periods of ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty years after said sale, commencing from the expiration of ten years after the same had been offered at public sale."

The lands are to be subject to the existing legal subdivisions, reserving for each township and fractional township the sixteenth section for the use of schools.

Land sold at public auction to be subject to entry for cash only, according to a fixed graduation.

Acts of Congress in force at the time of the passage of this act to remain unchanged, unless modified by this act.

Lands after private entry may be sold, at the option of the purchaser, in quarter-quarter-sections. This disposition of lands to the States shall be in full of the five per cent. fund not already accrued to any State—said State to be liable for all the expense of sales and management of said lands, and for extinguishing Indian titles.

On failure to comply with the provisions of this act, the cession of lands to any delinquent State to be void; and all grants or titles thereafter made by any such State to be also void.

After every reduction in the price of the lands by the States, as provided for, the State legislatures may grant to the settlers on such lands rights of pre-emption, to last for 12 months, at such reduced rates; lands not taken by settlers at the end of that time may be entered by any other person, until the next reduction takes place, when, if not previously purchased, they shall be subject to the right of pre-emption for 12 months; and so on, from time to time, as said reductions take place.

The President to close the land offices, surveyor's office, &c., in any State included in this act that shall, as provided, accept the provisions of this act; and the commissions of said land officers and surveyors to expire at a period not beyond six months after the time for the law to take effect.

That from the passage of this act the States accepting the transfer under the terms offered, shall be relieved from all restrictions to tax any land by the authority subject to the sale thereof; and all maps, papers, books, and accounts, relative to said lands, now in the General Land Office at Washington, shall be subject to the order of the Executives of the accepting States.

This was the bill as originally introduced by Mr. Speaker Boyd. To this I have added two amendments. The first amendment is a proviso to the first section, and is designed to authorize the States to grant alternate sections of land for railroad purposes. It is as follows:

> "*Provided*, That the State may, on the payment of the price fixed by this bill for the land along any railroad line, indemnify itself for the grant of alternate sections of land to such railroad by disposing of the remaining sections along the line at double the price fixed by this bill."

This amendment embraces the question of granting alternate sections of land for railroads, and transfers the question to the States within which the lands are situated.

It authorizes the States to grant alternate sections of land along railroad lines within their borders, and indemnify themselves by disposing of the remaining sections along the line at double the price fixed by the bill.

By it each State may grant, at its discretion, that aid to railroad interests within its borders that is now asked of the general government. Under its operation, the general government is guarantied by the State against any loss in the grant of alternate sections, and each State is made the judge, under the responsibility of a pecuniary interest, in what cases the grant should be made; for, as soon as a grant is made of alternate sections to any railroad, the State pays the regular per-centage that would be due upon the sale of those lands, to the general government, and is reimbursed, as already stated, by the sale of the remaining sections at double price. The other amendment extends the time for right of pre-emption in the second section, from ninety days to twelve months, and is for the benefit of actual settlers.

The lands in Territories are not affected by the provisions of the bill.

Under this bill the railroad interest is amply protected, the general government is more than reimbursed the purchase and survey of the public lands, and relieved of an onerous and annoying agency in their disposal, while the citizens of all the States are guarantied the advantages of a graduation in their price.

The States are benefited by having settled within their borders all those annoying land claims and conflicting titles that come up to Washington from all quarters, to be decided frequently upon imperfect testimony.

Most of the Western States have already State as well as federal land offices within their limits. Under this bill the State land offices will do the work of both.

At present the general government pays to each State five per cent. upon the public lands within their borders, and the State cannot tax them for five years after they are sold.

By the substitute this is reversed: the State pays a certain per-centage to the general government. The receipt of this per-centage by the general government is insured by the titles under the State being dependent for their legality upon its payment.

In few words, it proposes to transfer all the lands within the States to the States in which they lie, on two conditions:

First, that the States shall dispose of them at $1 75 cents, 50 cents, and 25 cents, according as they have been offered for sale, ten, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five years.

Second, that the States pay to the general government 75 per cent. upon the net amount realized from their sale. This per-centage is to be paid quarterly, as the lands are disposed of at the State land offices; those remaining unsold at the end of thirty years to belong to the States.

A great argument in favor of the substitute is, that it curtails executive patronage. By its adoption 228 federal offices will be abolished and their duties imposed upon State officers.

Mr. Calhoun, to whom it was given to detect danger to the constitution before it was visible to most minds, and whose eloquence was but the earnest protest of the future against the present, once said that the greatest instruments of consolidation under our government were the land-office, the currency, and the post-office.

The constitution, as originally interpreted by its framers, left the great mass of legislation to the States, and restricted the federal government to the management of foreign affairs, and a few internal matters. Yet, so disguised under a pride of national greatness has been the tendency to consolidation, that, insensibly, one power after another has been assumed, until the general government, almost to the exclusion of the State governments, has made itself felt in all the relations of life. Its encroachments have been invisible, but constant.

With the addition of each new State, the relative greatness of the general government has been increased, and that of the individual States diminished. With increased power to reward, its offices have become more valuable.

The popular mind has associated increase of constitutional power with national development. Congress has absorbed nearly all the legislation of the country—its sessions increasing in length, while those of the State legislatures have become less frequent and shorter.

Under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, in 1802, there were but five heads of departments: there are now seven.

There were then but 3,806 federal officers; there are now in the employment of government, throughout the country, 35,456.

The adoption of the substitute will abolish 228 of these; and, with advantage to the particular interests involved, transfer their duties to those of the States.*

John Randolph, of Roanoke, speaking on this subject in the Senate of the United States, in March, 1826, said:

> I wish that every new State had all the lands within the State, that, in the shape of receiverships and other ways, these States might not be brought under the influence of *this ten miles square*. In other words, I wish that all the patronage of the land office was in the hands of the individual States, and not in the hands of the general government. I am the friend of State rights, and will cut down the patronage of this general government, which has increased, is increasing, and must be diminished; or we—the States—shall be not only "shorn of our beams," sir, but abolished quite.

Mr. Van Buren, in May of the same year, in the Senate, said: The public lands "had extended the patronage of the government over the States to a great extent," and "subjected" those in which they were situated "to an unwise and unprofitable dependence on the federal government. No man could render the country a greater service than he who should devise some plan by which the United States might be relieved from the ownership of this property by some equitable mode." He would vote for a proposition on such terms.

In 1830, Mr. Hayne, in the Senate, said:

> More than one-half our time has been taken up with the discussion of propositions connected with the public lands, and more than one-half our acts embrace provisions growing out of this fruitful source.

In 1839, Mr. Calhoun said, the discussion about their disposition consumed one-third of the time of Congress.

Mr. Speaker Boyd, in answer to an inquiry made by me, under date of May 21, 1854, says:

> I state as my deliberate opinion, that, during the sixteen years I have served in Congress, at least one-third of the entire time of that body has been consumed in the consideration of questions connected in one form or another with our public land system.

The Clerk of this House, Colonel Forney, in a note in reply to an inquiry on the subject, says:

> Fifteen hundred columns of the Congressional Globe and Appendix for the Thirty-second Congress are taken up with debates on public lands; and the expense to the government incurred alone by the time consumed was $143,520.

Again: this substitute not only reduces the patronage of the general government resulting from the administration of the public lands, but it takes them out of the political arena. A question purely of political economy will no longer be made one of partisan controversy. It is non-intervention in the local interests and politics of the States.

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* See Appendix B, at the end of this article.

I desire to discuss this subject upon elevated principles, and without appeal to party feelings. But I ask members if the disposition of the public lands has not been an element, on one side or the other, in all our political contests? It was directly connected with the great Hayne and Webster debate; and, after arraying in opposition the old and the new States, and embittering feeling at the North and the South, has ever since affected the regulation of the tariff.

It was closely connected with all the financial measures of General Jackson's administration, mixed itself up with his contest with the United States Bank, and became the suggestion of a change in the constitution. It has ever been associated with the discussion of the power of Congress to make internal improvements; and now, when one after another of these questions have been settled or passed away, it remains with the subject of slavery to monopolize our time and embarrass legislation.

Is this never to cease? Having assisted to make and unmake Presidents for half a century, is it to continue a fund upon which individual members may draw to supply political capital for their districts? Has not the return of members to this House been made in a greater degree to depend upon the legislation of Congress upon this subject than upon any other? Do not measures, objectionable in principle, ally themselves with grants of land to force representatives to the alternative of a violation of their conviction of constitutional right, or a seeming antagonism to the interests of their constituents?

I believe, sir, there is a general desire that this should cease. I believe it to be the feeling of the country, that the public lands should be disposed of, once for all—justly and equitably—to prevent improper combinations—to reduce the length of our sessions, and enable us to legislate on other matters.

On the eve of Mr. Webster's first visit to Europe he was asked the object of his trip. His reply was, that, in addition to a desire to see the objects of natural interest, to one visiting the Old World, he wanted to get where he could see a man who had never made a bargain. I would not intimate that this expression was in any way associated with, or the result of, his political experience; but I may say, without reflection upon that great man, that the desire was by no means unnatural to any one who had been even a spectator of the legislation of Congress in reference to the public lands.

On this point I will not enlarge. Sixteen years ago, in 1839, Mr. Calhoun, in speaking of the subject, said:

> I ask not whether it would be wise to continue the old system. No, sir, a far bolder question—will it be practicable? * *
> It is easy to see how this would end; the public domain, the noble inheritance of the people of this Union, would be squandered, or rather gambled away in the contest, and would thus be made at the same time the means of plunder and corruption, and of elevating to power the most profligate and audacious.

Has this prediction been realized? Let one of many years' experience in this House, and yet in the counsels of the country, answer. Three weeks since, speaking on a bill that has passed this House, Senator Thompson, of Kentucky, said:

> It seems to me, since I have had the honor to come to the national counsels, whether in this or the other house of Congress, the public lands have been bandied about eternally as a bribe in the shape of cession and retrocession, in the shape of graduation and of distribution, and of every imaginable project.

Of all the interests of the country, the land or agricultural should be least affected by, or dependent upon, legislation. Upon it rest all other branches of national industry, and its value should be controlled by laws uniform and permanent. It is bad enough that the commerce of the country should be influenced by measures purely political; but trade partakes in some sort of the character of an adventure, and readily adapts itself to circumstances. Not so with land. The tiller of the soil may have a knowledge of chemistry, but he knows nothing of political chicanery. He watches the changes in the natural, not in the political elements, and looks to the ground, not to Congress, for his annual profit or the increased value of his land. And yet, if Congress issue twenty millions of land warrants, as proposed by the bill of the gentleman from New York, or throw as many acres of land gratuitously, or at greatly reduced prices, upon the market one year, and none the next, the price of every man's farm will be as variable as your commercial stocks.

Sir, if you have the power, you have no moral right thus to subject the staid and sober interests of the home-staying, hard-working farmers of the country, to the fluctuations of your commercial, or the tidal movements of your political sea.

Again: the substitute not only takes the public lands out of the political arena, but frees the land States from a humiliating vassalage. They have risen up out of the wilderness under a pledge given at the origin of the government, that they should be received into the Union with equal rights with the other States; and yet, they are now fettered by a system inflicting upon them all the evils of absenteeism.

The lands of the sovereign of England may be taxed in the shire in which they lie, while those of the general government within the States are exempted and held for years at prices above their value, causing emigration to seek other localities. They, in fact, act upon the surface of the new States like the immense corporations of Mortmain, which it cost England a revolution to get rid of.

By a calculation made (by Mr. Sumner) in the Senate of the United S:ates, in 1849, the land States, from a forbearance to tax the lands of the general government, after survey, have lost $72,000,000. How long will the idea of a paternity of the old over the new States prevent a practical conviction in the popular mind of their entire equality?

Dispose of the public lands within the States to the States in which they lie, under the terms of this bill, and you at once get rid of the embarrassing questions which constantly force the States to protest or memorialize against a proprietorship within their borders, which, although it extend to half their limits, they can neither tax nor raise contributions from, for the general good, and which forces you to dole out to them the small pittance of five per cent. upon their sales.

But I have other arguments in favor of this bill, less general in their character, but not less important, and whose practical force must strike every one who has observed the progress of legislation in this House.

If the numerous causes which have attended, within the last twenty years, the unexampled development of this country, could be analyzed, perhaps *to no one would be ascribed so much importance as that of railroads.* North, South, East, and West, in all portions of the country, and by all classes, their advantages are appreciated. Your Atlantic cities have dug through mountains to extend them to the West; and stretching them along your rivers and across your richest agricultural regions, the humblest proprietor has not hesitated to contribute, and has reaped a return in the greatly enhanced value of his land. So certain is this increased value of real estate along their line, that whole communities and States, looking to is as a result, have laid general taxes for their creation. In fact, it is now almost an acknowledged truth of political economy, and taxation for no other purpose is so popular.

Under these circumstances, is there anything extravagant in the expectation on the part of the States that the general government should contribute, like every other proprietor within their limits, to the construction of railroads enhancing greatly the value of the public domain? The 5 per cent. upon the sales of the public lands within the States is now given them as a return, and in some sort acknowledgment of the benefit the lands of the government derive from the construction of ordinary roads. Is there anything so unreasonable in the call of the States upon the general government to make a similar return for the enhanced value of its land—the result of local taxation, that the humblest proprietor is made to pay—to justify the advocates of railroad grants before this House being regarded as speculators upon the public treasury, or to explain the repugnance with which some members listen even to the suggestion of such grants?

This repugnance springs from the vice in the organization of our land system, of which I have spoken. It is neither insensibility to the justice of this claim, nor a belief in the want of constitutional power, that creates this opposition with many, but an inability to decide upon interests purely local, and whose expediency must depend upon circumstances and facts peculiarly liable to perversion.

The bill I propose transfers the decision of these grants to the legislatures of the States. If the railroads seeking them deserve encouragement, and the alternate sections reserved will compensate in value for those granted, it will be best known to the legislatures of the States in which the lands lie, and through which the roads pass. The States lose nothing; deserving railroads receive encouragement; and in no event will the general government sacrifice a dollar.

On this point I may be pardoned for speaking with some earnestness. Under our present land system, railroads peculiarly worthy of grants of alternate sections of land from Congress, without opposition at home, and supported by an unanimous delegation here, suffer from the multiplicity of similar but locally contested demands. Members of Congress, in their inability to examine each, and the impossibility of granting all these demands, feel a reluctance to grant any.

Louisiana has suffered from this circumstance. The oldest, and in some sort the mother of all the States formed out of the territory purchased of France, west of the Mississippi river, she has never received an acre of land for railroad purposes, while the States on all sides of her have had grants. Having within her borders the mouth of the Mississippi river, through which flow all the waters of the west, and where its delta, gradually depressed to almost a level with the Gulf of Mexico, widens out to ten times its width in the States above—from the nature of her soil impassable by ordinary roads, and dividing from the Atlantic and Southern States the commerce of Texas and the West—she has now an application before this House for land for railroad purposes, less in amount than that already granted some of the Western States, endorsed in her demand by legislative subscription of one-fifth of the capital of her railroad companies, and a memorial in their behalf; the people along their line having liberally subscribed, and the States of Mississippi and Texas on each side with railroads brought to her borders, and asking to be connected; and yet, her delegation cannot urge these claims, deserving of consideration as they are, without encountering a prejudice against railroads, and wearying this House with facts too purely local to be generally known, and yet constituting the merit of her demand.

I appeal to the railroad interest in this House, what has been the experience of the session?

From the great amount of business before the Committee on Public Lands, and its necessary consumption of time, has not a prejudice been created against its action? The first railroad bill it proposed was objected to on grounds purely local, and telegraphic dispatches read to show that it was an attempted fraud. I voted for that bill in spite of the able opposition of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Letcher,) not because Louisiana also had railroad bills, but because I thought I had evidence that the gentleman was himself imposed on, and that it was late, after having been two years before Congress, for it to be discovered, by telegraphic dispatches, just as we were going to vote, to be fraudulent. But, what was the effect upon the House? Such a prejudice against all railroad bills was created, that no member was willing to trust his particular bill, whatever its merits, to a vote.

What was to be done? Report them for passage and they would be killed; *send* them to the Committee of the Whole, they could never be reached; *give* up the floor and retain them for report at a more favorable time, should the Public Land Committee ever be again called, was the only course left. This was done, and I think wisely done. But who can say when that committee will again be called? Will it be before the last month in the session? Will it be at all?

Such has been the embarrassment of the railroad interest in this House during the past session. Information is asked for; and when a member rises to give it, no one listens. The land committee by much labor possesses itself of facts, and there is created a prejudice against it because of its very accumulation of facts. Seek to give information to members out of the House; introduce to them the president or directors of our railroads to be questioned, cross-examined if desired, about their roads, there is at once the cry of lobby influence.

Two presidents of railroad companies from my section of the Union visited this city, after participation in the late convention at Charleston. They were full of information on subjects connected with the enterprise of the South—persons of character and gentlemen of amiable and pleasant manners, in every respect the equal of members upon this floor; and yet, though I felt satisfaction from personal grounds in doing so, I could never introduce them to a member of this House without the fear he would suppose there was a lobby influence about to be exerted.

This substitute is valuable for other reasons of much importance, and to which I ask the particular attention of the House. It will transfer to the States the settlement of that large class of contested land cases which now come before the Land Commissioner in this city for decision. It will refer to the State Legislature those numerous applications for special legislation regarding land titles which now embarrass this House, and to the State courts that immense amount of litigation which has been expensively prosecuted in the United States Courts.

A commissioner to settle claims of any kind is connected with no pleasing recollections in the popular mind; and were it not that the ability and experience of Mr. Wilson, the present Land Commissioner, has relieved it in his case of odium, I believe the permanent existence of a commission at Washington, subject to Executive removal, for deciding, upon appeal from the different land registers in the States, conflicting land rights between citizens and the government—not in open court, but in the retirement of his chamber—would be regarded as a monstrous solecism in our government.

In its remoteness from the locality where the parties reside and the conflicts arise, and in the amount of discretion necessarily exercised by the Commissioner, it is, in principle, the Star Chamber of England—acting upon interests less important, to be sure, but not the less sacred. As members from the old States may not be familiar with the nature and extent of these conflicting rights decided upon in the Land Office of this city, I will read a short extract from an interesting and well-written sketch furnished me by Mr. Wilson, of the Land Office:

> The surveying system of the United States is marked by two distinctive charateristics. It operates first upon what is known as the "public lands," in contradistinction to the "private land claims," or foreign titles derived from the governments of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Mexico, and grants conceded to Indians in the various treaties of cessions between the United States and the several tribes since the foundation of the republic.
>
> They grow out of the great variety of claims, such as the right to purchase under the laws of the United States; to locate lands by military warrants; for State selections under certain laws, as swamp-lands; also, in virtue of pre-emption privileges, for schools, universities; and their interferences arise at times by reason of priority of title derived from the sovereignties which preceded us, and known as "private land" titles. This class are of every imaginable variety, from a few hundred feet in extent as town-lots, increasing to 40 arpens, and thence up to tracts exceeding over a million of arpens each in extent, founded upon a variety of titles, such as inceptive or nascent grants, known as requêttes, or permits; orders of survey from the authorities of the former governments; actual surveys by such authorities, and titles in form or complete grants.
>
> Before the Executive department can recognize these, it is required that they shall either receive the sanction of Congress by an express confirmatory law, or by a decree of the United States Courts pursuant to law. To effect this, boards of commissioners have been instituted from time to time, from the year 1805 to 1835, to examine and make reports on all these

varieties of title. Congress have also passed numerous laws confirming such titles, and leaving others unconfirmed; whilst other enactments have been passed shielding the unconfirmed from sale, and then, after the lapse of years, opening the district courts for their adjudication, with an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. * * * * All such foreign titles as may be thus sanctioned or confirmed by Congress are to be surveyed. * * * * * * * * *

When these surveys are returned to Washington City authenticated by the United States Surveyor-General, they are carried into grant at the General Land Office, and a perfect record kept of the same, and of all the proceedings, from the first steps taken in the matter to its final consummation and delivery of title. The extent and intricacy of this business can scarcely be understood without an elaborate exhibit. The private land claims originating under the system may be summarily classified as arising from—

1. Private entries, or sales of lands to individual purchasers, where they conflict with each other from the omission of the local officers to note the first sales on the maps or records.
2. Pre-emptions, where there are conflicts between different claimants to the same land, or with a private sale improvidently made.
3. Military bounty land locations, under the laws of Congress of 1812, 1847, 1850, 1852, conflicting with each other, or with claims of another character.
4. Swamp selections, conflicting with other locations or previous sales.
5. School selections, seminary locations, and special grants, of great variety.

On this subject, Louisiana has some right to speak. The greatest part of her litigation has resulted from conflicting claims under our land system. A large majority of the feuds—less frequent now than formerly—among her citizens, have had in this their origin.

By far the greatest number of letters I receive from constituents treat of business in our Land Office. The greatest portion of my time, and the hardest labor that I have had to perform since I have been a member of this House, has been in attending to business of this character. And what has been the effect of the system within her limits?

Mr. Benton, in the Senate, in 1829, said, (G. & S. D. and R., p. 5,) "The Federal Government has done nothing towards settling Louisiana. The kings of France and Spain gave the lands upon which its first 'settlements' were made, and, 'for all that the Federal Government has done, that State would now be a desert.'"

Mr. Livingston, in 1830, speaking on the same subject in the Senate, (G. & S. D. and R., p. 31,) said that Louisiana, in the twenty-five years she had been in the Union, had been retarded just one-half in her population by the federal land system.

Mr. Webster, in 1738, in view of the anomalous character of this same system, proposed, as a matter "of great importance"—I use his words—that all "questions arising at the General Land Office and the local land offices, with respect to the mode of finally deciding upon disputed land titles," should be settled in the United States Court; but it was resisted as too expensive for the class most interested. And yet in 1844, Congress was obliged, from the great accumulation of contested cases within Louisiana, to adopt that course, in a law which gave jurisdiction to the United States District Court, for five years, of all land claims in the State originating with either the Spanish, French, or British authorities.

And what is our position now? My desk is full of bills for the relief of claimants that should be, and would be, expeditiously passed, under the substitute I have offered, by the State Legislature, and which I cannot, until after much delay, under the rules of the House, even present for consideration.

On this point, the Commissioner of the Land Office tells me: "It would have been economy in the first settlers of Louisiana to have purchased anew their lands from the government, rather than to have incurred the expense of their confirmation."

But even when we are so fortunate as to get them before committees of this House, what is the result?

The Chairman of the Committee on Private Land Claims (Mr. Hillyer, of Georgia) says, in a letter to me:

> There have been referred to his committee, this session, over one hundred cases, but few of which they have been able to report. They have many ready to report when opportunity offers, but they have not been called since the 6th February, and he does not know when they will again be called.

The chairman of Private Claims (Mr. Edgerton, of Ohio,) writes me, that during the 32d Congress there were referred to his committee four hundred and forty-two cases; a very small number of which were ever reported to the House for action, by reason of the time for reports being consumed for a great part of the first session by the Committee on Public Lands.

> The precise time I do not recollect, but believe it to have been nearly five months. I think the Committee of Claims was not called for reports after the 1st March in the first session of the 32d Congress. A large number of cases have been acted upon by this committee during the present session of Congress. The number now ready to be reported is eighty-four; but the committee has not been called since February, and probably will not be for months.

Is there a disposition to bring our Pacific States under this system, when from the peculiarities of their laws and settlements, they will have even more than a proportionate number of claims of this character? Will there not result a total denial of justice?

I ask if members are prepared to apply this system to the distant States that are coming into existence on our Pacific coast? Will the members from California, who guard so carefully the interests of their State, agree that their constituents should send half round the globe to have rights as sacred as those arising under our land system determined by a land commissioner in this city? Will their constituents acquiesce?

To my mind, the grandest spectacle of the age is the gradual growth of the colonies along the Pacific coast into free and independent States, received into this Union on an equality with those on the Atlantic. On looking back a little more than a century, to the first feeble settlements on our eastern shore, and then, from the stand-point of our present national greatness, forward into the future, at the spread of civilization and art, and the growth of towns, cities, and commerce, along our western shore, the mind is by turns awed and dazzled by the vision. The Roman poet, taking his hero to a point from which he could view the successive generations of his nation spreading out into all the greatness of the Roman empire, describes him as shedding tears over the ills that he saw were to befall them. In our case, if we are wise, there is no such cause of sadness.

The unseen but ever-operating influence of law, properly guarded, is the security, at the same time that it is the most beautiful result, of our institutions. In a popular government, where all power comes of the people, reverence for it is a high moral manifestation. It is free will, self-controlled. It has the majesty of power, self-limited; and, like force in nature, or labor in art, it is at the bottom of, and creates, and is, as it were, the breath and being of our national existence. Regarding it in this light, I deplore anything that weakens its respect.

I will not enlarge on this point; but, familiar with the character and the hardy virtues of the men living on the frontiers of our distant land States, who are to be affected in their rights of pre-emption, settlement, and the like, which, as self-created, and born of adventure in the woods, are cherished with an enthusiastic devotion, I much fear you are imposing upon them a system that will prove expensive and oppressive, and that, failing of advantage to the government, will be productive only of litigation and bloodshed.

The substitute I have offered proposes, at a diminished expense to the federal government, to remedy this evil; and I thank the honorable Speaker Boyd for having suggested to me the propriety of bringing it, at this time, to the attention of the House.

As this substitute has not yet been discussed in the House, I must anticipate objections to it, and answer them in advance.

1. That the bill of the gentleman from New York provides for giving to the old States specifically a portion of the proceeds of the public lands, while the substitute provides that the pro-

ceeds above the expense of their administration shall be paid into the common treasury, for the common benefit.

I will not repeat the argument that the old States are *legally* entitled only to benefit by the public lands as a "common fund" of the States collectively, and not separately; that the condition of Virginia's cession, that their proceeds should be distributed according to the usual "charge and expenditure," referred to the mode of taxation under the confederation, each State paying separately its quota to the support of the general government; and that the subsequent formation and adoption by the States of our present Constitution, with the clause giving Congress power over the territory like other property, evidences the intention of the cession to have been general; and that the omission of the expression, "usual charge and expenditure," in the cession from Georgia, made subsequent to this period, though in other respects in the same words as that of Virginia, is confirmatory of the fact. Nor will I stop to inquire what *equitable* right the old States can urge upon the proceeds of the public lands in the new States, having themselves originally obtained most of the lands within their limits by grant, and sold and applied their proceeds; Connecticut's magnificent school fund having been derived mostly from this source, and Massachusetts and Maine, at the present time, having State land offices, from which they receive an annual revenue from the sales of land in Maine.

The public lands cannot be apportioned in kind. There is no standard by which to determine satisfactorily the annual charge and expenditure of the States. Federal representation will not serve as a basis; for that representation and taxation are not correlative under the general government, has been the constant complaint of both sections of the Union. Shall their proceeds constitute a fund in the hands of the general government to supply deficiencies or inequalities in this respect, and Congress exercise discretion as to the mode and amount of their application to particular State institutions?

Abuse in the extreme exercise of a general power of the Constitution is often scarcely distinguishable from the assumption of an unconstitutional power. It should be remembered, however, that power under that instrument is by special grant, with restrictions upon the exercise of general power. A different mode of interpretation would have the effect to change the entire nature of our Constitution. Admit in Congress the right to determine and legislate at discretion over the public lands for the common benefit and to promote the general welfare, and its power is unlimited; for as the Constitution speaks of "territory" and "other property" of the United States in the same clause, the instruments and agencies of government, and the funds in the common treasury, would be, equally with the public lands, under its control.

But of the lands ceded by the States few now remain. Those upon which the system is henceforward to operate were acquired either by purchase or conquest, and any argument, therefore, founded upon terms of original cession is without application.

Waiving, however, the constitutional argument, and regarding it merely as a matter of expediency, I contend, in the words of the able report of the chairman (Mr. Disney) of the Committee on Public Lands of this House, that "no more expensive mode could be devised to support local institutions than to make the federal government the agent to raise and distribute the means. With the States lies the power necessary for their management and economical administration. Supported by means raised by the authority of the State, no injustice can be inflicted upon the people of other States. State provision, as between the States, would be just from necessity, and from interest it would be economical."

If it is desired to secure to the citizens of the old States the benefit of these lands, in no way can it be so effectually done as under the provisions of this substitute. Whatever the States through the general government have paid out for these lands will be returned into the general treasury, and reducing taxation to the amount of their sale will be a common fund for the support of the general government.

Whatever benefits the settlers upon the public lands are to derive from this bill will be shared by the citizens of all the States in proportion as they choose to avail themselves of them. The States in which the lands lie cannot appropriate them in payment of their debts, or grant peculiar advantages of purchase or ownership to their own citizens. They are to administer them, but without power to discriminate in price or pre-emption against the citizens of other States. One State cannot have one price and terms of sale, and another State different; the system will act uniformly in all. The States cannot even purchase them from the government, and sell them at a higher price. They can purchase at the price fixed, but must also sell at the graduated price in the bill, except in the case of lands along the line of railroads, alternate sections of which may be disposed of at double price; but even in that case conditioned that the remaining sections are granted for the construction of the road.

Here I meet the objection that the effect of a graduation in the price of the public lands draws off to the West the wealth of the Atlantic States.

It is true that the centre of population and wealth in this government is going west, and with it that of federal representation. It has been estimated that the wave of civilization rolls west at from 13 to 17 miles a year. According to a calculation of Dr. Patterson, of Philadelphia, as published in DE BOW'S REVIEW, the federal centre was, in 1790, Baltimore county, Maryland, 46 miles north and 21 east of Washington; in 1800, Adams county, Pennsylvania, 64 miles north and 30 west of Washington; in 1820, Morgan county, Virginia, 47 miles north and 71 west of Washington; in 1830, Hampshire county, Virginia, 43 miles north and 108 west of Washington; in 1840, Marion county, Virginia, 36 miles north and 160 west of Washington.

Thus going almost directly west, in 50 years, 182 miles, not varying in that time 10 miles north or south, and each year moving with increased velocity. In 1850 the centre had reached the Ohio river. It has now crossed it. Would you check this? Sir, it was attempted at an early period of our history, by a provision that the public lands should be sold township by township, no additional one to be offered until the last was sold. What was the result? Population ran not only beyond your surveys, but beyond your possessions. First Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa grew into existence; then, in addition to Louisiana, Florida and Texas were added; and now California, Oregon, Utah, and New Mexico, have come into political existence before we have been even able to extend to them our land system.

But, while this great tide of population and wealth has been rolling westward, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a uniformity that Alison, the historian, looking up from the effete and inert systems of the Old World, tells us has about it something of the solemnity and awe of the march of a great principle, it has left behind it no withering curse. Its progress has been rather like that of an Oriental monarch, scattering jewels on its path. The cities on our Atlantic coast have not the dismantled appearance either of a decaying population or of a diminished commerce. The hum of industry has not ceased in their workshops, nor grass grown upon their wharves.

So far from this having been the case, the West has but grown up to pour her treasures in their lap. By means of railroads, its magnificent prairies have become the suburbs of our Atlantic cities. The East envy the West! As well might the parent be jealous of the growing strength and elastic tread of his offspring. When man becomes callous to the scenes of youth, or can walk with insensibility over the spot where repose the remains of his ancestors, then, and not till then, may the East have cause of jealousy, or look with envy upon the West.

The old States have been so accustomed to gaze upon the magnificent panorama of developing greatness in the West, that they have become well nigh insensible to the fact that they, too, have been borne along by the same irresistible impulse. I perceive, from authentic returns, that in the ten years from 1840 to 1850, there was an increase in the income of the inhabitants of the United States, of $32\frac{6}{10}$ per cent.; that from all sources, ending June, 1850, was $1,410,000,000; that for 1840, (Tucker,) $1,063,134,736.

I have no means of ascertaining how this should be apportioned between the old and the new States; but, taking the increased value of property in some of the old States as a basis, I approximate a result.

The value of property in Massachusetts increased from 1830 to 1840, 43 per cent.; from 1840 to 1850, nearly 100 per cent.

In 1840, it was	$299,880,358
In 1850, it was	597,936,995

A similar increase in wealth might be shown in New-York, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; so also in the Atlantic cities.

The value of property in Philadelphia increased between 1840 and 1850, 3 per cent. a year, or 30 per cent. in 10 years.

The value of property in Baltimore between 1840 and 1850 increased over 43 per cent.

From these data (and they could be extended south, through Virginia, to Georgia) it is evident that the old States have, in the last ten years, advanced in wealth proportionately with the new.

How has it been in population? By the census returns for 1850 it appears the rate of increase of population in the whole United States was—

From 1840 to 1850		35 per cent.
That of the twelve land States, viz.: Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Michigan, Louisiana, Missouri, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Wisconsin, and Iowa		57 "
That of the thirteen old States		24 "
That of Great Britain and Ireland		2 "
That of England and Wales	12 per cent.	
That of Scotland	10 "	
That of Ireland (decrease)	20 "	
That of France		4 "
That of Belgium		9 "
That of Prussia		10 "

These figures give no indication of decay on the part of the old States. On the contrary, when you look at the *nativities* of the citizens of the land States, their growth is seen to be in fact that of the old States.

From tables appended to these remarks, it will be seen that while, in the last ten years, the old States have advanced in population one hundred per cent. faster than the most flourishing of the European States, they have contributed of their citizens to the population of the land States in the proportion of more than one-fourth to their native population. New-York, the State of the gentleman (Mr. Bennett) who introduces this bill, under a seeming sense of special wrong done his State, furnishes one-fourth to that contribution.*

But this is not all. If we take the nativities of representatives in this House as an indication of the proportion in which the natives of the old States will participate in the benefits of the public lands lying within the land States, the result is still more striking.

Of the 234 members now composing this House, the thirteen old States, including among them Vermont and Maine, have, by representation, 134—the thirteen land States, 78; that is, while, by our *basis of representation*, the old States have more than one half ($\frac{57}{100}$), and the land States one-third of the House, by *nativity* the old States have 191 members, and the land States but 15; that is, the old States have 81 per cent., and the land States have only 6.

Under these circumstances, the old States can never have reason to complain of injustice in the legislation of the country.

But I must hasten on. Is the per-centage to be paid by the land States upon the sale of lands within their limits adjusted in the bill so as to reconcile constitutional objections, and without being a gift or a sale of the lands, to relieve the federal government from expense in their administration, secure individual interest, and at the same time impose no onerous contract upon the States?

In the bill similar to this, introduced into the Senate in 1837, it was proposed that the States should pay over only 33½ per cent. By the bill of Judge Young, of Illinois, introduced in 1841, it was proposed they should pay over 65 per cent. of the gross amount. In fixing the amount at 75 per cent. in the present bill, the calculation has been made upon a basis intended to be strictly just towards the general government, the States, and to individuals.

The per-centage to be paid by the States is placed higher than in former bills, because—

1. There are now fewer lands unsurveyed in the States, and therefore, the expense of their administration will be less.

2. In nearly all the land States there are now State land offices or agencies created for the sale of lands donated to the States by the general government, and the additional expense of administering the remaining lands within their limits will be slight.

3. I desire that the bill should meet the constitutional views of gentlemen on both sides of the House, and operate simply as a transfer of the administration of the lands to the States in which they lie, and not as a donation or sale.

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* See Appendix C, at the end of this article.

The elements of the calculation upon which the per-centage is fixed at 75 per cent., I will state in a few words:

The average cost of the public lands, according to the calculation of Commissioner Wilson (Report of the General Land Office for 1853, page 47) is, per acre	14.41	cents.
Cost of surveying	2.07	"
Cost of selling and managing	5.32	"
Equal to, per acre,	21.80	"

Calculating it at 22 cents per acre, if the lands sell for $1 35 per acre, which is the average price, the public lands brought into the United States treasury, up to June 1, 1849 (Commissioner Young's Report for 1848, appendix, page 555), the per-centage to reimburse the general government would be	16.25	per cent.
If sold for $1 25 per acre, the per-centage would be	17.06	"
If sold for $1 per acre, the per-centage would be	22	"
If sold for 75 cents per acre, the per-centage would be	30	"
If sold for 50 cents per acre, the per-centage would be	44	"
If sold for 25 cents per acre, the per-centage would be	88	"

	Acres.
Applying this to the actual position and amount of the public domain, the total area of public land States (exclusive of California) is	381,115,470
The total number of acres remaining unsold in the land States (exclusive of California), on the 30th June, 1853, is	168,178,818.48
The average length of time the land States (excluding California) have been in the Union, is within a fraction of thirty years; and within that period there have been sold 103,197,356.35 acres, and disposed of for schools, internal improvements, individuals and companies, seats of government, military services, salines, Indians, &c., &c., &c., 104,194,722.89 acres; making a total of	207,392,079
Or sixty per cent. of the whole.	

Thirty years being the average time that the lands within the States have been offered for sale at $1 25 per acre, if we estimate that the States, under the operation of the graduation prices of the bill, which is a very fair calculation, will dispose of an equal proportion of the public lands within the next thirty years, and that being the period at the expiration of which the lands remaining undisposed of are to be relinquished to the States, there will have been parted with in that time 100,907,290 acres. Under the graduating process, these 100,907,290 acres are to be sold at prices ranging from $1 25 to 25 cents per acre, (the average rate of the bill,) and will bring $75,680,468.

It is proposed that the land States pay to the general government 75 per cent. of the gross proceeds of the sales of those lands, which will amount to	$56,760,351
Deduct the cost of the lands to the United States—say 168,178,818 acres, at 16½* cents per acre	27,749,505
Leaving a profit over and above cost to the United States of	29,010,846

* This 16½ cents is made up of—Cost	14.41	per acre.
Survey	2.07	"
	16.48	"

which the government has expended, and would be entitled to be repaid, if it had surveyed all the lands ceded.

The share of the States in the gross amount sold being 25 per cent. of $75,680,468, is	$18,920,117
Deduct for selling, managing, and surveying 100,907,290 acres, at seven cents* per acre	7,063,510
Leaving a profit over and above cost to the land States of	11,856,607

The number of acres remaining unsold at the end of thirty years, relinquished to the States in which they lie, will be 67,371,528 acres.

From these calculations it appears—on the basis of the graduation price in this bill, the same as that in the bill recently passed, and the estimate of the land office of 22 cents per acre for cost of survey, sale, management, &c., of the public lands—that when lands are sold at—

	$1 25	per acre, the per-centage of expense is	18	per cent.—net yield	82
When at	1 00	" " "	22	" "	78
"	75	" " "	29	" "	71
"	50	" " "	44	" "	56
"	25	" " "	88	" "	12
			201		299

The expense averaging about 40 per cent., and the net yield 60 per cent.

In fixing, therefore, the per-centage at 75 per cent., the federal government, besides getting rid of the vexatious questions attending the administration of the public lands, will receive in cash into the treasury 15 per cent. more from their sale, under the provisions of this bill, than under the present system.

So much for the general government. How will it affect the States?

1st. The States will gain $11,856,607 above their expense in administration of the lands within their limits.

2d. The transfer, at the end of thirty years, of the lands remaining unsold, estimated at 67,271,528 acres.

3d. The right to tax land as soon as sold, in getting rid of the exemption from taxation of government lands for five years' after sale.

4th. They will secure all the aid in the construction of railroads within their limits which is now vainly sought for from Congress.

5th. The rapid sale and settlement of the lands within their limits, and the adjudication of all contested entries and disputed land titles by their own legislatures and before their State courts.

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* The federal government has not surveyed all the lands ceded; therefore this seven cents is made up of—Survey .... 2.07 cents.
Sale and management 5.32 "
7.39 "

hat the calculation may be perfectly fair, both to the States and the general government.

6th. They will be freed from that species of vassalage arising from a large portion of their territory being held by the general government, and the subject of Executive influence and patronage within their limits.

But it must be remembered that while this bill tenders these advantages to the States, its passage by this House does not impose upon them their acceptance. By its terms, it offers merely their acceptance, giving a year within which the States may accept or not the administration of their lands. Is there a representative on this floor who will take upon himself the responsibility of denying to his State legislature the right of deciding this question? If some States accept, and others do not, to that extent the advantages we have described will result, and the present system will continue to operate exclusive of them, as it now operates exclusive of Texas, which in coming into the Union reserved the control of its own lands.

But will the States pay over this per-centage to the government?

Upon this point I will say—

1st. The States have already compacts with the federal government, relating to their lands: have they in one instance disregarded them?

2d. As the advantages secured them under this bill are greater than those hitherto possessed, there is every inducement to its observance.

3d. The federal government now pays over to the land States 5 per cent. upon the sales of the public lands within their limits. Will not the general government have the same power to enforce this per centage from the States that the States have now from the general government?

4th. But the bill provides a perfect guarantee, apart from all these considerations, for the payment of the per centage, in the clause which provides that on the failure of a State to perform any of the conditions of the cession, the patents issued by its authority are void. Every citizen within the State is thus made individually interested in his State's payment of the per centage, and any failure on their part to do so would be in the nature of an agent's failure to fulfil a trust.

And now as to the propriety, I may say necessity, for this change in our land system at this time. We have traced the origin and development of the system from its insignificant existence under a clerkship in the Treasury Department, to a well nigh independent branch of the government, extending over and affecting questions of most difficult adjustment directly connected with interests the most important, and yet the most delicate that can arise between citizens and the government; and the question presented for our decision is not between its entire abolition and the adoption of a new system, but simply its modification in a way that will restrict it to the original purpose of its creation.

It began operating alone within the Territories; the different States having their own land offices. It now extends into thirteen States, and is about to go into operation in all the immense regions west to the Pacific. By law we have already extended it over, but as yet no lands have been surveyed and returned as sold in California, New Mexico, Utah, Nebraska, or the North-west.

The Commissioner in his report says: "Numerous and complicated questions are constantly arising in the private land claim bureau of this office, with reference to the rights of parties, and the correct location of their claims. The records in many cases are so voluminous as to require days, and even weeks, simply to read them. To select and array the facts from such records, and to apply them to the acts of Congress, with reference also to the laws and usages of the governments with whom they originated, requires sound judgment, great care, and a thorough knowledge of every matter connected with the business. These cases are daily becoming more important from the great increase in the value of the property affected by them." "When the action of this office shall be required on the claims" in those regions, "the business of this bureau will be much more onerous;" "the buildings" are even now "insufficient," and "additional" clerks' salary necessary. There were, in the past year, 43,500 letters received, registered, examined, and recorded in his office; making 30 large folio volumes. The responsibility for the proper transaction of the business connected with all these letters now rests entirely with him.

Is it possible for any one man to meet this responsibility with satisfaction either to himself or the interests involved? In 1848, Robert J. Walker, the then Secretary of the Treasury, speaking of the onerous character and increasing number of questions coming up on appeal to him for decision from the Land Office, said: "I have pronounced judgment in 5,000 cases involving land titles since the 10th March, 1845;" an average of 1,338 per annum.

The Secretary of the Interior, speaking of the same accumulation of business in the Land Office, says the Commissioner has been compelled "to crowd eight or nine clerks," besides "desks, furniture," &c., into a single room where more than two clerks cannot be conveniently accommodated; and "files and papers" have so rapidly increased that many cases of valuable papers have of necessity been placed in the passages, without proper "security from fire." "The Secretary of the Treasury," he continues, "requires the rooms now occupied by the Land Office," and has "made pressing application" for them.

We have now reached a period when either a great enlargement or entire reform of our land system is necessary. Adopt the substitute I have offered, and the General Land Office will be restricted in its operations to the Territories; the pressing accumulation of its business will be remedied; its expenses curtailed, and the evils described by the Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior removed. The general government will be relieved from legislating upon a most embarrassing subject; Executive patronage will be curtailed; and the land States, freed from the pressure of government possessions within their limits, will be less dependent upon Congress. Local taxation will fall equally upon all; railroad interests will receive judicious aid; and land proprietors in the new States obtain a speedy settlement of their claims. The sessions of Congress will be shortened; a great element of strife removed from its discussions; and opportunity afforded for legislation upon other subjects. Other influences, too, are favorable. We are on the eve of no Presidential election; the public lands are now under discussion in both branches of the legislature; the veto of the President has attracted attention to the subject, and there is a general disposition to adopt some mode of administering them that will be final, in being both just and constitutional.

APPENDIX—A.

Statement showing the amount of public lands unsold and unappropriated, of offered and unoffered, up to June 30, 1853, *in the following States, which includes all the land States.*

	Acres.		Acres.
Ohio	244,196.08	Arkansas	15,725,388.33
Indiana	246,339.41	Florida	29,262,674.59
Illinois	4,115,969.97	Iowa	22,773,175.57
Missouri	22,722,801.41	Wisconsin	23,678,486.19
Alabama	15,049,693.70	California	113,682,436.00
Mississippi	9,083,655.94		
Louisiana	9,134,143.81	Total	281,861,254.48
Michigan	16,142,293.48		

[Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1853, 1st session 33d Congress, p. 45.]

Statement showing the amount of public lands unsold and unappropriated, of offered and unoffered, up to June 30, 1853, *in the Territories of the United States.*

	Acres.		Acres.
Minnesota Territory	85,225 601	Kansas Territory	80,821,120
New Mexico Territory	127,383.040	Chah-lah-kee Territory	17,715,200
Utah Territory	113,589.013	Muscogee T. 343,274,240	6,048,000
Oregon Territory	116,259,698	Chah-ta Territory	19,129,600
Washington Territory	78,737,578		
Nebraska and Kansas:		Total	864,069,170
Nebraska Territory	219,160,320		

[Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1853, 1st session 33d Congress, page 45. Corrected and revised at the Land Office June 3, 1854.]

Statement showing the number of acres of the public lands donated by Congress, the purposes for which donated, &c., in reply to resolution of the House of Representatives of January 30, 1854.

States and Territories.	Schools.	Universities.	Seats of government.	Salines.	Internal improvements, 1841.*	Roads.	Canals and Rivers.	Railroads.	Swamp lands.†	Deaf and dumb.	Individuals and companies.	Military services.	Aggregate.
Ohio	704,488	23,040	—	24,216	—	80,773	1,162,229	—	25.641	—	32,141	1.783,024	3.835.552
Indiana	650,317	23,040	2.560	23,040	—	170,582	1,439,279	—	1,286,827	—	843	1,225,336	4,821,824
Illinois	978,755	23,040	2,560	121,629	209,085	—	299,915	2,595,053	1,833,413	—	954	9,060,330	15,115,734
Missouri	1,199,139	23,040	5,560	46,080	500,000	—	—	2,442,240	2,178,716	—	—	2,288,323	8,680,098
Alabama	902,774	23,040	1,620	23,040	100,000	—	400,000	419,528	2,595	—	1,981	794,925	2,669,503
Mississippi	837.584	23,040	1,280	—	500,000	—	—	737,130	1,824,812	—	15,965	178,383	4,118,194
Louisiana	786,044	46,080	—	—	500,000	—	—	—	9,771,275	—	8,413	518,670	11,630,482
Michigan	1,067,397	46,080	13,200	46,080	500,000	—	750,000	—	6.788,125	—	4,080	1,108,003	10.322,965
Arkansas	886,460	46,080	10,600	46,080	500,000	—	—	2,189,200	8,690,017	—	139,366	1,645,273	14,153,076
Florida	908,503	46,080	6,240	46,080	500,000	—	—	—	2,065,605	—	52,114	291,400	3.916,022
Iowa	905,144	46,080	3,840	46,080	500,000	—	‡885,078	—	71.958	—	18,227	4,523,573	6,999,980
Wisconsin	958,648	46,080	6,400	—	360,364	—	569,372	—	1,259,269	—	5,706	2,467,497	5,673,336
California	6,719,324	46,080	6,400	—	500,000	—	—	—	No return.	—	—	—	7,271.804
Minnesota Ter.	5,089,224	—	—	—	—	—	§340,000	—	—	—	—	105,520	5,534,744
Oregon Ter‖	12,140,907	46,080	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12,186,987
New Mexico Ter	7,493,120	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,493,120
Utah Ter.	6,681,707	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6.681,707
Connecticut	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	¶23,040	—	—	23,040
Tennessee	—	**3,553,824	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,553,824
Kentucky	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	††22,400	—	—	22,400
	48,909,535	4,060,704	57,260	422.325	4,669,449	251,355	5,836,873	8,383,151	35,798,253	45,440	279,790	25,990,257	134,704,392

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* By the act of September 4, 1841, 500,000 acres of land were granted to each land State for purposes of internal improvement, provided that such States as had heretofore received grants for such purposes should, in addition, be entitled to select only so much as would make the above amount of 500,000. Ohio and Indiana having received more than that amount, were, of course, not entitled to any land under said act.

† Reported by State authorities and estimated.

‡ In part estimated.

§ Estimated.

‖ Donations in Oregon not yet reported.

¶ Located principally in Alabama.

** The vacant lands in Tennessee, amounting to 3,553,824 acres, were granted to the State, provided $40,000, if the proceeds amounted to so much, be applied to establish and support a college.

†† Located principally in Florida.

Public Lands.

	Acres.	Acres.
Areas of land in States and Territories exclusive of water		1,391,480,320
Of which there has been surveyed up to June 30, 1853	336,202,587	
And unsurveyed (estimated)	1,055,277,733	
Of the amount surveyed	336,202,587	
There has been offered for sale up to June 30, 1853	316,278,804	
Leaving of the surveyed, unoffered for sale	19,923,783	
Of the amount offered for sale up to June 30, 1853	316,278,804	
There has been sold to that date	103,197,356.35	
Land in the States yet undisposed of by the general government subject to entry June 30, 1853		94,746,032
Amount of land in the States unsold and unappropriated, of offered and unoffered lands, in June 30, 1853		281,861,254
If lands in California be subtracted, it will leave		168,179,818
Areas of land in States and Territories exclusive of water		1,391,480,320
Which has been disposed of as follows—		
Sold up to June 30, 1853	103,197,356.35	
Disposed of for schools, universities, &c.	49,416,435	
Disposed of for deaf and dumb asylums	44,971.11	
Disposed of for internal improvements	10,757,677.60	
For individuals and companies	279,792.07	
For seats of government and public buildings	50,860	
For military services	24,841,979.83	
Reserved for salines	422,325	
Reserved for benefit of Indians	3,400,725.53	
Reserved for companies, individuals, and corporations	8,955,383.75	
Confirmed private claims	8,923,903.21	
Swamp lands disposed of to States	35,798,254.66	
Railroads	6,024,573	
		252,114,237.11
Total unsold and unappropriated of offered and unoffered lands, June 30, 1853		1,139,366.083

[Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1853, 1st session 33d Congress, pages 44 and 45.]

APPENDIX—B.

Persons employed by the General Government in 1800.

Treasury Department:	
Number employed in collecting the external revenue, such as port collectors, revenue captains and lieutenants, custom-house officers, &c.	1,257
Light-house keepers, inspectors, &c.	37
Number employed in the mint	10
Clerks in the department at Washington	70
Total number in Treasury Department	1,374
State Department, including diplomatic corps	112

Persons employed in Pension Office	37
Persons employed in Land Office	8
Persons employed in Indian Office	19
Purveyor of Public supplies	4
Total	68

War Department, exclusive of army	17
Navy Department, exclusive of navy	17
Judiciary	107

Post Office Department: Clerks at Washington, 10; deputy postmasters, 906; whole number employed in Post Office Department	916
Miscellaneous appointments	9
Whole number employed by general government	3,806

Persons employed by the General Government in 1854.

The Department of—	
Treasury	3,245
Post Office	30,480
Interior	707
War	232
Judiciary	238
Navy	263
State	256
Whole number of persons employed by general government, excluding army and navy	35,456

APPENDIX—C.

Natives of the old States residing in the land States, as per census U. S. for 1850, *with the natives of New-York specially therein resident.*

Where resident.	Number of white residents.	Natives of N. Y. residing in the land States.	Native born population of each State.	Proportion of the natives of the old States residing in the land States to the native born population.
Alabama	151,915	1,443	420,032	Over one-third.
Arkansas	26,787	537	160,345	About one-sixth.
California	34,808	10,160	69,610	About one-half.
Florida	21,875	614	45,320	Nearly one-half.
Illinois	199,780	67,180	736,931	About two-sevenths.
Indiana	179,242	24,310	931,392	Nearly one-fifth.
Iowa	43,254	8,134	170,620	About one-fourth.
Louisiana	30,527	5,510	205,921	About one-seventh.
Michigan	182,618	133,756	341,591	Over one-half.
Mississippi	79,366	952	291,114	Over one-fourth.
Missouri	84,398	5,040	520,826	Over one-sixth.
Ohio	508,672	83,979	1,757,556	Nearly one-third.
Wisconsin	109,932	68,595	197,912	Over one-half.
	1,653,174	410,210	5,849,170	More than one-fourth & less than one-third.

Art. V.—RUSSIA AND THE MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE.

[Though we publish papers upon every side of great public questions, we beg to say, that our own sympathies, in the matter of Russia and the allied powers, are in accordance with the general public voice in this country—with neither particularly, with the former if at all.—Ed.]

The importance of free shipping on the Danube has again, by the high price of breadstuffs in most European States, proved the necessity of a definitive regulation for the interest of the world's intercourse. The complaints of Russia's oppressions, and intrigues of a selfish character, have during a long time been heard, but a closer examination of the same will not be out of place.

The struggles of Russia to bring the Danubian trade under her sway began in 1774, and have been continued until the time of the treaty of Balta Liman, in 1819. By the acquisition of Bessarabia, she attained the dominion over the left bank, from the coast of the Black Sea to the mouth of the Pruth. The final act was, that she thus obtained also the Danubian deltas, including the three principal mouths, whereby the decision of the Vienna treaty of 1813, "that the Danube should be a free-trading river for *all* nations," became an illusion. Austria's commerce on the Black Sea submitted itself to the Russian yoke, by permitting Russia (nominally for improvement of the navigation) to levy a tax on all vessels passing the Sulina mouth. The worst event, however, was that clause in the treaty of 1829, by which Russia was empowered to establish a quarantine, not only at the Danubian mouths, but also between Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria. Thus the control of its commercial and travelling intercourse fell into the hands of the Muscovites!

Goods which have already paid the entrance duty in Turkey cannot be imported into the Danubian Principalities unless they have been again taxed. Vessels which will not run the risk of being sent to Odessa, to lie there forty days in quarantine, or in Galatz even sixty-five days, are compelled to pay to the Russian Consuls fees of upwards of £100 for certificates of health, etc., no matter even if they are Turkish, and therefore in their own ports. Neither seals nor certificates of other consuls are respected. The English shipowners lose by the Danubian quarantine, annually, £18,000, although their vessels do not touch any Russian harbor at all.

Besides, this quarantine is practised by a barbarism unheard of in other countries. All sails are taken down, to be fumigated below in the steerage, while all persons on board are forced to remain, in spite of all eventual inclemency of weather, twenty-four hours on deck. Then they must undress themselves to nudity, even woman not excepted, to put on in the steerage other fumigated clothes. It is of no importance whether there have been any cases of cholera at all in Turkey; and the partiality is so great, that vessels which have cleared at Constantinople with certificates of health, have to quarantine at Odessa only four days; in a Danubian port, however, fourteen days.

The captain of an English ship, who waited last year at Galatz, with a full and rich cargo, not less than sixty-five days, paid the following costs:—

For nine persons, tax	135	piasters.
Attest	2½	"
Watch on board	435	"
Watch at cleaning the ship	150	"
Hire of a boat for the Inspector	90	"
Total	812½	"

During the time of the Turkish Regiment, the Danubian mouth had sixteen to eighteen feet depth of water, which depth was very simply preserved by the vessels dragging iron rakes after them. Under the Russian sway, it has, however, only nine feet. Contrary to the above-mentioned treaty, Russia has not only entirely neglected to dredge, but even prevents others from doing so. By these machinations, the vessels are compelled to take in their cargoes on the other side of the bar, in a dangerous place, and that only by means of *Russian lighters.* Often the costs amount to more than £800.

All these violations of treaties are caused by the selfish design of Russia to fetter the commerce of Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Danubian Principalities, and to throw the whole trade into Russian ports. To this fact alone it is also to be attributed, that in Odessa, notwithstanding the great disorders there, the freight of a quarter of wheat to England is nearly three shillings less than in Galatz.

The emancipation of the Danubian mouths from the Russian usurpation is not specially a Turkish, but is considered as an European question, which must now be decided. In the worst case, it is proposed to dig a canal from Hirsova to Kurtendsi, to withdraw the Danubian navigation from the Russian influence, whereby incalculable advantages for commercial intercourse would be gained.

Art. VI.—THE NORTH, THE SOUTH, AND THE UNION.*

It was, in the opinion of Bacon, fit to be recorded amongst "the articles of honor," to which the reign of James was entitled, that "England had now first gotten a lot, or portion, in the New World, by her plantation in Virginia, and the Summer Isles;" "and," adds the philosopher, "certain it is with the kingdoms on earth, as it is in the kingdom of heaven, sometimes a grain of mustard seed produces a great tree. Who can tell?" This scriptural metaphor constitutes almost the only allusion to the New World which occurs in the varied and voluminous works of one who was, in some respects, the wisest, and, in others, the weakest, reasoner of his age. To show how prophetic was this brief, yet comprehensive allusion, we quote the beautiful metaphor from the Scriptures: "Whereunto shall we liken the Kingdom of Heaven, and with what comparison shall it be likened unto? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which when it is sown in the earth is less than all the seeds that be in the earth; but, when it is sown, it groweth up and becomes a tree, greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches, so that the fowls of the air may come and lodge in the branches thereof, and under the shadow thereof." What description could more forcibly express the progress of this great nation, or figure to the mind more beautifully the immigrant millions which have, like wearied sea-birds, sought the shelter of that tree, which stretches its branches to protect mankind? Whilst Europe was framing an orthodox faith, and establishing an uniform rule—when England swept the seas, and France bowed beneath the most splendid sceptre that was ever swayed over a people, entranced by pleasure, and subdued by power—whilst Holland, like Carthage, taught that commercial wealth and a cordial union were a match for absolute rule and extended territory—whilst Spain wasted the treasure of the Indies, and Italy wielded the prestige of the Church—when the renowned Doria struck for the freedom of the seas and cities, and the resolute Van Tromp battled with Boscawen and Hood, the gallant successors of Hawkins and Drake—when Cromwell rose and ruled, with a power and patriotism which all the envy of his successors had been unable to obscure—that seed was planted on the sands of the Chesapeake and the granite of Plymouth. It grew and flourished without the aid of courts, or the comment of schools, and no man regarded it as the germ of a power superior to that which planted it. Were this the essay of a political philosopher, instead of the argument of the statician, how appropriate to show the folly with which the weak-eyed wisdom of the world would peer into the darkness with which God has enveloped the future! How should we smile to compare the immense results anticipated from a royal command, or a doctrinal admission, with the steady increase of that seed, growing under the sunshine and showers of God in that distant wilderness! When one haughty favorite would have involved his country in war for implied disrespect of etiquette, or another for a presumptuous and wicked love of a foreign queen, that seed still grew. When royal weakness granted provinces to obsequious courtiers, or bestowed kingdoms as a *trousseau* upon some favorite bride—or when they abandoned to the just vengeance of the people the ministers who had dared death to extend the prerogative of the throne—that seed still grew. When the people of God, driven from his worship, sang his praises on a barren moor, or in the dark prison, or under the cruel torture—when a sanguinary priesthood tried to extinguish a heresy by exterminating those who professed it, by a massacre more cruel than that of Herod, because more comprehensive, pretending to serve God by violating the faith of a solemn covenant—that seed still grew. When princely malevolence was satiated at Culloden, and in the Vaudois, and in the Vendée, and in dismembered Poland—this seed not only grew, with the aid of every evil whom tyranny had sent to aid in its culture, but it began to shoot out its great branches, and the persecuted and afflicted from every part of the earth flocked to, and lodged beneath its shelter. And at Bunker Hill, and at Yorktown, and New-Orleans, and on the broad, restless waves of the free ocean, and within the eternal roar of that mighty cataract which God pours from the hollow of his hand, the roots of this tree have been nurtured by the most acceptable moisture—the mingled blood of triumphant freemen and defeated foes. And now it has vindicated the words of the philosopher, and become a "great tree." But the luxuriance with which the Union of the States has grown has caused the only well-founded apprehension that it may not continue. *Roma ruit suis viribus.* It is not the danger of foreign power, but of domestic dissension, which threatens its perpetuity. Although political negotiations may have adjusted the terms upon which the sectional relations of our country are to be conducted, it is plain that no framework of words can be so skilfully constructed as to form a perfect and perpetual union, unless it shall be based upon the confidence and common interest of those who have adopted it. No form of government, however perfect its theory, can bind the American people, if it is believed to contain any alloy of injustice. They consider equality the first term of amity, and cannot understand how friendship can exist between power and dependence. There can be no impropriety, therefore, in speaking of the sectional jealousies which exist. They constitute an historical fact. Nor is it necessary here to examine the causes of this fact. It may have been occasioned by a diversity of law or social usage, or it may have arisen from that not uncommon animosity between those who are obliged to wrest from reluctant nature the fruits she has gratuitously bestowed upon others, and those who rely upon a generous soil and a genial sky, generally bestowed as a heritage upon the improvident favorite, I cannot say. But such animosity is natural, and every patriot should strive to render the sectional relations more harmonious, and to fuse into a solid amalgam interests which, though dissimilar, need not therefore be inimical.

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* Address, upon the equalization of Federal Sections, delivered before the Maryland Institute. Furnished in manuscript by the author.

It may be assumed that the method of effecting this important object cannot be copied from books, or borrowed from usage. In other days and other countries, political harmony has been based upon passive obedience, or temporary compact. The federal alliances of Macedon, or Sparta—the European leagues of a later day, were all founded upon some temporary coincidence of interest, or some common sense of danger. Wherever the cement of compulsory co-operation has lost its strength, the transient structure has crumbled and fallen. It may then have been compressed into unity by the iron grasp of a powerful despot. Thus the national aggregations which were concentrated under Alexander, or Peter, or Ferdinand, or Charles, evinced all the incongruity and weakness of all composite formations. They could neither endure the superior force of patriotism, nor the contractile rigor of external power. There was no principle of permanent concentration amongst such materials. From these causes a great part of Europe and Asia would as certainly avail themselves of any foreign interposition, or any suspension of domestic authority, as the inmates of a prison of any accident which should give them freedom.* England and Holland have, it is true, adopted systems more congenial with human rights. Their governments depend somewhat upon the consent of the governed. They recognize, in some degree, the wisdom of cultivating the affections and uniting the interests of their citizens. Still, England has but partially appreciated the true principles of union, when she has to inclose a member of her confederacy within a ring fence of bayonets.

The circumstances under which the American Union was formed require the application of a peculiar doctrine to preserve it. That Union was the result of a voluntary agreement amongst sovereign States. Its perpetuity must be the result of justice and forbearance. The inherent power of the people cannot be restrained by absolute rule. If, then, there exists an admitted dissonance between the two great sections of the Union, occupying the care, and exciting the apprehensions of statesmen, it becomes a duty to obviate that dissonance, and remove the sole obstacle to the perpetuity of the Union.

The American people may be said to have prescribed, as a moral condition upon which they will confer the honor of their residence within any State or section, that there shall be provided for them, 1st, certain general rules of free suffrage, and practical equality; 2d, a proper standard of religious and intellectual instruction; 3d, adequate opportunity to turn their capital or industry to account in any vocation. To these must be added a social welcome, with enlarged tolerance. To these specific and invariable conditions all States contending for this great element of prosperity must conform their institutions. Accordingly, we find the States vying amongst themselves in the liberality of their inducements; and this liberality is necessary, not only to attract the citizens of other countries, but to retain their own. It is thus that constitutional restrictions have been modified—schools of learning endowed—commercial intercourse opened with other countries—mechanical employment encouraged—the products of agriculture increased by scientific stimulants, and their value enlarged by facilities of transportation, and access to new markets.

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* The present state of Greece, Wallachia, the Montenegrins, and Circassia, attests the correctness of this opinion.

These measures perfected, the balance of popular power will ultimately rest with that section which possesses the highest social and climatic advantages. But when this development shall have reached perfection, neither section can exercise any dangerous control over the other, for physical and industrial improvement, enlarged intercourse, and a complication of social and commercial relations, will have grown up. There will be such an independent strength in each member of the confederacy, as to render any idea of employing the power of a preponderant section to enforce an arbitrary policy preposterous.

Let us contribute somewhat to this important result, by examining the causes of sectional jealousy, and offer our counsels as to the best manner of removing them.

Were the present relations between the sections to continue, or were they left to regulate themselves by the natural ratio of progress, we should have no anxiety as to results. But the South has, unfortunately, relied upon its own peculiar productions, as adequate to purchase all other subjects and services needed. It has underrated, nay even disparaged, the industrial pursuits of other countries. With a careless generosity, perhaps characteristic of its clime, it has abandoned to the Northern sections certain sources of prosperity which it did not itself care to employ. The carrying trade of its great staples was thus given up. The control of the foreign and domestic exchanges arising from the exportation naturally accompanied it, as also the importation of so much of its representative values as might be required for Southern consumption. The production of much of the provisions required for the culture of the Southern staples was committed to the West, whilst the great interest of manufactures having been even rendered unpopular by its connection with an obnoxious measure of Federal taxation, was proscribed as immoral, and otherwise injurious in its social tendencies. When there is added to this improvident concession of these industrial advantages, the development arising from works of internal intercourse, of which the Northern section had a monopoly for more than a quarter of a century, it cannot be surprising that the Northern States should have surpassed the South in absolute political power, and almost to equal, in the aggregate result of its varied industrial resources, the power of the South arising from the positive value of its staples.

The abandonment of these profitable pursuits to the Northern and Western sections was accompanied with another signal result, to which we have referred. The success of manufactures and commerce depends upon facilities of interior communication. The Northern section could not look to a barren soil or a rigorous sky for favor, but it tasked its enterprise to supply those defects. The Erie Canal opened a conduit to the Lakes. A kindred system of railroads occupied the wilderness. People congregated. New States were organized. Internal commerce developed. All these brought an accession of numbers; and, in common gratitude and common sense, the political power resulting from these numbers was added to that of the parent States, from whose enterprise it had sprung. Some Southern statesmen unconsciously strengthened this preponderance of power, by inveighing against the vices of manufactures, the mercenary speculations of commerce—the alleged injustice of taxing one section to supply the natural needs of another. Perhaps they adopted too readily the industrial theories of Hobbes, Sir Thomas More, and of the pastoral poets generally. Perhaps they increased this northern preponderance, by lauding the superior nature of those engaged exclusively in agriculture, by invoking the authority of history to show the high and chivalrous jealousy with which slaveholding States have ever regarded civil liberty.

When population is determined by inducement—when the energies of one section have been employed to offer those inducements, and those of another for a long time employed to oppose their adoption—the one section has naturally grown in all the elements of constitutional power, and the other has only acquired that which results from natural increase. This is precisely the cause of the political inequality of sections. And this inequality, inevitable under the comparative systems of moral and physical development in the North, and the reliance upon abstract principles and constitutional remedies in the South, has been the cause of the sectional jealousy now dividing us. In stating the causes, we have indicated the remedial system which will correct it.

There is an incident of the system of internal communication not adverted to as an original inducement to construct that system, but now become a result, entering not merely into commercial advantages, but capable of disturbing the sectional equilibrium, and thus embarrassing the gradual progress to equality which might have been expected from the adoption by the South of the Northern methods of development. This new and powerful element of political power is foreign immigration.

It has been shown that the Republic owes its existence to original immigration. The continued influx of this element requires therefore that we should consider, 1st, The propriety of its further encouragement. 2nd, The manner in which it may be invited, and conducted into the interior. In attracting to that section of the country which we have indicated most requires an immediate increase of this element of power, I feel the difficulties which surround the subject. I feel that whilst there may be an ignorance of the social condition and industrial inducements of the South upon the one hand, there is an apprehension founded in equal error on the other. These errors cannot be disabused by any argument of mine, but they will disappear before the inevitable intimacy which an enlarged intercourse will occasion. From the causes alluded to, there is no American population which has the same reverence for the opinions and institutions of the past, as that of the Southern States. Content with their condition, they have heretofore scarcely felt their dependence upon others.

With others, these institutions and opinions have been alike hereditary. In the Southern Atlantic States may be occasionally heard the idiom of Yorkshire, the provincialisms of Scotland, or some surviving superstition of the common law. Their prejudice against foreigners is based, perhaps, upon the national antipathy of their forefathers. The same prejudice has extended to the acquisition of territory. The irruption of foreigners—myriads fresh from the taskmasters of despotism—brings back the ravages of the Huns and Sclavonians, of the successive subjugation of the Roman, Dane, and Norman. It is feared that under the influence of these aliens to our language, institutions, and interests, our form of government may fall a victim to venality and ignorance. The seeds of despotism may be transplanted from the Old World to the New; and, more particularly, that foreigners animated with ideas of liberty and equality, cannot well understand how a modification of human rights should depend upon a modification of human color. Such are the prejudices with which the Southern Atlantic States regard the immigration of foreigners. I shall contend, however, that the introduction of population from the Rhine, the Netherlands, from England, Ireland, and France, may be encouraged, not only with safety to the South, but as one means by which its political independence may be rapidly established. The great problem consists in reconciling the abstract opinions of mankind with their positive interests. But as human opinion adapts itself to all local and climatic conditions, this reconciliation is generally effected by maintaining the interests and relinquishing the opinions.

English publicists have affirmed that the ocean was, in its nature, incapable of being reduced under the dominion of any people, yet England has claimed supremacy over the ocean. The southern portion of this continent was claimed as an appendage to the Papal See. Its mines were adjudged crown treasures for Gospel diffusion. Its natives were enslaved with the same holy motives. All this injustice was perpetrated in the name of religion.

Political opinion has still less pretensions to morality. It is but the reflection of sectional interest, and invariably takes its hues from the subject on which it rests.

The institution of slavery has been shown by experiment indispensable to the production of certain staples which the civilized world requires, and which can be only grown in a southern climate. The civilized world has therefore sent one portion of its people to conduct this department of supply. It establishes, then, the system of predial and continuous labor. The physical constitution in the laborer is adapted to the climatic peculiarities.

With these indispensable conditions to the production of Southern staples, an immigrant population sees at once the propriety of maintaining the sanitary relation, just as the original immigrant population saw the necessity of adopting it. Nor is there any antagonism between the white and slave operatives, because there is abundant territory within the same region, affording abundant field for the production of the stock and provisions which the staple grower does not produce, because his labor may be more profitably employed. The sugar estates and cotton plantations of the South produce neither stock nor provisions in sufficient abundance for their own supply; but the farmer of Illinois or Indiana finds amongst them a better market for his horses, mules, or provisions, than he could in Liverpool. Every man in a slaveholding community who has corn or meat to sell, or who can make or mend any implement, or a fabric, has a market at home for the produce of his industry; for the planter, who purchases, having preferred to devote his labor to the production of an export staple, has the money to pay for his purchases: for a similar reason, there has always been the most friendly relation between those who employ slave labor and those living in the same community who do not. This is contrary to the theory that free labor is disreputable in a slaveholding community. But it is true. These relations will be rendered more intimate by the material improvement now in progress.

The metals and minerals of the interior are sent for consumption into those sections of the slave States where the staples are exclusively produced. Then the practical wisdom of the country will see that it is better to import the mechanical skill and capital into the region which combines provisions, water-power, raw material and consumption, than to transport the principal elements of manufacture to the capital and skill. The success of American manufactures was founded upon the recognition of this principle, and when the physical obstacles to access and intercourse shall have been removed, the same principle will transfer so much manufactures, skill, and capital into the South as shall be necessary for its purposes. Nor will the prejudice against slavery any more prevent the immigration of free labor than it has done heretofore.

The political consequence which will result is obvious. The interest of the producer and customer will be mutual. If one interest be molested, the other will fly to its defence. The institution which makes a market for the producer of provisions is his institution. The tendency of this system is to establish within each State that relation between the industrial and staple growing interests which has been at last the great *menstruum* to consolidate the Union. In this connection, it may be observed that it has been always difficult to foster a sectional hostility between the provision States, upon the Upper Mississippi, and the planting States which consume their products, from the joint influence of intercourse and interest.

But free labor introduced in the South need not be confined to the production of provisions. On the contrary, there is a good deal of cotton and tobacco made by small planters who employ no slaves. Besides, free labor in the South will be employed in commerce and in those aggregations of people that commerce engenders. This is shown by the immense northern immigration into New-Orleans, which neither the mortality of the climate nor the loathing of slavery has been able to prevent. Upon the practical doctrine which we have stated, there will be an intimate reciprocity between the free labor which supplies the mechanical, agricultural and commercial community, and the slave labor which furnishes a market for them; and in the hour when political insanity shall threaten the safety of the South, as the dissonant opinions of the various Christian Churches meet in the same ranks for the defence of a common country, so will those who differ only in their ability or inclination to employ a particular kind of labor unite cordially in the defence of the integrity of the section to which they belong. Such is the strength of this nationality, that slaveholding communities have never suffered weakness from servile revolution, in time of foreign invasion. The slaves of Rome fought bravely against the African invader; nor did the Helots abandon their cruel masters; the slaveholding colonies were amongst the first to resist British aggression, and though their slaves were offered freedom by the enemy, yet comparatively few availed themselves of the invitation. A good many were, it is true, kidnapped.

From the reasoning employed, we think it may be admitted that the immigrant population adopted into the Southern States will never prove incendiaries. They will come with kindly motives. They will not reward with perfidy those who have erected the fabric and spread the feast of freedom. They will take the country for better or worse, and devote their strong arms to its defence or to its development. Some of their opinions will be fallible, but they will be honest. Their manners will not be like our own, but they will rapidly adapt themselves to the spirit of our institutions. Their children will be Americans; and the current of immigrant opinion, like that of the turbid Mississippi, will be soon purified by the republican ocean that receives it.

It is scarcely necessary to refer to the aid which this country has received from foreign immigrants at a most critical period of its history. The blood of Kosciusko, De Kalb, and their humble followers has, at least, consecrated the battle-grounds of the South from the charge of treason against her interests.

Indeed, there can be no danger that the influence of free labor will be thrown against the South, whether its employment be domestic or sectional. The non-slaveholder knows that he is not morally responsible for the existence of slavery. He is not, therefore, under any obligation to abolish it. He will, therefore, be content to sell what he has for market at a good price, and he will never feel bound to unite with those who prefer the emancipation of the negro to a political association with his master.

The diversification of labor is indispensable to the welfare of a State. Let us see, then, what would be the effect upon slave labor of emancipating three millions of slaves. It would be followed by their voluntary or forcible deportation. As free citizens of the United States, the negro would prefer an asylum among those to whom he had been indebted for his freedom. Fear, rage, prejudice, would drive him from the South; hope and persuasion would woo them to the North. We will trace the effect of this black exodus upon free labor, employed in reciprocative production. A gross population of three millions would afford one million capable of immediate employment, the remainder being women, children, and aged not trained to mechanical pursuits, and thus, to a great extent, unproductive. Their support would be charged upon those capable of labor. The first obvious effect of this exodus, then, would be the withdrawal of a greater or less number of persons theretofore employed in the production of reciprocals, and thus employment in the production of competing products. This would diminish the annual production of staples, valued at perhaps one hundred and fifty millions. This would affect the domestic supply of the great manufacturing staple, estimated to be worth more than thirty millions. Of course its price would be enhanced. It would affect the commercial, manufacturing, and social interests of the whole North. Is there any man who labors in the North who is not interested in this result? Is it the hewer of ice or of granite? The man who makes the shoe, or the girl who pastes the lining? The mariner who fills the lamp, or the artisan who makes the lamp? The jeweller whose costly ornaments deck the brow of the Southern maiden, or the thrifty farmer who whittles in the long winter's evening the axe-helve for the Southern slave? Who is amongst these operators that will not feel the effects of abolition? The swarthy forgeman, the cotton-spinner, draymen, porters, sailors, servants—all those who follow those callings which civilization imposes upon industry, will all sympathize, for they will all suffer. But the direct repudiation of two thousand millions of value would be a decree of desolation. This discharge from labor, and elevation to equality on the part of the slave, would produce a social convulsion. We might trace further the inevitable consequences upon free labor. The immigrant negroes must have support. They know nothing except the hardest work or menial service. They will seek relief from starvation by working at the lowest wages. Driven to labor for their support, they will seek little more. The impulses of animal and individual appetite appeased, they will not toil for the support or mental improvement of their families. The instinctive enmities of race will be inflamed by the unsought competition for sustenance. The negroes will be driven in herds to their own infected quarters, and will live to be the gypsies and lazzaroni of Europe.

Let any one weigh for himself the probabilities of these two results. It is plain to us that both must inevitably follow. We have said nothing of a civil war, in which the conqueror reigns over desolation. Nothing of a second confederacy, under which the manufacturing States lose the greatest and most growing home market in the world. I have taken a single view of abolition for but one purpose: to show the harmony between slave and free labor, whether they coexist in the same community, or are engaged in the creation of reciprocating products. We do not say that the South, depopulated by such a calamity as we have imagined, might not ultimately be resettled by another population. It might be; but the present generation would have perished. There would have been a terrible interregnum in its progress. We will not pursue the consequences—our argument is concluded.

We have thus endeavored to disabuse the mind of two errors. The one, the danger of introducing free labor into the vast area of the Southern section; the other, the antagonisms between slave labor and that of intelligent freemen engaged in reciprocating industry.

But if there be danger from the encouragement of immigration into the Southern section, how much more must it become a source of apprehension, when a people who neither speak the language, nor appreciate our social condition, pass by immense armies into a distant and a separate part of the confederacy? How will it be possible that the compromises of the Constitution can be so well maintained as if the association of that immigrant population were more intimate, and the intercourse with every part of the Union more free? Let us consider the process by which new States are and may be manufactured, by introducing the foreign element. A parallelogram of public lands is marked off, a line of immigrant vessels connects with a train of packet boats, and the population of Germany, or of Ireland, is remitted with the same certainty as any other products of those countries. The aggregation of even a few months authorizes the organization of a State, and a new member contributes to overthrow, or at least to disturb the sectional balance. These immense aggregations of numbers are translated at once into their proper symbols of political power, and electoral votes and federal representatives proclaim at once the legitimate and constitutional influence to which immigrant population is entitled. Why then should not the Southern States, and the Southern ports, which need skill, capital, and numbers, for the subjugation of the immense empire still to be reclaimed from the wild beast and the savage—for employing the vast power of their streams—for realizing the vast wealth of their mines—for rendering available the broad waters and deep harbors which invite the prows of commerce—why should they not open an organized system of invitation, not only to the foreigner of every land, but to their fellow-citizens of other States? Let them open lines of intercommunication, from the sea-board to the Sierras, and within a very few years, not only shall they have secured power, and riches, and numbers, but the problem of a perpetual and an impregnable Union will be placed beyond question or cavil, and the grain of mustard seed, planted by the providence of God, shall stand a lofty and magnificent tree, its roots penetrating and spreading through a continent, its branches sheltering the unprotected of every nation, and its fruits going abroad through the world for the "healing of nations."

Art. VII.—VOYAGE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The voyager enters the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar, which form the natural division between the continents of Europe and Africa. The average width of this passage is about twelve miles. Gibraltar is the original Mons Calpe of the Romans. It is situated in about 36 degrees north latitude, and about 5 degrees and 30 minutes east from Greenwich. The elevation is oblong in form, running in a direction nearly north and south. The extremities are more elevated than the centre. The rock is near seven miles in circumference, and forms a promontory near three miles in length. In a work written by Mr. Shroeder, published in 1846, it is thus described with striking accuracy:—"His forehead, high and massive, rests upon the fore-paws, doggedly overlooking the low beach which, Nahant-like, connects it with Spain; and the bristling mane and back are the rock outline against the sky. The formidable monster is three miles from the forehead and nose to the tip of the tail, and of the exact proportions in height and breadth of a well-shaped lion. Against his left ribs are a brood of houses, which nestle under his protection, and are washed by the waves of the bay." No doubt this promontory was the site of a town of considerable strength, from very early times. It is formed by nature to command the entrance into the Mediterranean from the Atlantic, and the Bay of Gibraltar affords quite a safe and commodious harbor for shipping. The present town and fortress derive their name and existence from the Moors, who invaded the Peninsula in the eighth century. The prominent men of our country are well known by representation and character to her Majesty's officers, stationed here, who are a class of intelligent and courteous gentlemen, and a letter of introduction from this country will invariably insure their favorable attentions and consideration. Their life is quite monotonous, and the arrival of distinguished strangers is viewed as a happy occasion to vary their accustomed thread of life, with the civilities of social intercourse, which they know so well how to render. The visitor from the United States will be greatly disappointed in finding that agriculture has not progressed in proportion to the antiquity of the settlements, or to the natural capabilities of the country here belonging to Spain. An American will look upon it with wonder. The striking difference between even the frontier portion of this country and that of the possessions of Spain, that lie contiguous to the rock, in agricultural advancement, calls forth the instant attention and observation of the beholder from the United States. There seems to lie upon the country an incubus, restraining enterprise and industry, and paralyzing the moral and physical energies.

Put a load upon a man's heart, and his hearth soon becomes desolate and forbidden. There are very many portions of this country with scarcely greater natural advantages than are possessed by this region that are far in advance of it in the elements that conduce to man's happiness and physical comfort. The cork groves in the vicinity of Gibraltar are sure to attract the attention of the visitor, and are picturesque in a high degree, extending over a vast plain, interlapping their branches, and commingling their foliage of dark green. They lie within the territory of Spain, and afford one of the most attractive objects of curiosity. It is not always with perfect impunity that they can be visited. Visitors are regarded with suspicion, which detracts greatly from the pleasure of an excursion to these woods. Close questioning is always the consequence of an approach to the "line;" unpleasant, annoying apprehensions are entertained, and the assault of robbers not unfrequent. The cork-tree is the *Quercus Suber* of botanists, and its bark, the cork, is not valuable until the twelfth or fourteenth year of its growth. It is then taken off in strips, and should not be molested again until the tree is supplied with the growth of three years. At one time it was supposed to be necessary that the tree should be stripped once in three years, to preserve it from decay. This bark and many of its useful purposes were known to the Greeks and Romans, and by the latter especially, applied to many advantageous purposes. It was used by them for floats for fishing-nets, buoys, soles for shoes, or sandals, &c. By others of the nations of antiquity, it was used as a safeguard from drowning, and in the construction of coffins.

Malaga, upon the coast of Spain, in the province of Grenada, is a place of considerable interest. It is a Moorish town, and like all Moorish towns, its streets are narrow and extremely inconvenient. It is some two hundred and thirty miles south of Madrid. The hill of St. Christopher, formerly called Gibralfaro, is the site of an ancient castle, well worthy an examination. It was formerly a Roman temple, devoted to heathen worship. But the greatest object of curiosity to travellers in Malaga, as its wine and fruits are its greatest enjoyment, is the Cathedral, presenting now the united styles of both Roman and Gothic architecture. The latest account that we have seen of Malaga, and of its present condition, and of its many curiosities, may be found in the "Cruise of the North Star," (the Vanderbilt excursion,) written with classic ease and purity of style by the Rev. Dr. Choules, of Boston. The reader will do well to consult this very interesting book of travels, where he may be certain to find much entertaining and instructive information; in style and mode of painting, extremely engaging. It is written in that freedom from conceits and forced witticisms, and in that direct earnestness of manner that we so seldom find in the writings of modern travellers. Speaking of the Cathedral, Mr. Choules says, "it was begun by Philip II., in 1538, and only finished in 1719. The style is not good; it wants unity. It is intended for Grecian, and has a bold façade between two dwarf towers. The interior is very rich, and yet not in keeping. The choir has good carved work, and the roof is richly adorned with oak and chestnut carvings. The pulpit is very fine, and of reddish marble. I noticed several pictures, but the light was bad. A Madonna struck me as good. The choristers were preparing vespers, and a dirty-looking set of children they were." This choir, of which Mr. Choules speaks, is so remarkable that it has been called the eighth wonder of the world. This Cathedral is said to be as large as St. Paul's in London. Here are to be seen the works of the celebrated Alonzo Cano, and those of his student, the no less celebrated Pedrode Mina. The picture of the Virgin in Heaven, with the infant Saviour in her arms, with angels adoring, is supposed to be equal to the best of his preceptor's. Malaga, like many other of the cities situated upon the coast of this inland sea, has been visited by malignant epidemics, although its general healthfulness is now proverbial. The population, consisting of 75,000, was reduced in one year (1804) from this cause, to less than 53,000. The Bay of Malaga, although inferior to that of Carthagena, is, nevertheless, deserving the eulogies that are bestowed upon it. The largest ships may ride in safety in water of sufficient depth, at all seasons, close to the town. The soil of the country is fertile, and the climate pleasant. Here are figs, grapes, almonds, lemons, olives, &c., and cotton was cultivated here before America was discovered. Mr. Choules says that here is the "first burial-place granted to Protestants in Spain." His description of this place is quite interesting. "Having," says he, "received in the morning an invitation to visit the vineyard of a wealthy Spanish gentleman, we took carriages and drove some three miles into the country. The vehicles hired were caleches, and held four persons. Besides several of these, we had a gig that held two, and the driver sat on the side. O how much of amusement would that procession have created in Broadway! I did not imagine that such carriages and such drivers could be obtained in such a city as Malaga. The man who drove one caleche positively resembled a baboon. He might have been an importation from Abyla, the ape's mountain. His face was the most shrivelled-up affair I ever saw—of a tawney-red color, with an awful grin—whilst his arms and legs were in perpetual spasmodic motion. The harnesses were exceedingly rude. The head-stalls run down to an iron nose-piece of semicircular form, half an inch wide, strapped over the nose, and having in it two rings; from the outside one of which a rein passes to the driver, and from the inside one of which a rein is attached to the corresponding ring of a mate in a double team. This nose-piece answers the purpose of a bit. The team is guided by single reins. Through the pole, about a foot from its outer end, is an iron pin projecting its iron extremities some four or five inches; outside this pin is a layer of three or four strands of half-inch rope, folded round, and then twisted together, so as to bring it snugly against the backing-pin, and thence separated to run through supports on the collar, and thence to large rings in the breeching, which is of leather, and three inches wide.

Our ride out of the city was very pleasant; but we were jolted over the worst road I ever travelled, leaving Welsh ones with a character of comparative goodness. We passed an aqueduct, and here for the first time saw the prickly pear in its gigantic form, making an impenetrable boundary hedge. It was now covered with its yellow fruit, which we did not think as palatable as did the urchins of Malaga, who were munching it at every corner. We now realized that we were in a tropical climate, for on every side we saw the agave or American aloe, and in several instances had the gratification of looking at its towering, spear-like blossom. A ride of about three or four miles brought us to the charming habitation of Edward Delius, Esq., a merchant of Malaga. The name of this estate is, I think, Tutinos. The house is an elegant summer residence, and the grounds immediately around it were laid out with much taste. I perfectly revelled in the show of geraniums, myrtles, ranunculuses and oleanders. At every turn we took in these grounds, we met with orange and lemon trees in full blossom, and the fig in several varieties. The vineyard occupies about fifty acres; and here we found the delicious muscatel just ripening, and picked its noble clusters from the scrubby vines. The prospect of the city from these grounds is very fine; and, as the Cathedral loomed up in the evening sky, and beyond it were the blue waters of the Mediterranean, and the dark Moorish castle and its battlements frowning over all around, we thought that we could spend more time with our kind host very agreeably.

In walking to our carriage, I observed that Mr. Delius had some grown cattle on his place, and they looked in good condition. On our return we rode through the Alameda, which is well shaded by fine trees, and under which the pretty women were using their fans most bewitchingly. This spot is adorned with statuary and fountains. We walked through the Zacatin, a sort of bazaar. It has some good shops, and the buildings are supported by columns. We resumed our carriages, and drove round the mole, and had a fine view of the fine Moorish castles Gibralfero and the ruins of Alcazaba, which crown the overhanging mountain. The soldiers were just marching up the zigzag road, to relieve guard for the night. The costume of the muleteers, who came into town with mules and asses, and are numerous, is very picturesque. The gay handkerchiefs, and richly-buttoned jackets and heavy leather leggings, make quite a figure, and Jose Cubero has immortalized them in his capital statuettes. No place have I seen to which the approach is more impressive than Malaga. The background of mountains is superb, and the outline of the city at the water-edge is very pleasant. No winter is experienced at this place, and the air is balmy. We all thought that we had never breathed more freely than while anchored in this charming harbor; and I really think our sympathies with those who suffer from quarantine will always be abated, in consequence of our delightful recollections of the days of our embargo off Malaga. This harbor can receive four hundred merchantmen and twenty ships of the line, and is accessible in all winds, and affords complete shelter to shipping. Malaga is in 37 degrees north latitude, and four degrees west from Greenwich.

Coasting eastwardly, the traveller will soon arrive at Carthagena, or New Carthage, as the Romans designate it. This point is a little northward of Malaga, and less than a degree westward of London. It possesses one of the safest harbors on the coast of the Mediterranean, and has a population of from thirty to thirty-five thousand. This place was founded by Asdrubal during the first half-century after the founding of the Roman empire. The name of Carthagena was given it by the Romans, and was intended to rival the great African capital. It was destroyed by the Vandals about 425 years after its foundation, and rebuilt by Philip II. The celebrated Genoese navigator, Andrew Doria, is reported to have said that there were but three good ports—viz., "June, July, and Carthagena." This harbor has in its outline the figure of a heart, and is formed by the hand of nature. Anciently, diamonds, rubies, amethysts, and other precious stones were found along the coast in this vicinity. There were two silver mines, but they have become exhausted. The present population is not more than half what it was in the days of its prosperity. The people are hospitable, and strangers are well regarded and well entertained. Visitors have been variously impressed with the city. Swinburne says that he could scarcely imagine any place so dull as Carthagena, and that, "with the exception of the wretched comedy and the coffee-houses, there is not the least life or amusement going on." A French traveller gives a different account. He says, that Carthagena is distinguished by affability, society, amusements, and pleasures."

Voyaging northwardly along the coast of Valencia, the traveller passes in full view of the Balearic Isles Ivica, Majorca, Minorca. "All along its shores," says Mr. Choules, speaking of Ivica," we observed watch-towers on the chief headlands, and passed a rock that resembled a venerable Cathedral. We now bore away for Majorca, and coasted it at a distance of about five miles, having a fine view of its grand shores. The scenery is very romantic, and from the Dragonera Island Light to Cape Formenton, the voyage was one of exquisite enjoyment. The sea was of glassy smoothness, and off to our right one long succession of ever-changing beauty for about fifty miles. The hills are some of them most tastefully formed, their peaks lancet-shaped, and the summits of many are tipped with snow. The slopes of these mountain-ranges, which appear to be volcanic, are luxuriant vineyards, and inland the island is very productive. Its exports are grapes and oranges. In the evening late, we passed off Minorca, and saw its light-house on the northeastern coast." On the southern coast of Minorca, the most northernly of these islands, in 40 degrees north latitude, is Port Mahon.

Pursuing the same direction, the traveller soon reaches Leghorn, or Livorno, a city of Tuscany, containing a population of from 80,000 to 85,000. From this point are exported almonds, anchovies, (taken in vast quantities near the island of Gorgona), hemp, liquorice, madder, manna, quicksilver, raisins, skins, soap, gum-arabic, sponges, cantharides, saffron-flowers, tragacanth, oils, brimstone, parmesan, cheese, cream-of-tartar, juniper-berries, &c. Its imports are, logwood, tobacco, wheat, sugar, rum, lead ore, lead in pigs, litharge, alum, cassia, cinnamon, pimento, nutmegs, pepper, cloves, ginger, cochineal, cocoa, coffee, hides, cotton, indigo, &c. It is in latitude about 43½ degrees north, and about 88 east from Washington. All travellers concur in the opinion that Leghorn is one of the best-built cities, and perhaps the very best paved one on the Continent. The streets are wide, and are paved with granite of solid blocks, laid in cement. The people are gay, polite, dress handsomely, and seem to be industrious. From this port are sent vast quantities of marble taken from quarries in the neighborhood, which are sent to the United States, and are here in general demand for ornamental and some useful purposes. It is much more beautiful, and therefore more highly prized than our own production. The English government has a burying-ground near this place, and in it rest the remains of Smollet, the novelist and historian.

Florence is about eighty miles from Leghorn, and is reached by a railroad. This is indeed a city of palaces and churches. It is also the seat of modern art; besides which, it occupies an interesting position in the history of the past. Here are the *chef-d'œuvres* of Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Rembrandt; and here are the studios of our gifted countrymen, Powers and Hart.

The first object that strikes the curious is the cathedral, called in native language *Il Duomo,* and in architectural skill is only inferior to St. Peter's at Rome. It is nearly 450 feet in length, and 365 in height. It is of polished black and white marble, and the interior pavement is of variegated marble, said to have been arranged by Michael Angelo. The only other church which deserves particular attention is that of San Lorenzo, which, as well as the Duomo, was designed by Brunellesco. It is inferior in magnificence to the Duomo. It is celebrated mainly for two buildings attached to it—the Medicenean Chapel and the Sacristy—the latter the work of Michael Angelo. The chapel adjoining the back of the church was commenced in the early part of the 17th century, by Ferdinand I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, and intended as the final resting-place of the mortal remains of his ancestors, and as the depository of the Holy Sepulchre, for which he was then in treaty. The form is octagonal, its diameter between 90 and 100 feet, and its elevation to the vault about 200 feet. It is lined with onyx, jasper, lapis-lazuli, furnished with sarcophagi of porphyry that are supported by pilasters of granite and capitals of bronze. The Crucifixion of the Saviour in marble by a sculptor of Bolana, and the blessed Virgin by Michael Angelo, are among its treasures of wealth.

We find it impossible to fix, with any degree of certainty, from any history of Florence which we are able to procure, the precise period of its foundation. It was certainly used by the Etruscans as a place for fairs and markets, and the booths erected by them for the accommodation of trade may be said to have been the first houses in Florence. We know that it was a Roman colony under Sylla, by whom the city was first planned. History declares that Totila, king of the Goths, in his wars against the Roman generals under the Emperor Justinian, almost wholly destroyed it. There are many incidents connected with the history of Florence that make her a subject of great interest to the American visitor. For a considerable period of her history she was a Republic. The great lesson which the history of Florence teaches is, that her greatness fled with her liberty. The principle of popular representation in the framework of government was at an early period recognized and acted upon by the Florentines. The framework of government reposed the law-making power in a senate of one hundred persons, and the execution of its mandates was confided to consuls chosen from four different portions of the city. The chief infirmity of government experienced by the Florentines was in controlling the consuls and confining their action within just and proper limits.

It is in the nature of power to corrupt its possessor; and this principle the Florentines experienced. In order to obviate the danger which sprung from the venality, corruption and tyranny of these public servants, recourse was had to a very remarkable civil regulation. In civil and criminal cases, the adjudication and administration of the law were taken from the citizens and reposed in the hands of a foreigner selected for that purpose. The remedy must certainly have been as bad as the disease. This recourse to a stranger to execute public justice was designed to obviate the odium which might attach to the citizen who inflicted the sentence of the laws; and on the other hand, the judge was not influenced by motives of fear, or controlled by family partialities, in doing what was demanded by the public safety. The character of the Florentine people impelled them occasionally to take part in the quarrels of the emperors and the popes; yet, at the same time, the success and prosperity of the State were not thereby retarded. An intestine war commenced during the first years of the 13th century, between the Guelphs and the Ghibbelines, or the papal and imperial party, which continued with various success for more than thirty years; yet the Republic of Florence seems not to have suffered either in population or wealth. They appear to have been utilitarian in all their notions. The enlargement of the city, the erection of public buildings, castles, and fortifications seemed to constitute the objects to which the public treasury and individual energy and industry were directed. Their manner of living was simple, and luxury and effeminacy were discountenanced by society, and in a very good degree were made obnoxious to the penalty of the law. Of such a condition of things in a State it may indeed be said, that growth in greatness and all the public virtues which adorn a State and constitute its true glory were the natural consequences.

The tourist cannot but recognize the justness of the description of Florence, as given by that observant writer, Mr. Choules, from whose work we have already quoted.

Art. VIII.—AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CITIES—PHILADELPHIA.

[Some months since we published a series of able papers, from the pen of Mr. Tyson, upon the growth and prospects of Philadelphia. In order that the subject may be brought down to the present date, we incorporate the statistics for 1853, prepared under direction of the Board of Trade.]

We deem it proper to notice certain indications of the commercial prosperity and progress of this city during 1853. The past year has been a most prosperous one for Philadelphia. The statistics of every department of her industry and trade show this. An investigation which we have lately made assures us that her manufacturing production has largely increased since the census of 1850, the capital and products being in many instances more than doubled in that short interval. Were we to state, on the data before us, what is the probable aggregate wealth invested in and annually realized by the principal branches of her mechanical arts, we should safely estimate it as exceeding a hundred millions of dollars. The same gratifying prosperity has marked her domestic and foreign commerce. The jobbing business alone, which, upon reliable grounds of calculation, reaches a present total value per annum of hundreds of millions of dollars, has grown recently in an unprecedented measure, extending itself over every section of the vast interior, north, south and west. Importation has felt the stimulus of an expanding traffic in the distribution of supplies to every quarter of the Union, and has augmented proportionately. On referring to the books in the Custom House, we find that during the year just closed, Philadelphia has increased her direct imports of foreign goods to a very great extent over the importations of 1852, while there is reason to believe that the amount entered in the name and on account of her own importers at other ports has been commensurately enlarged. Exportation has prospered in even a higher ratio. The amount of shipping which has entered and cleared here during the past twelve months, bringing and carrying hence cargoes of every variety of foreign and home produce, affords an idea of the magnitude of the maritime commerce of the city in 1853. The reports from the surveyor of the port state that the aggregate foreign and coastwise arrivals for the year exceeded, including all classes of vessels, twenty-nine thousand. Immense quantities of domestic products coming hither from the fields and factories of the interior, have been shipped hence to every section of the commercial world. Millions of tons of coal, breadstuffs, iron, beef and pork, whisky, tobacco, lumber, and almost every species of commodity, the produce of agriculture and manufactures, have been floated from our wharves, since January last, to innumerable and distant markets.

Population, too, has advanced with this astonishing growth of every mercantile and industrial interest. The greatly increased consumption of provisions, the multiplication of new stores and factories and dwellings, the swelling current of life in our thoroughfares, the extended list of taxable citizens, and the evident accession of capital in every branch of local business, attest a rapid accumulation of inhabitants. Several thousand houses of every description, most of them of magnificent proportions and costly finish, have been added to the city and its environs during the last year, and yet the demand for this sort of accommodation by families and artisans and merchants is unabated, rents are rising, real estate is growing rapidly in value, and the work of extension and improvement in building is going forward with ever-increasing briskness. The open grounds and commons in the suburbs are fast vanishing before the march of enterprise and construction. Spaces which but the other day were vacant, are now occupied by long rows of stately mansions, while hundreds of splendid villas dot thickly the picturesque face of the surrounding country. Paved footways are extended on each side of the line of spacious streets to remote districts, and in a few more months we expect to see the now small intervals of unbuilt ground that divide these suburban settlements from the body of the metropolis compactly closed up with lines of edifices and avenues reaching half a score of miles, lit with the gas of the city works and supplied with the water from Fairmount. The prosperity of which the facts recited are the evidence, is of a wholesome and solid character, and not the result of developments stimulated by temporary and artificial causes. Capital and credit have been confined here within the limits of a legitimate enterprise, and natural advantages of position, combining with social energy, intelligence, and integrity, have produced substantial thrift and happiness.

If we may congratulate ourselves on what Philadelphia is, anticipation can hardly exaggerate what she is destined to become. Situated on a magnificent river, to which the tides of the ocean, with the aid of steam, may float in a few hours the largest ship entering the Bay of Delaware; connected by lines of canal and railway with the head waters of the Ohio and all the vast network of improvements which penetrate the States west and south of it; backed by an immense area of territory richer in natural wealth than any other of equal extent on this side of the Atlantic, and united, not only by favorableness of location, but by its many hallowed associations, as well as its eminently loyal and conservative character, as an American city, in a closer and more genial affinity with every part of the national confederacy than any sister emporium upon the eastern seaboard, its capabilities for future growth seem unbounded. Its near neighborhood or easy accessibility to exhaustless treasures of anthracite and bituminous coal, to rich deposits of iron ore, extensive beds of limestone, marble, granite, clay, and sand; to thousands upon thousands of acres of the finest lumber, and an agricultural region whose valleys teem with production and whose mountain sides repay with golden harvests the skilful culture of the husbandman, adapts Philadelphia to be one day not only the great manufacturing capital of this continent, but one of the chief centres of industrial art in the world. With all the physical elements for the purpose placed within immediate reach, and in conjunction with cheap living, ample capital, skilful labor, and institutions devoted to the science of mechanics, it is easy to see that the result predicted will be but the effect of compelling causes.

There are good reasons, also, to believe that Philadelphia will grow in time to be the point of an immense shipping trade. Its locality with reference to the interior, from which the great mass of the exports of the country will come, must give it, with the aid of equal facilities of access, the advantage over every other Atlantic port as the depot of western produce seeking foreign markets and the extension of railway connections with the States; and the establishment of numerous lines of ocean steamers and sailing packets, will secure this city a flourishing export and import commerce. It is acknowledged already to be the chief market for the distribution of merchandise, domestic and foreign, to the West and South, and with other things made equal, the point of supply to the interior bids fair to become the principal point of the reciprocal trade.

In speaking of the sources of the present and future prosperity of Philadelphia, there is one which deserves special notice. We mention it in no spirit of self-commendation, but merely to induce adherence to a principle of success which cannot be too highly valued by individuals or communities. The sound tone of mercantile morals here—the stern attachment to conscientious principles of dealing, has done as much, if not more, than any other one thing, to build up the commercial fortunes of this city on that staunch foundation on which they securely repose. While, as a market, it possesses all the necessary qualities and attractions which other cities of the East enjoy, it is distinguished for the frankness, the integrity, the gentlemanly courtesy and the generous liberality of its merchants and its people generally. All the interests and operations of trade in this community are in the main based upon and actuated by simple honesty of purpose, and it is to this circumstance that Philadelphia may attribute her immunity from wild speculations, immoderate overtrading, rash personal extravagance and disastrous bankruptcies. A metropolis could have no more valuable element of a wholesome prosperity and progress than the sterling commercial virtue which engages universal confidence. It has acquired for this city a wide-spread public regard, and it will continue, as it ought, to enlarge yearly its business custom and relations.

RECEIPTS OF CALIFORNIA GOLD.

We publish below a very interesting table, showing the gold deposits at the mint of the United States in Philadelphia, since mining operations commenced on the Pacific. It will be seen from the statement that there has been a steady annual increase in the amounts received, and that in the five years named they have risen in value from ten to fifty-three millions of dollars. While the supplies indicate the abundant richness of the source from which they are derived, and promise continued growth with the additional labor as well as improved skill that will probably be hereafter employed in the business of mining the gold of California, the statement also affords a satisfactory proof of the ample capacity of the Philadelphia mint to coin any quantity of the metal that may be sent here for the purpose.

Comparative Statement of Gold deposits at the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia, since the California discoveries.

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
January	253,989	1,139,959	5,071,667	4,161,680	4,962,097
February	385,672	2,114,718	3,004,970	3,010,222	3,548,528
March	335,940	1,506,350	2,880,271	3,892,156	7,533,752
April	477,448	1,782,325	2,878,353	3,091,037	4,851,321
May	669,721	2,503,526	3,269,491	4,335,578	4,365,638
June	1,193,754	2,144,330	3,637,560	6,689,474	4,545,179
July	907,834	2,610,436	3,127,517	4,193,880	3,505,331
August	1,454,377	3,370,579	4,135,312	2,671,536	4,518,902
September	1,033,309	3,450,038	4,046,799	4,253,687	3,027,805
October	1,187,921	3,524,760	4,743,586	4,140,069	4,472,606
November	857,774	4,473,284	5,492,456	7,279,942	3,650,051
December	1,733,936	4,620,153	5,641,425	3,336,982	4,445,000
	10,491,675	33,240,458	47,929,407	51,056,243	53,426,205

The gold in the above statement, received from any other source than California, is very small in amount, probably between $3,000,000 and $5,000,000.

The following table, compiled from the monthly statements of coinage published in the *North American*, will show the coinage at the mint for 1853:—

GOLD COINAGE—	Double Eagles	$25,226,520
	Eagles	2,012,530
	Half Eagles	1,528,850
	Quarter Eagles	3,511,670
	Dollars	4,096,051
	Total gold coinage	$36,375,621
	Bars	15,397,536
	Total gold coinage and bars	$51,773,157
SILVER COINAGE—	Dollars	$46,110
	Half Dollars	1,766,354
	Quarter Dollars	3,813,555
	Dimes	1,217,301
	Half Dimes	667,251
	Three Cent Pieces	338,550
	Total Silver Coinage	$7,840,121
COPPER		$62,505

RECAPITULATION.

Gold Coinage and Bars	$51,773,157
Silver Coinage	7,849,121
Copper Coinage	62,505
Total Coinage and Bars cast in 1853	$59,684,783

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

Of the Quantity of Coffee Imported into the Port of Philadelphia for eleven years, from 1843 *to* 1853, *inclusive.*

FROM	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.	Bags.
Laguayra	43197	37943	29561	48288	34820	41609	48357	49244	32168	37960	27650
Rio de Janeiro	31380	26068	26894	51257	19669	47444	45376	48208	76043	80931	127804
St. Domingo	699	254	—	1175	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cuba	3590	3665	401	4752	356	67	680	843	2483	177	379
Porto Rico	97	28	5494	5	—	9	—	1791	823	—	100
Java	—	—	—	—	450	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maracaibo	7615	8138	6903	11569	10445	5939	11997	12269	5722	10077	4811
Jamaica	—	—	—	—	—	—	341	1584	785	1568	1382
Europe	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	300	—	—	—
Matanzas and St. Thomas	1070	117	7	7	11	253	205	—	—	—	1177
Port au Prince and Cape Hatien	9801	16193	2834	9284	6549	16136	1604	5712	5230	6025	5369
Havana	4021	366	10	6	164	—	562	310	—	96	2802
Coastwise	—	—	—	—	—	—	5813	5700	7798	9737	5570
Total Bags	98580	91737	72105	126607	72504	111457	114925	105961	131052	146571	177044
Hhds	50	12	—	—	—	—	—	12	28	19	43
Tierces	—	1	—	—	4	52	36	72	101	17	37
Barrels	12	84	—	116	18	401	120	181	247	85	116

The following are some of the principal articles imported at this port during the year 1853, in comparison with previous years:—

	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Brandy, pkgs	8,592	7,742	4,303	11,030
Brimstone, tons	1,130	950	2,889	3,194
Coffee, bags	105,106	131,052	146,571	177,044
Cotton, bales	41,809	48,306	67,292	62,000
Hides, No	132,488	157,377	147,501	149,404
Honey, pkgs	883	1,006	550	1,378
Indigo, pkgs	641	685	1,626	754
Iron, tons	4,844	10,966	13,322	24,644
Iron, bars	359,722	297,007	233,081	375,077
Iron, bdls	136,423	153,859	120,028	194,338
Lead, pigs	60,394	53,624	54,892	40,637
Lemons, boxes	16,714	11,845	21,651	16,712
Logwood, tons	2,144	1,249	2,336	1,528
Molasses, hhds	23,702	25,854	22,877	18,026
Molasses, bbls	15,335	8,936	9,864	6,932
Mackerel, bbls	61,048	66,774	63,280	20,451
Naval Stores, bbls	63,755	82,522	81,658	99,711
Oranges, boxes	33,003	34,657	27,563	39,702
Rice, tierces	7,944	7,014	10,035	13,378
Raisins, pkgs	—	59,738	39,498	39,369
Sumac, bags	6,778	4,490	7,929	10,255
Salt, sacks	86,380	121,568	112,871	157,363
Salt, bushels	203,271	290,315	180,790	154,627
Salpetre, bags	24,761	11,622	22,251	12,656
Sugar, hhds	32,733	33,166	42,910	42,587
" boxes	31,482	28,971	33,683	24,331
" bbls	6,191	7,048	8,321	3,006
" bags	40,530	67,764	55,443	81,806
Wine, pkgs	6,989	6,649	6,010	3,885

COTTON.

Comparative Statement of the Imports of Cotton coastwise, at the Port of Philadelphia, during the years 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, *and* 1853.

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Charleston, bales	17,696	10,797	15,764	20,368	19,493
Savannah, "	11,557	14,114	12,165	20,428	17,887
Mobile, "	1,981	2,534	3,016	5,453	9,150
Florida, "	417	1,302	117	——	711
New-Orleans, "	13,633	12,909	16,788	20,529	14,392
Other ports, "	62	151	456	514	367
Total	45,618	41,809	48,306	67,292	62,000

PHILADELPHIA EXPORTS.

The following is a comparative statement of some of the principal articles of domestic produce exported from this port to foreign ports for the four quarters ending 30th September, 1852 and 1853:—

	1852.		1853.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Wheat, bushels	495,424	$503,844	686.106	$815,425
Corn, bushels	130,979	90.968	216.233	138,820
Flour, bbls	368,336	1,589,363	452,480	2,379,699
Corn Meal, bbls	72,240	233.017	67,139	214,944
Rye Meal, bbls	6,336	22,353	3,279	12,607
Ship Bread, bbls	30,067	68,343	25,739	53,563
Rice, tierces	3,661	84,114	4,525	121,040
Cotton, bales	6,375	254,541	3,528	198,494
Tobacco, hhds	876	78,728	1,198	102,730
" lbs	269,612	27,235	289,560	31,296
Candles, lbs	1,075,656	165,627	639,603	76,362
Soap, lbs	1,082,922	176,318	773,847	31,953
Nails, lbs	409,050	16,689	320,150	16,067
Domestics, pkgs	5,424	283,399	2,636	166,517
Sperm Oil, gallons	17,353	22,251	3,154	3,927
Whale Oil, gallons	28,907	19,524	31,923	20,464
Bark, hhds	2,764	59,064	2,497	46,169
Naval Stores, bbls	19,255	27,856	8,346	14,571
Beef, bbls	5,617	94,219	7,788	117.320
Butter, lbs	486.367	55,649	301,876	39,721
Cheese, lbs	165,487	72,683	39,496	7,642
Tallow, lbs	835,020	157,953	387,699	39,722
Pork, bbls	7,895	124,590	8,498	125,470
Hams, lbs	624,590	68,416	4,983,558	498,256
Lard, lbs	1,789,353	449,874	1,560,878	161,516

SUGAR AND MOLASSES.

The following is a comparative statement of the receipts of these articles coastwise, at the Port of Philadelphia, for the years 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, and 1853:—

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Sugar, hhds. and tierces	19,411	17,369	10,523	8,045	10,436
" barrels	2,636	3,162	1,966	572	1,053
" bags	2,041	16,357	15,557	5,271	9,281
Molasses, hhds. and tcs.	548	497	1,396	1,031	209
" barrels	16,305	14,063	8,268	9,103	6,596

BREADSTUFFS.

The following is a comparative statement of the exports of Flour and Grain from the Port of Philadelphia to foreign ports for the last four years :—

	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.
Flour, bbls	185,009	300,426	402,508	546,846
Corn Meal, bbls	94,134	64,905	70,075	74,209
Rye Meal, "	24,981	10,250	6,461	3,749
Ship Bread "	28,976	23 285	23 955	23,890
Wheat, bush	155,140	225,201	674,518	780,153
Corn, "	603,712	557,779	136,793	538,968
Rice, tierces	2,864	3,665	2,732	5,832

THE COAL TRADE OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR 1853.

The following Table exhibits the quantity of Anthracite Coal sent to market from the different regions in Pennsylvania, from the commencement of the Trade, in 1820, *to* 1853, *inclusive :—*

	SCHUYLKILL.					LEHIGH.	
Years.	Canal.	Railroad.	Total.	Swatara.	Little Schuylkill.	Total.	Total from all sources.
1820						365	365
1821						1,073	1,073
1822						2.240	2,240
1823						5,828	5,828
1824						9,541	9,541
1825	6,500		6,500			28,393	34.893
1826	16,767		16,767			31,280	48,047
1827	31,360		31,360			32,074	63,434
1828	47,284		47,284			30,232	77,516
1829	79.973		79,973			25,110	112,083
1830	89,984		89,984			41,750	174,734
1831	81,854		81,854			40,966	176,820
1832	209,271		209,271		41,000	70,000	363,871
1833	252,971		252,971		40,000	123,000	487,748
1834	226,692		226,692		34,000	106,244	376,336
1835	339,508		339,508		41,000	131.250	560,758
1836	432,045		432,045		35,000	148,211	682,428
1837	523,152		523,152	17,000	31,000	223,902	881,476
1838	433,875		433,875	13,000	13,000	213,615	739,293
1839	442,608		442,608	20,639	9,000	221,025	819,027
1840	452,291		452,291	23,860	20,000	225,318	865,414
1841	584,692	850	584,692	17,653	40,000	143,037	953,899
1842	491,602	49,902	540,892	32,381	37,000	272,546	1,108,001
1843	447.058	230,254	677,295	22,905	31,000	277,793	1,263,539
1844	398,887	441,491	839,934	34,916	57,000	367,002	1,631,669
1845	263,587	820,237	1,083,796	47,928	74,000	429,453	2,023,052
1846	3,440	1,233,142	1,237,002	58,926	91,000	523,002	2,343,992
1847	222,693	1,360,631	1,583,374	67,457	106,401	643,973	2,982,399
1848	436,602	1,216,233	1,652,835	61,530	162,626	680,746	3,089,238
1849	489,208	1,115,918	1,605,126	78,299	174,758	801,246	3,242,866
1850	288,030	1,423,977	1,712,007	70,919	211,960	722,622	3,332,614
1851	579,156	1,602,727	2,181,883	50,000	294,677	989,295	4,418,515
1852	800,932	1,663,117	2,464,449	72,144	317,586	1,114,231	5,317,010
1853	888,869	1,587,211	2,476,080	80,899	384,444	1,080,223	5,490,146
Total	9,560,410	12,733,684	22,305,100	762,950	2,219,452	9,756,881	43,629,889

PORT OF PHILADELPHIA.

Foreign arrivals during the year 1853 :—

	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	Total.
January	4	10	4	1	19
February	9	15	13	6	43
March	14	17	29	13	73

	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	Total.
April	8	11	20	9	48
May	7	22	20	11	60
June	15	14	24	8	61
July	7	13	24	11	55
August	11	12	22	6	51
September	13	14	18	3	48
October	13	13	7	8	41
November	11	14	12	6	43
December	7	8	6	3	24
	119	163	199	85	566

ARRIVALS COASTWISE DURING THE YEAR 1853.

	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schrs.	Sloops.	Steamers.	Barges.	Boats.	Tot a
January	1	9	12	66	68	37	17	28	238
February	1	7	15	105	78	47	40	69	362
March	4	14	13	370	162	62	227	421	1,273
April	1	9	16	388	187	91	728	861	2,281
May	3	15	24	576	258	116	632	1,092	2,716
June	1	10	52	703	393	118	618	1,299	3,144
July	1	9	70	774	267	126	811	1,238	3,196
August	5	11	116	825	341	129	809	1,222	3,458
September	19	8	71	736	455	111	724	1,283	3,400
October	22	6	48	640	516	101	822	1,564	3,719
November	16	5	59	699	522	98	701	1,210	3,318
December	22	6	33	443	461	79	496	811	2,351
	96	109	529	6,325	3,709	1,135	6,525	11,098	29,456

Art. IX.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN CONVENTION IN CHARLESTON.[*]

DISCUSSION ON THE PACIFIC RAILROAD, ETC.

THIRD DAY.

Lieut. W. F. Maury presented the following resolutions from the Committee on Business:—

MANUFACTURING AND MINING.

1*st*. *Resolved*, That whilst agriculture is, and properly should be, the predominant pursuit of the people of the States represented in this Convention, the interests of these States would be very greatly promoted by the employment of capital in other pursuits, and especially in Manufactures and Mining; that the abundance and cheapness of the means of subsistence, of fuel and water-power, the temperature of the climate, and other natural advantages, will, if properly improved, secure to these States a virtual monopoly of the manufacture as well as the growth of cotton;—that it is believed the present cost of transporting this staple abroad will more than cover the expense of manufacturing it at home; and that, as an investment, for security, for certainty of result and uniformity of income, the factory and the mine, when properly managed, have no superior.

2*d*. *Resolved*, That a Committee of —— be appointed by this Convention, for the purpose of obtaining the most reliable statistical information as to the number and location of manufactories and mines in the States represented in this body; the amount of capital invested in the several establishments; the amount of income and disbursements; the number of hands (operatives) employed, free and slave; the amount of the raw material consumed; the quantity and quality of the manufactured articles produced; the prices at which they are furnished; the markets in which they are chiefly sold; and other items of information, tending to show the present condition and extent of our manufacturing interest; and that said Committee furnish the Secretary of the Convention a report of their investigations, to be laid by him before the next meeting of the Convention; and that it be the duty of said Committee to address the people of the States represented in this Convention, and to urge the importance of action in the Legislatures thereof, in favor of education, of manufactures, of ship-building, of direct trade, and of mining; and that it be the duty of said Committee to collect and present, at the next meeting of the Convention, statistics and other useful information, relating to the international improvement of the several States—their industrial resources, their mineral treasures, their manufacturing facilities, and their capacities for trade and commerce; together with a statement, in which shall be set forth the names and lengths of the several railways, their cost, and the increased value which has been imparted to lands and other property, in consequence of such improvements.

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[*] Continued from July No.

Resolved, That a Committee of ——— be appointed, to memorialize Congress, in the name of this Convention, and in the most earnest manner to urge the importance of, and to pray for, the following measures, viz.:

1. The remission of duties on railroad iron.

2. The passage of an Act for the improvement of the merchant service, by encouraging boys to go to sea, and for preventing desertion.

3. To send one or two small naval steamers up the Amazon, for the purpose of exploring the tributaries of that river, which the States owning them have declared to be free to the commerce and navigation of the whole world.

4. To encourage the establishment of a line of mail steamers between some Southern seaport town and the mouth of the Amazon, or some other port in Brazil.

5. And also to encourage the establishment of a direct mail route, by steamers, between some Southern port and Europe.

6. Upon the improvement of harbors and navigable rivers.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, the adoption of the above-named measures would tend mightily to promote the general welfare. The interests of the country require them, and even-handed justice should mete them out.

Whereas, The government of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, have made the navigation of their Amazonian waters free to all the world; and *whereas*, this action on the part of those governments has removed those streams from the condition of inland waters, the navigation of which is peculiar to the Riparian States above, and placed them in the category of arms of the sea, the navigation of which is as free to all the world as is that of the great high seas themselves.

Whereas, The doctrine that the straits or natural channels which connect free waters with the main ocean, are also free, even though both banks of such channel-way belong to the same State, and be within cannon-shot of each other, is founded on the everlasting principles of right, and is sanctioned by the law of nations; and *whereas*, the attention of the Federal Government has been invited to this subject by a memorial from the Memphis Convention:—Therefore be it

Resolved, That Brazil, the nation owning both banks of the Amazon, at its mouth, has no right arbitrarily to shut out the world from the navigation of its waters, or to prevent the citizens of the United States from passing through the same, with their vessels and merchandise, to the Riparian States, who have invited us to come and trade there.

2. That the President of this Convention be requested, in the name of the Convention, to congratulate the governments of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, upon the enlightened and liberal policy which they have adopted with regard to their Amazonian Provinces, and to assure them of the deep interest which the people, represented in this Convention, feel with regard to the free navigation of the Amazon and its tributaries, to the speedy settlement of the country drained by it, and to the development of its resources.

Resolved, That a Committee of —— be appointed to consider and report upon the propriety and expediency of adopting some plan for promoting Southern and Western manufactures and mining operations.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to each of the Southern States having a seaport, to encourage the establishment of a direct trade with Europe, either by exempting from taxes, for a limited time, the goods imported, or by allowing the importers an equivalent drawback or bounty, or by such other mode as to the Legislatures of the respective States may seem best.

Resolved, That efforts should be made to establish a direct line of steamers with Europe, from some Southern port or ports, *without further delay;* and that, in the event of the establishment of such a line, the united support of all the Southern States should be pledged, if possible, to sustain such a line.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Government of the United States the formation of reciprocal treaties with foreign governments, for the admission of their respective products at reduced and equal rates of duty; and that the Senators and Representatives from the respective States be requested to bring the subject before Congress.

Lieut. Maury moved that the Convention do now proceed to the consideration of the report, which was agreed to.

Mr. Gibbs moved that this report and resolutions be printed.

The President stated that that motion could not now be entertained, as the resolutions were already before the Convention.

Mr. Gibbs moved to reconsider the vote just taken. It was probable, he thought, that upon the adoption of these resolutions the vote would be taken by States. Hence it was highly important that the delegation from each State should have a meeting, and examine all the provisions embraced in these resolutions. If they were printed, they could be better understood.

Mr. Maurice was not disposed to stay here all the year. He thought the Convention had better proceed to business. The Convention could certainly understand the resolutions without their being printed. He objected to the reconsideration of the vote just taken.

A Delegate from Georgia (whose name was not announced) suggested that while these resolutions were being printed, the debate which was in anticipation on the Pacific Railroad bill could be proceeded with.

The motion to reconsider was adopted.

Mr. Gibbs moved the postponement of the further consideration of the report and resolutions for the purpose above named. The motion was agreed to, and the resolutions were then ordered to be printed.

The President stated that the next business in order was the resolutions presented by the Delegates from Arkansas (Mr. Pike), Tennessee (Hon. J. C. Jones), and Kentucky (Gen. Leslie Combs), on the subject of the Pacific Railroad.

Mr. Jones, of Tenn., stated that the resolutions he had offered yesterday were laid upon the table. That after that the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Combs) offered a series of resolutions similar in their character, and that the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. Pike) had also offered others tending to the same point. By way of accommodating gentlemen who wished to transact other business, he moved that, for the present, the resolutions do lie upon the table. Agreed to.

Lieut. Maury stated that there were additional delegates present, from the States of Missouri and Kentucky, and moved that Mr. James Glendenning, from the State of Missouri, be appointed one of the Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Blackburn, from the same State, one of the Secretaries, which motion was agreed to. Mr. T. S. Kennedy, of the State of Kentucky, was appointed Assistant Secretary.

The several States were then called for resolutions in their alphabetical order.

Mr. J. W. Clay, of Alabama, offered a resolution, proposing that the Committee recommend to Congress the reduction, or, if expedient, the entire repeal of the tonnage duties. Referred to the General Committee.

Gov. Moseley, of Fa., moved that in consequence of Mr. Brown, of Florida, being suddenly called away, Mr. Bryan should be substituted in his place as a member of the Committee.

Gen. Tilghman, of Maryland, submitted a preamble and resolutions on the part of the delegation from that State, embodying their views on the subjects to which they therein referred. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Norton, of Ga., presented several resolutions, which were also referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Marshal, of Miss., offered a resolution to the effect that the President, of the Convention be requested to appoint a committee of five gentlemen connected with our railroad and internal improvement enterprises, and that said committee be requested to report at their earliest convenience. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. M. also offered a series of resolutions on the subject of education. In offering these resolutions, he said that he had never written but one speech in his life, and that one he held in his hand. It contained only forty-six words, and if the Convention would allow him to make that speech on these resolutions, he would ask no more.

Mr. M., it is this:—If the South deems herself unable to produce, print, publish, and teach her own books, then I shall go for employing the North-east to take us under her matronly fosterings as a wet nurse; accept a rattle, and play the minor with uncomplaining submission.

Mr. Blackwood, Mo., offered a series of resolutions in relation to the importance of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, and also one expressing it as the opinion of the Convention, that the improvement of navigable streams by the General Government was a matter of the utmost importance, and particularly those of the Southern and Southwestern States.—Referred to the General Committee.

Col. Hale, S. C., said he had a resolution to offer which was accompanied by a short preamble.

The preamble was to the effect that, *Whereas* the government of Great Britain had lately manifested its devotion to the principles of free trade, by permitting foreigners to participate in the benefits of her coasting trade, on precisely the same terms as those which applied to the people of that country; and whereas the Convention was of opinion that this liberal policy ought to be reciprocated by the Government of the United States, and that such legislation on its part would not only conform with the principles now regulating the most enlightened nations of the world, but would also result in great pecuniary benefit to the different States of this Union:—Therefore,

Resolved, That the President of the Convention be requested to appoint "committees to be selected from the Delegations of the several States respectively in this Convention, whose duty it shall be to memorialize the Legislatures of the said States respectively, submitting this subject to their consideration and advice, and that they recommend to the Federal Government to respond to this liberal policy of the British Government, by opening our coasting trade to the enterprise of foreigners."

Sir, said Mr. H., I have a speech to make, but it shall be only three words. This, sir, is a new element of trade.

The speech, resolution, and preamble, were all received with marked approbation, and the two latter were referred to the General Committee.

Mr. H. W. Connor requested that a letter he had received from a distinguished citizen of Cincinnati, referring to the causes why no delegation was present from that city, might be read. The letter, he stated, presented several important facts to the consideration of the Convention.

The letter was accordingly read. It was dated Cincinnati, April 4, 1854, and stated that the writer, Mr. James A. Hall, was appointed one of a Committee of ten, on the part of the Chamber of Commerce of that city, to represent its interests in the Convention, but that this was their busy season, and that the people of that city were a busy people, among whom there were few, at present, who had leisure at their disposal. That if they had a representation in the Convention, their delegates would present the importance of a railroad connection between Cincinnati and Charleston. There were only about one hundred and forty miles now to be completed to render the connection complete between the Southern railroads and those of the West; and, with that link completed, the people of the West would be as near to Charleston as they are now to New-York.

The letter was referred to the General Committee.

Dr. Dickson (Professor of the Medical College, S. C.) offered a resolution to the effect that the Convention urge upon the Legislatures of their several States the importance of complete geological surveys of the Southern States. Laid upon the table, without reference to the General Committee.

Mr. Aldridge offered a resolution suggesting the propriety of establishing agricultural societies in different sections of the South.

Mr. Parham, of Tenn., presented a resolution to the effect that the reporters of the New-York *Herald*, the *Tribune* and *Express*, at present engaged in reporting the proceedings of the Convention, be treated as delegates, and invited to partake of the same hospitalities. The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Birch (of Tenn.) offered a resolution suggesting that the Legislatures of the several Southern States be recommended to appropriate —— thousand dollars for the construction of steamers to ply between Southern and European ports. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Wisdom (Tenn.) presented a resolution to the effect that the General Government be requested to make donations of lands for the construction of certain railroads in Tennessee. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Ruffin, of Virginia, offered a series of resolutions, in which it was resolved that the fishing bounties paid by the government of the United States, and received exclusively by Northern vessels, operated to the increase of Northern shipping, while much of the tax thus levied was collected at the expense of the Southern States.

Also, that the great sums paid by the Federal Government for the maintenance of European mail steamers, were collected principally at the expense of the Southern States, and that all such partiality exhibited on the part of the General Government ought to cease.

The resolutions were received with applause, and were referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Leek (Va.) offered a resolution providing that the General Government be memorialized to pass sufficient laws to prevent the abduction of slaves on board of steam and other ships. Referred to the General Committee.

Mr. McFarland (Va.) proposed that the next Commercial Convention should be held in Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. Worchiss (Va.) presented a like resolution on behalf of his constituents.

The President stated that there were many cities which would be candidates for the honor of the next Convention—New-Orleans, Savannah, Louisville, St. Louis, and others. The resolutions were both laid upon the table.

Mr. Moore, Ala., proposed that in the opinion of the Convention, it was of vital importance that a direct trade be opened from Southern ports in the U. S. to ports in South America, and particularly to those of the empire of Brazil.

Also that the acquisition of the Island of Cuba was an object sincerely to be desired by the Southern States. [Applause.]

The resolutions were referred to the General Committee.

Mr. Oakley moved that the Convention now proceed to the consideration of the resolutions on the subject of the Pacific Railroad. The motion was agreed to.

PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Gen. Leslie Combs, of Kentucky ,was first presented to the Convention on the above subject. He said he had been honored with the privilege of commencing the discussion of a subject which he conceived to be of more vital and practical importance than all the other subjects which might come before the Convention. He alluded to a connection, by railroad, upon our own soil, between the States on the Atlantic Ocean and the great State on the Pacific Ocean.

The Governor of Kentucky (and he a Democratic Governor) had honored him in a mode he little expected, by appointing him as a delegate to that Convention, he being a Whig, thus showing that he (the Governor of Kentucky) as also he (Mr. Combs) did not anticipate that politics would be introduced in their deliberations. [Applause.] The great orator of Kentucky, he whose trumpet tones had so often been heard in the halls of the national legislature, was no more. His voice was hushed in the silence of death, and the people of that State still mourned his loss as a great calamity, and now in a place which he would so admirably have filled, was found one of the humblest sons of Kentucky. He had no flowers of eloquence to present to that Convention—no bouquets to present to the bright and beautiful countenances which now faced those boxes. [Great applause.] What he had to say to the Convention was upon a dry subject, consisting mostly of facts and figures.

Before he proceeded to say what he had to say, perhaps he might be pardoned for making a brief reference to the past. In looking upon all that had been done in the way of progress in the construction of railways, it seemed to him but yesterday since the work had been commenced. He remembered the time when he was thought old enough to be elected a delegate to the Kentucky Legislature, and had presented before that body the first proposition for a railroad west of the Alleghany mountains that had ever been entertained. There were at that time but four railroads commenced on this continent, and he believed there were but four commenced in Europe. They had one four miles long in New England—one in Pennsylvania constructed of wooden rails, and he believed there was one from Charleston to Savannah—a little saddle-bag affair, on which horse power was used. That was in the year 1829. Now what did we see? He had taken the trouble to trace on a little map of the United States the principal railroads in the Union, extending, one of them—true it was as yet only on the map—to the Pacific. Before the time to which he alluded, when on the frontiers of Lake Erie, there was not a civilized inhabitant between the head of Lake Erie and the Pacific. And now what was there? State upon State, with immense resources and an extensive and intelligent population. Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, and territory upon territory, extending clear across the continent. All this had come to pass within this brief period.

The President, (playfully.)—How did you get there?

Mr. Combs.—Part of the way on the top of the earth, and part of the way through swamps, when defending the country against invasion by red-coats and savages. [Applause.] And now from four little railroads see what has been completed! When he had the temerity to present a proposition in the legislature of Kentucky, the wealthiest landholder in the State thought he was a fit subject for a lunatic asylum. Fortunately a very able and intelligent mechanic of Kentucky constructed the first locomotive that was ever built in the United States, but this wealthy gentleman thought it could not be made to go without legs, because he could not conceive how it could be made to hold back in going down hill, or how it could shove up when it came to a tight fix. [Laughter.] But this ingenious mechanic also constructeda miniature railroad, and placed this one-horse locomotive upon it, and after this skeptical gentleman had seen its operation, he became one of the most ardent advocates of the railroad system.

The resolutions which he had the honor to present the other day were, with other resolutions of a like character, presented to the Committee appointed for that purpose. They were three in number, the first averring that it was of vital importance to the interests of the whole country that we should have one or more railroads to the Pacific. He was for more than one. The second resolution pointed out the commencement of railroads, with a route and description of the plan on which a Southern Pacific Railroad should be built. He had laid down the route on a small map of the United States, and regretted that he had not procured a larger one that it might be better seen by the Convention. Here (pointing to the map) was Massachusetts represented by a little blue spot, and that "inch by inch and a half State" had expended fifty millions of dollars in the construction of railways. This larger blue spot was nowhere in those days, but it is now called the State of Maine. At this point there is now a railroad away up in the North and through the mountains, connecting that district not only with her older Southern sisters, but also with Canada. New-York—this broad fan-like-looking concern, with her foot on the Atlantic, and her shoulders extending along three lakes—had not a railroad in these days to which we had referred; but he remembered very well having heard it said that when the projector of the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River spoke to Mr. Jefferson on the subject, he replied that in the next century it would be time enough to complete it. Yet in 25 years it was completed, and there was a railroad running alongside of it. And not only that, but look now at all the other railroads in that State, and all the rest running thence to the West, bringing in the produce from those teeming granaries! Here (again pointing to the map) was Kentucky. It did not look very large upon paper, but there it stood with one foot on the Mississippi River, then extending along the Ohio River, and presenting a frontier along the borders of three States, and, as in times past, it had been a bulwark against the ravages of the Indian, so even now it was, and in future would continue to be, a bulwark to the other slave States. [Applause.]

He proposed now to discuss the route he had suggested for this Southern railroad. Here (again pointing to the map) was Texas, larger than New-York, and Pennsylvania, and Ohio altogether, and as so many railroads were pointing from the North to the South in that direction, he proposed to extend the Southern route as far as it could be done, according to charters already granted.

He did not propose to ask the general government to do anything. He proposed that the people of the South should put both shoulders to the wheel, and by doing so they could make a railroad to Passo del Norte, without any aid from the General Government. He proposed to run from St. Louis to New-Orleans, according to the charters already granted, to the thirty-second parallel of latitude. The Legislature of Texas had, at its last session, passed a law giving twenty sections per mile for a road to be constructed very nearly on the thirty-second parallel of latitude, which was a greater degree of bounty than any other State could give. In adopting that line he expected to accomplish two objects—to run through the centre of the slave territory, and to have the benefit of the twenty sections per mile donated by the State of Texas. He had been over a great portion of the country to be benefited by the road; and from his own observation he had not the slightest doubt of the practicability of the route to the Rio Grande. After that the line would run through a portion of Mexican territory. Probably, the best route was through a portion of Mexico. He was, therefore, much gratified when he heard that a treaty had been made with the government of that country for a portion of land embracing that route. Whether that treaty had received the sanction of the Senate was more than he could vouch for; but he hoped its main features would be adopted by the United States, and receive the sanction of Mexico. In looking over the map, it was impossible not to perceive the vast interests which would concentrate themselves upon that line. It was true that the main arms would run through Texas; but it spread out its hand and grasped all the other slave States, and especially the Northern States on the Mississippi River.

In addition to the law passed by the Legislature of Texas, there were many other propositions before Congress for the donation of lands for the construction of railroads in various Southern and Western States; but he regretted to say that when he left Washington a few days ago, he saw little probability of any of them being passed. All of them had readily passed the Senate; but in the House of Representatives, the first test question happened to be upon a proposition granting lands to Iowa, and the bill was either laid upon the table or committed to the Committee of the whole House, there to be buried.

He knew that some of his Southern friends supposed that only one railroad to the Pacific was necessary. He, however, believed that there would be two at least. At the meeting of the great railroad celebration in Boston, he was the only slaveholder present. He never expected to see such a convention again. The President of the United States, with a portion of his Cabinet, was on the one hand of the presiding officer of that body, and the representative of royalty, in the person of the Governor General of Canada, on the other; and he (Mr. C.) had suggested to Lord Elgin that if he could not make a living in Canada, he could be guaranteed one in Kentucky, as a stump speaker. [Laughter and applause.] That Convention looked to the carrying out a system of railroads from the North to the Pacific; and he believed that Mr. Hincks, the chief adviser of the Governor General, had been in England to negotiate loans, and had returned with a subscription of $55,000,000 for that purpose. It therefore became the South to be up and doing for themselves. It had been urged that a road could not be built over the snows of Northern mountains; but it might as well be said that the ice on Northern Lakes would prevent their navigation. If the North built a road they would pass the gorges of the Rocky mountains. But even if it were built, there would be six months in the year in which they would have to pass over the Southern route. And were both these routes constructed, he would not consider them as rivals. They could be both sustained. It seemed as if the God of nature had intended that these two lines should be built so that the old States of the Atlantic should be like a mother taking the younger States into their arms, and protecting them even to the shores of the Pacific. With these two roads constructed, the people of the States could go on a trip of pleasure on one route and return by the other in less than sixty days, and all without injury to health; and thus they could find themselvos happy all the way round.

He did not come here to speak unkindly of the Northern States. It was not the habit of the people of Kentucky either, to speak behind the backs of those to whom they were opposed in interest. He had spoken to the people of the North face to face. He knew these people well. He knew the enthusiasm of many of them, and the perfect madness of some of them, as he had sometimes had occasion to illustrate by an anecdote of a scene that had occurred in Utica in 1848, when a portion of the Democratic party had tried to administer upon the estate of Gen. Cass. [Mr. C. here recited an amusing story of a scene that he had witnessed, in which a "perfectionist preacher" figured largely. The relation created considerable merriment. He alluded in severe terms to Northern fanaticism, and the various "isms" which divided the people of that section of the Union, being particularly severe on the "Woman's Rights" party, as headed by Miss Lucy Stone, describing that lady's speechifying as "A farago of nonsense, like a slow-falling rain, without stop, meaning, or emphasis." He had never been but once to any of their meetings; and he did not want to hear them discuss public matters. He preferred to be with them confidentially [great laughter]; and although he admired a large number of them, he would rather have one soft pair of eyes looking on him than those of a thousand ugly men. After some further pleasantry, intended for the special benefit of the ladies in the boxes, Mr. C. concluded his remarks, by recapitulating briefly the route which he proposed, and the particular benefit which would be derived by the Southern States, if it were adopted, and the work commenced and carried on in an energetic manner to its consummation.]

Mr. Albert Pike (of Ark.) next proceeded to address the Convention. He stated that he did so under feelings of embarrassment, and that, as if to add to that embarrassment, two gentlemen had alluded to him in such terms that he was sure if the Convention labored under the slightest expectation that his efforts would be equal to the manifestoes made in advance, they would be disappointed. He was conscious that he was the last man that ought to address the Convention. There were a hundred men present who had better claims to be heard than he. He was also conscious that his State did not occupy that attitude which would entitle her to raise her voice among her Southern sisters; and furthermore, he was conscious that he had no such standing as authorized him to be heard in preference to many gentlemen of character, and distinction and rank, in the councils of their countries, by whom he was surrounded. He would, therefore, have preferred to be silent. Being, however, called upon, he would endeavor to sustain in a few words the resolutions he had introduced on the previous day.

After what was said yesterday by the gentleman from Mississippi, he thought they ought to define their position in one particular. That gentleman had described the distinction which he drew between a practical man and a visionary. He (Mr. P.) was perhaps not a practical man, but a mere visionary in attempting to provide for the welfare of generations that were to come after us. The visionary was one who "saw visions and dreamed dreams;" and when he left this city, and the beautiful beings he had seen in it, he should see visions and dream dreams, as of the faces of angels hovering between him and the sky—dreams, as of the faces now looking down upon them to bless them, and induce them to seek the welfare of this beautiful South of ours. [Great Applause.]

In everything which had been said by the gentleman who had preceded him he agreed. He agreed that the Southern route to the Pacific was the cheapest, the most practicable, the shortest, and that it ought, therefore, to be adopted. He agreed that the General Government, in fixing upon any route, ought to be influenced by these considerations. A true statesman was one who foresaw and recognized the existence of difficulties, and then prepared himself to meet and overcome them. A true statesman did not act upon the supposition that men were perfect. Recognizing evil points in human character, he would seize upon them, and endeavor to turn them to good account. There was a North and a South, and there would be a North and a South so long as this Union existed. There was an institution in the South which excited the feelings of the North; but it was foolish to shut our eyes also to the fact, that there were other considerations in operation—considerations of money and of commercial prosperity.

Before he proceeded further, he wished to set himself right in regard to the motives by which he was actuated. The resolutions he had presented had been characterized as *ultra*. It had been objected by some gentlemen that they were too strong. They were meant and intended to be strong. It was not customary to treat a cataleptic patient with sweet perfumes, but the cautery was applied at once. There was no hostility to the North—no ill feeling embodied in these resolutions. He had none, and could have none in his mind. He was a Northern man himself. He was born in the good old State of Massachusetts. Years ago he had come to the South, and cast his lot with Southern people; he had children, and he had reared and educated them in the South. He loved his country—the whole country; and he would never give up the inestimable privilege of planting his foot as an American upon the battle-ground of Bunker's Hill. But when they had a question of rivalry in regard to business matters to discuss, it was necessary that they should talk plainly. It was not worth while to deceive themselves, or to be deceived; but, as the Irishman said, the best way to avoid danger was to meet it plump in the face.

Now there was a large portion of the United States that never seemed to be taken into consideration by Southern men. There was, it would be remembered, a Western section. We had been apt to think that when we got a railroad as far as St. Louis, that was as far as we could go. There was the northern portion of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, the whole of Iowa and Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nebraska, that were forming a new country, which some day would be the greatest country that God's sun had ever shone upon. And now while the South was sitting with her eyes shut, what was the course which was being pursued by the North, in regard to that country, for the purpose of filling it up with a population, and giving it a preponderance over the whole South? How many gentlemen were aware of the fact, that with almost every breath we drew there came a Northern voter into this vast and beautiful section, ready to cast his vote for a member of Congress? They had bid for the foreign emigration, by providing that all foreign emigration settling in some of these territories should have the privileges of citizenship, without even declaring their intentions to become such. That was one bid; and the Homestead Bill, giving away millions of acres of land, which had already passed the House of Representatives, was another bid. The Nebraska and Kansas Territory Bill was another bid; and all this was being done while the South was lying idle. He thought that there was hardly a Southern man present who would agree to the law allowing the unnaturalized foreigner to vote side by side with him at the polls. [Great applause.] The South did not want foreign emigration on any such terms. [Renewed applause] And, in his deliberate opinion, it was a gross violation of the Constitution of the United States, and a gross outrage upon the Southern States, for any State or Territory to give the foreign emigrant the right of voting before becoming a naturalized citizen. [Continued applause.] He thought, that of all the outrages the North had sought to commit upon the South, that was infinitely the greatest of them all.

He had travelled over all these Western countries, and in all his travels had never seen such a country as that to be found in the States of Iowa and Wisconsin. It was a perfect paradise in many respects, with the exception that it was too cold for Southern constitutions. There could be found hundreds of miles of the most beautiful prairie land, inviting the Northern man to come and merely turn over the sod, with the promise of reaping his fifty bushels of grain to the acre. Germans and Irish, and people from every every other country, were flocking to Minnesota and Iowa. They get pre-emption rights now by merely making a little shanty from the bark of trees. Forty emigrants would go to that country for one that would come South. And what was the effect? Why, that they were increasing their political power at our expense. He did not know that it was not fair that they should do so if they could; but the first duty which we owed to those who were to come after us, was to ascertain the weight of our adversary, if possible, so that we might checkmate him if it were in our power. How many years would it be before twenty members of Congress would represent this foreign vote? And with this continued increase in foreign and Northern influence, was it not obvious that the prospect of the South ever getting the Pacific Railroad was put further and further off every year? Why, even St. Louis was beginning to come down and join in the demand for the Southern route. Only think of five days' uninterrupted steaming above the city of St. Louis, and could not gentlemen see at once that that was the country from which opposition to Southern interest was to come? He was confident that during the discussion of the Gadsden Treaty, in the Senate, it was currently understood that Northern members woud not vote for it; and that, too, on the specific ground that it was to get a route to the Pacific over Mexican soil. Look, too, at the character of Northern men. Who ever heard of a Northern man giving another an advantage in a matter of trade! Had any body ever heard of a Northern man giving up the interest of his own section of country through mere good feeling? No man ever heard of such a thing; and it was both unnatural and unreasonable to expect it; and the men of the North knew full well that wherever the Pacific Railroad went, there, too, would go the power and wealth of the country. The North had discovered that, and they were not going to come down and say to the South that they did not want to control it, or that the South should not have it. Oh no! that was not their policy. They would be as silent as possible, and thus the South would be cheated out of their rights, and they could never know it until they were lost forever. Who could expect the North to postpone or forego their interests for the sake of ours? Nobody. Suppose we went to Northern men and said to them: "We can demonstrate that our route is five hundred miles shorter than yours; that it is cheaper on the score of grades; that we can get cheaper labor and cheaper building materials, and we want you to go with us for our route, because the result will be that the trade of India and China will come to New-Orleans and Charleston, and Savannah and Richmond, instead of going to Philadelphia, and New-York, and Boston, and we want you to help us to get it?" Would he not answer: "Do you think I am a fool? Are not these the very reasons why I should not go for it?" Most undoubtedly such would be the answer.

Again, it should be remembered that there were a great many ingredients and considerations that entered into the characters of public men. His experience was that there is very little of patriotism, and much of sectional feeling and local prejudice in our public men. How many measures were passed by Congress for which even six men out of the whole number voted from mere considerations of patriotism? Were they not affected generally by considerations of pecuniary and sectional interests? So in regard to a railroad to the Pacific. It was not purely a patriotic question. Many men would say that they desired it for the sake of protecting our possessions on that shore; but do not Southern people see and feel that the people of that coast would not remain in the Union, if they had to send their representatives to Congress by routes such as the present? We also had motives of interest. We wanted the trade of India and China, and he (Mr. P.) and the citizens of Arkansas, naturally enough wanted it to come through that State, in the hope that it would increase the value of their lands, and extend by other means their commerce. The people of Charleston also wanted it to pass through their city, because it would increase their business and add to their wealth. In all this there was much of self-interest, and it was right that it should be so. Who was not aware that a moneyed power in Wall Street governed the Legislature in Albany, and that the same principles prevailed more or less everywhere?

Now he would ask if there was any more prospect of this road being built by the general government than there was six years ago? Not one whit. It was well understood in the city of Washington that there was no chance whatever of getting lands to aid in the construction of this road. The Special Committee in Congress, to whom the subject had been referred, had given up the idea; and General Rusk, of Texas, had drafted another bill, in which he had said not a word about lands, but as chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, wanted the government to give a bid for mail service for several years, and to pay in advance. But he (Mr. P.) had not the most remote idea that it would be done.

His resolutions next proceeded to say, that for the South to be inactive in this matter, was to give active co-operation to the North in building a Northern railroad. He believed that such was the fact. What, then, did he propose? He proposed that the Convention should say to the South, as Hercules of old said to the wagoner, "Put your own shoulders to the wheel." Help yourselves. "God helps those only who do so: and he helps none others." It was useless to come together, year after year, and time after time, in Convention, urging Congress to do this thing. They had been so urged nearly every year for some years past, not only by Conventions, but by the Legislatures of Southern States. They had had "line upon line, and precept upon precept," and now it appeared to him that it was time the South should help themselves. And here he should say that the true way for the North and the South to live peaceably together was for the South to become independent of the North. [Great applause.] Not indpendent by tearing the national flag asunder, and breaking up this glorious union of the States; but independent as God in his providence intended we should be, when he conferred upon the South all the natural advantages she possesses. He believed the South ought to be independent of the North in the Union, and not out of it. [Much applause.] If the South wanted the Southern road built, they might as well begin to build it in that way, as to have Congress build it; for if ever Congress did build it, the South would have to pay for the Northern route. And if the South was not able to do it, the members of the Convention had better go home at once and say no more about a Pacific Railroad. For so far as he was concerned, he was ashamed to ask Congress to build the road with Northern money. [Continued applause.] He would therefore propose that the Southern States should confederate together, not by any unlawful confederation, but in a legal union, for the purpose of building with their own funds this great Southern highway to the Pacific. [Rapturous applause.] Dealing as independent States, negotiating if need be with Mexico for the land; asking no favors from the Northern States; and telling the general government, "if you want your mails carried over our road, you will have to pay us the price that we charge, or build a road for yourselves. [Long-continued applause.]

Now, there were two considerations in regard to this road, which always struck him with force. He did not think that either the general government or any single State should own such an enormous monopoly. He would rather see twenty "Banks of the United States" than such a monopoly in the hands of any government. It would create a perfect army of office-holders, if the government owned it.

He was equally disinclined to see the road in the hands of any individual company, for it would be the most enormous monopoly the world ever saw. The East India Company, who had dethroned kings, would hardly be worth the name of a monopoly in comparison to this. No, no; the road ought to be held by the States as partners, and there would then be no danger of its being a monopoly. But in what way was the South to build the road and own it? Imagine the State of Virginia enacting a law to this effect:—

"Be it enacted by the legislature of Virginia, that the States of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and so on, through all the fourteen States, be incorporated into a body politic for the construction of a Southern Pacific Railroad."

When would there in all the annals of time be a more glorious confederation? [Cheers.] It would not be a confederation to carry on war, but to turn the commerce of the world across that portion of the country which we inherit. That is the kind of company that he would form. [Applause.] Could the South form it? He saw no difficulty. The bonds of the company being given, and the stock hypothecated, where was the difficulty? None whatever.

Nay more, he believed that in twenty-five or thirty years there would not be a State in the Union that would have to be taxed a single dollar, but that the road would by that time have paid for itself. Neither was he in favor of giving the profits of this road to the general government. If, however, they could not get it in any other way, let them be clamorous for the government to provide it. But his opinion was, that if it could not be built in the way he had suggested, they had better fold their arms and turn their attention to some scheme more practicable.

Something had been said in these resolutions with regard to Indian tribes on the frontier. This was nonsense. The lands owned by the Indians through which such a road would have to pass, were owned by men who were our natural allies—men who were rich in wealth, and who cultivated the arts of peace, and had already applied to us to give them a territorial government suited to their own peculiar institutions. He referred to the Chocktaws, the Chickasaws, and Cherokees. He looked to the country of the Chickasaw for that territory out of which to make another slave State. Many of those Indians themselves owned slaves. They wished to join us. They were willing to subscribe to our railroads, and it was important that we should secure their co-operation.

He had now detained the Convention longer than he intended. He did not rise to make a set speech. He thought it was enough to suggest this plan to the Convention. He cared not about the details. The idea was that the Southern States should confederate together and build the road themselves. [Applause.]

After a few other remarks, which, at the late hour of the preparation of this report it was impossible to prepare for our issue, Mr. P. concluded by returning thanks for the indulgence of the Convention. He was loudly applauded throughout.

Hon. J. C. Jones, of Tennessee, next addressed the Convention for an hour in an elaborate speech, in which he investigated the question of the constitutionality of the general government giving aid to such projects; and argued that it was not only not contrary to constitutional principles, but that it was an absolute obligation devolving upon the government by the constitution itself.

Lieut. Maury followed in a short speech, in which he advocated the propriety of the government making this road at its own cost, to be free to all the people of the United States, on payment of the mere cost of the locomotive power.

The several resolutions were then referred to the General Committee, and the Convention adjourned.

Art. X.—GUANO IN THE CANE-FIELD.

[We take the following from a late number of the *New-Orleans Delta :*—]

ESTATE OF EDMUND J. FORESTALL, PARISH OF ST. JAMES.—VICTOR J. FORESTALL'S DIARY.

March 31, 1853.—*Sugar-Cane Plant.*—Opened a furrow between two rows of canes, put in a tract of Guano, and covered the same by plough; prepared in the same manner twenty-five arpents, using about two hundred and twenty pounds of Guano to each arpent.

Opened a furrow close to each row of canes, each side, applied the Guano in the same manner, and putting in the same quantity as above, on twenty-five arpents.

Note.—The above two pieces of land are selected for an experiment, because of their requiring renovation, and being used this season not to lose extra plant-canes remaining.

April 6, 1853.—*Corn.*—Applied to each hole one handful of Guano, covering the same; sowed five arpents of corn.

April 6, 1853.—*Orchard.*—Prepared a circular ditch, one foot deep, of the diameter of each tree, put in a tract of Guano, and filled up the ditch with earth.

March, 1854.—*Result.*—The above fifty arpents of Guano canes turned out the largest and heaviest canes in the field, and produced first and second clarified sugars, two thousand five hundred pounds per arpent. On the same ground I had never before obtained more than one thousand pounds per arpent, and the canes were always small, compared to other parts of the field; this season it was the reverse for both stand and size, and the ratoons promise unusually well. With Guano, I feel convinced, no rotation of crop is required to produce the finest and heaviest canes in Louisiana. The canes with Guano near each row were comparatively the best, and ripened earlier.

My corn-field produced on an average twenty barrels to the arpent; the five arpents of guano corn accurately measured, produced forty-five barrels to the arpent. The orchard had ever produced but very poor fruit, and always gummy, with abundance of worms; with the guano, it produced an unusually large crop of delicious peaches, free from gum and worms; and some very old pear-trees, which had never produced before, a few very fine pears.

ESTATE OF BROWN, BROTHERS AND CO., PARISH ST. JAMES.—FRANK LAPIEE'S DIARY.

April 27, 1853.—*Guano on Plant Cane.*—Selected my worst cow lands, in four different parts of the field, on which I never had been able to obtain a large cane and a good stand; opened furrows close to each row, six feet apart, put in a tract of guano, say one hundred and fifty pounds per arpent, covering the same by plough, in twenty-five arpents; had a good shower immediately after.

June 3, 1853.—On this day no difference perceivable; added one hundred and fifty pounds of guano per arpent.

June 16, 1853.—Difference between the guano canes and the other plants in the field quite apparent, being of a deep green, and fully one foot higher than all other canes.

August 1, 1853.—Never saw a heavier stand and higher canes in this State, than the guano canes on this day.

October 26, 1853.—Guano canes all laid down flat by their heaviness and rains.

December 15, 1853.—Ground five arpents of the above canes, which weighed ten beaume, whilst other canes in the field only weighed eight and a half. These produced two thousand pounds to the arpent of refined sugars. Bad weather and the twisted condition of the canes laid down, prevented my ascertaining accurately the yield of the balance of the twenty-five arpents.

June 16, 1853.—*Ratoons.*—Applied as an experiment, two hundred pounds guano to two arpents of inferior ratoons; rain came on immediately after.

Note.—These ratoons soon afterwards shooted out rapidly, and produced double the quantity of canes of other ratoons in the same piece, and double the size.

March 16, 1854.—The guano ratoons have already a full stand, and are comparatively the finest in the field, so much so that I am preparing to apply some guano to as large a portion of the ratoons as I may be permitted to do.

Art. XI.—BRITISH AND FRENCH RAILROADS.

According to the last Report of Parliament, there were, in England and Wales:

	30th June, 1852.	30th June, 1853.
Length (in English miles)	5,434	5.747
In a half year—Passengers, first class	4.082,919	4,862,891
" second "	12,598.138	13,935,812
" third "	5,360.113	6 695,148
" lowest "	10,635,358	11,816,805
" season tickets	5,887	6,888
Total of Passengers for six months	32,682,415	37,317.544
Receipts—Of the first class	£911.289	£1,029,292
" " second do	1,146,636	1,193.180
" " third do	213,178	298.686
" " lowest class	607,604	640,151
" " season tickets	50,363	50,792
Total of Passengers' Receipts	£2,929,070	£3,219,002
" Freight Transport	3,239,243	3,810,243
Total	£6,168,313	£7,029,245
In the entire kingdom, miles,	7,076	7,572
Passengers	39,249,605	45,080.316
Receipts of Passengers	£3.396,024	£3,732,258
" Freight Transport	3,799,526	4,451,798
Total Receipts	£7,195,550	£8,184,056

In England and Wales the passengers made 543,258,027 miles; the passenger cars, 14,233,488; the freight cars, 12,092,419 miles. The number of freight trains reached to 477,991; and that of the passenger trains to 218,783.

FRENCH RAILROADS.

In England and in the United States, genius and enterprising spirit, as early as the years 1820–30, diminished or almost annihilated space, by means of the greatest invention of the present century—the locomotive. The example was imitated by Belgium in 1835, and in Germany a short time afterwards. France seemed, until 1840, to have very little interest in that mighty promoter of civilization. The railroads from St. Etienne to the Loire, (1830), to the Rhone, (1832), applied by the horse instead of steam, were used only for the transportation of coal. That of St. Germain, (1837), and the others of Paris and Versailles, (1839 and 1840), were more for the pleasure-seeking Parisians than for commercial purposes. Before 1840, the only considerable business-line was the Strasbourg-Basle Railroad, which, however, was not open in its entire length before 15th August, 1841.

To this delay of France it is to be ascribed that, concerning the length of railroads in proportion to her territorial extent and population, she takes at present only the fifth rank in Europe. In 1853 the relation of France, in regard to railroads, to the other powers may be thus expressed:—Great Britain, 3·91; Belgium, 3·06; smaller German States, 1·30; Prussia, 1·06; France, only 0·77. To one million of inhabitants in the four first-mentioned States, 440, 221, 185, 182; in France, only 113·7 kilom. Since 1841, especially since the issue of the decree of June 11, promising the support of government to private enterprise, we meet with a very gratifying improvement. In 1852 alone, 267 kilom. have been opened to the public. The concessions for railroad charters which were demanded in 1852 and 1853, amounted to more than two millions of francs, &c.

The French railroad works connect her, by the line of Rouen, Hâvre, and Dieppe, with England and America; by the northern tracts, and their branches over Bologna, Calais, and Dunkirchen, with England, Belgium, Prussia, and the European north; by the Strasbourg-Basle line, with South and Central Germany and Switzerland; by the lines of Nantes and Bordeaux, with the ocean, &c., &c.; while branch lines in the interior are constantly increasing, and the Paris Round Railroad (*chemin de ceinture*) will bring all French railroads in connection with each other.

A recently published work,* treating on French railroads in use or under construction, and also on those for which the government's concessions have been granted, gives us an account of the date of the concession, of the opening of the single tracts, the personnel and composition of the Boards, number and amount of the shares, stocks, costs of construction, and funds of maintenance; also the annual receipts per kilom., up to 1853, &c.—a book which highly deserves the praise of all national economists and business men.

According to the author, the costs of construction of the French railroads keep the medium between the high English and the low American, as, on the average, the English amount per kilom. to 540,500, in the United States to 125,000, and in France 333,333 francs. The receipts amounted, on the French railroads, in 1851, per kilom., to 32,345, and in 1852, to 35,673 francs. In the first quarter of 1853, a great increase seemed to be prevailing; but the results for the whole year are not yet made known. In the whole there were railroads in France—

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* Les Chemins de fer Francais, p. Viet. Bois. Paris, 1854.

	In use.	Under construction.	Proposed.	Total.
In 1851	3,307 kilom.	1,337 kilom.	1,876 kilom.	6,560 kilom.
" 1852	3,708 "	1,397 "	2,600 "	7,705 "
" 1853	4,070 "	1,890 "	3,665 "	9,625 "

The total receipts were—in 1851, 106,967,496 frs.; 1852, 132,277,905 frs.; and, to judge from the results of the first quarter, 1853 will give a much higher amount. In Europe there were, in 1853, either already constructed, or being about to be constructed, 52,011 kilom., of which 45,589 were opened.*

Art. XII.—EDITORIAL, BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

History of the Ingenious Gentleman, Don Quixote of La Mancha. Translated from the Spanish, by Motteux. A new edition, with copious Notes; and an Essay on the Life and Writings of Cervantes, by John G. Lockhart, Esq. In four volumes. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1854. A new and very beautiful American edition of this world-famed work. Blackwood has said of it, "the English reader is now in possession of an edition of Don Quixote, not only infinitely superior to any that ever appeared in England, but, so far as we are able to judge, much more *complete* and satisfactory than any one which exists, on the literature of Spain herself."

Theological Essays and other Popers, by Thomas De Quincey, author of "Confessions of an English Opium Eater," etc. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854. Vol. I. contains Christianity an Organ of Political Movement—Protestantism—Supposed Scriptural Expression for Eternity—Judas Iscariot—Hume's Argument against Miracles—Casuistry—Greece under the Romans. Vol. II.: Secession from the Church of Scotland—Toilette of the Hebrew Lady—Milton—Charlemagne—Modern Greece—Lord Carlisle on Pope.

Life in Abyssinia. Being Notes Collected during Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country. By Mansfield Parkyns. In two vols. With Illustrations. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. The *Southern Literary Messenger* says of the work: "It is one of the most entertaining books of travel which we have met with for a long time. Mr. Parkyns interests us from the beginning. His style would be a bad one for almost anything but a book of travels. A very odd and pleasant humor is at times mingled with the details of his journeyings. The work contains a great deal of important and entertaining matter, told in a fresh and popular style."

The Hive of the Bee-Hunter. A Repository of Sketches, including Peculiar American Character, Scenery and Rural Sports, by B. Thorpe of Louisiana, author of "John Owen the Bee-Hunter," "Mysteries of the Backwoods," &c. Illustrated by Sketches from Nature. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. A book of rare interest and humor. Among the sketches are Wild Turkey Hunting, Grizzly Bear Hunting, A Piano in Arkansas, Wild Cat Hunting, Alligator Killing, Buffalo Hunting, Opossum Hunting, &c., &c.

Farmingdale, by Caroline Thomas. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. This work is said to excel in interest, and to be quite equal in its delineation of character, to the "Wide, Wide World."

Wensley. A Story Without a Moral. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854. A very lively and interesting story, which appeared originally in *Putnam's Magazine*, running through many numbers.

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* The French kilometre is 1,093 English yards, or near two-thirds of a mile.

A Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages. Abridged from the author's larger work. By Mariano Velasquez de la Cadena. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. The writer's larger work acquired a very high reputation. He is Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature in Columbia College, New-York, and is widely known by reputation. The whole work is very compact, and handsomely issued.

Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions: The Pursuit of Truth, and on other Subjects, by Samuel Bailey. Late edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854. A very philosophical work, and full of profound thought.

British Poets. A complete Collection of the British Poets, from Chaucer to Wordsworth: Embracing the whole Works of the most Distinguished Authors, with Selections from the Minor Poets; Accompanied with Biographical, Historical, and Critical Notices. Edited by F. J. Child, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College. We have just received Henry Kirke White, William Falconer, James Beattie, Thomas Hood. 2 vols.

The size and style of the volumes are those of Pickering's Aldine Poets, and such of the works of that edition as fall entirely within the plan of the present collection, will be embodied in it. Each separate work is sold by itself, and the price of each volume is 75 cents. The following volumes, in addition, have already been published:—Butler, 2 vols.; Churchill, 3 vols.; Collins, 1 vol.; Cowper, 3 vols.; Dryden, 5 vols.; Goldsmith, 1 vol.; Gray, 1 vol.; Milton, 3 vols.; Parnell, 1 vol.; Pope, 3 vols.; Prior, 2 vols.; Thomson, 2 vols.; Swift, 3 vols.; Young, 2 vols.

Africa and the American Flag, by Commander A. H. Foote, U. S. N., late Commanding United States Brig Perry, on the Coast of Africa, 1850–51. New-York: D. Appleton. A full analysis of this will appear in an early number of the REVIEW.

NEW-ORLEANS FREE LIBRARY.—We have frequently adverted to this Library, and regretted that adequate provision was not made by the Councils of New-Orleans to carry out the intentions of Mr. Fisk, the liberal founder. Mr. B. F. French, who deserves almost equal credit with Mr. Fisk, has donated, and caused to be donated, a very large number of most valuable books to the Library, and still continues his attentions.

All that is now needed is but an energetic movement on the part of the citizens and City Councils, to give to this city one of the largest libraries in the United States. Such a Library would put the finishing hand to that system of public education which lies at the basis of her prosperity, and which, together with her charitable and other institutions, must make her one of the most delightful residences in the South. A Public Library, well supplied with books in the various departments of literature, art, and science, and open at all times to the stranger, to the student, to the youth of our Public Schools, and to the adult citizens, *free of charge*, is now absolutely needed to make our admirable system of Public Education complete, and to continue in some degree through life, that happy equality of intellectual privileges which now exists in our public schools, but which, without Free Libraries, must terminate with them.

Pamphlet on the Montgomery and Pensacola Railroad, by A. H. Jones of Florida, will be extracted from in our next, and also a pamphlet on the *Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad*, by Mr. Troost.

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Art. I.—CUBA AS IT IS IN 1854.

POPULATION OF CUBA—ARMY—NAVY—RAILROADS—TELEGRAPHS—EDUCATION—LITERATURE—ADJACENT ISLANDS—PRODUCTIONS, ETC.

CUBA, the Queen of the Antilles—"*la siempre fiel isla de Cuba*," as it is grandiloquently styled in all official Spanish documents—has of late become, again, an object of peculiar and highly exciting interest. And just at this moment, too, we have, from the Havana press itself, stamped with the official sanction of His Excellency, the *Gobernador Superior y Capitan-General* of the island, the Marquis de la Pezuela, a new work, as if to enlighten us in regard to the precise whereabouts of that much-coveted gem of the ocean. It is entitled *Compendio de Geografia fisica, politica, estadistica y comparada de la Isla de Cuba*, and is from the pen of Don José Maria de la Torre, a distinguished member of the *Real Sociedad Economica* of Havana.

One would hardly think that a work of the above title was necessary for the information of the American public, at least, after so many such have been written, and when so many of us are constantly visiting the island. Cuba is no *terra incognita;* and as we have already, in the pages of the REVIEW, given several elaborate descriptions of its geography, we shall, in the present article, confine ourselves to other subjects embraced in the volume before us.

The present population of Cuba, according to Señor Torre, is 1,050,000, as officially returned, though he thinks 1,500,000 to be nearer the truth. Of the 1,050,000, 1,009,060 are comprised in the fixed population of the island, the rest being transient. Of the fixed population, 501,988 are whites; 176,647 free colored; and the remaining 330,425 are slaves. The transient white population being 40,940; the entire white population of the island is 542,928; and the entire black population 507,072.

Divided according to nationalities, the white population of

Cuba is as follows: Natives of Spain, 90,000; of the Canary Islands, 25,000; of France, 3,000; of England, 1,000; and of North America and other countries, 3,000; leaving more than 400,000 as natives of the island.

The area of Cuba, including its adjacent appendages, being estimated at 3,973 square leagues, we have a density of population equal to 254 inhabitants to the square league, or 29 to the square mile. Compared with the United States, the population of Cuba is more dense than that of Maine, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, or California; also more dense than that of any one of the Hispano-American States of America, including Brazil.

Ethnographically considered, the races of inhabitants found at present on the island are the Caucasian, African, American, and Mongolian. In the early periods of Cuban history, the Spaniards of pure Castilian stock were the predominant race, owing to the singular fact that Spain, in its short-sighted policy, actually forbid* any but Castilians to emigrate to the island; but at present, as is well known, the industrious Catalans, and the laborious natives of the Canaries, predominate in all parts of the island. Since the commencement of the present century, the French, impelled by the revolution in St. Domingo, have occupied chiefly the jurisdictions of Güines, Cuba, Saltadero, San Antonio, and Sur del Mariel, giving by their industry and superior intelligence a most powerful impulse to agriculture, and especially to the cultivation of coffee. The Anglo-Saxons have settled themselves chiefly in Matanzas, Cardenas, and in Nuevitas and Baga, which they colonized. The few Germans and Italians found in the island are devoted entirely to commerce.

Negroes from Africa were first introduced into Cuba in 1524; but, from causes other than climatic, the multiplication of the race has never corresponded with what might have been reasonably expected. The race has, according to most accounts—though this is steadily denied by the Spaniards—been greatly diminished by the cruel treatment of masters. Be this as it may, it is certain that millions of negroes have been introduced into the island as slaves from Africa since 1524, and that now its slave population is only little more than half a million.

The Cubans divide the negroes of the island into three classes: the *bozades*, those too recently arrived to understand the Spanish language; the *ladinos*, those speaking the language; and the *criollos*, those born in the island.

The African nations that furnish Cuba with slaves are the following:—

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* M. Torre: *Geografia de Cuba*, p. 52.

1. The *Mandingos,* who occupy the greater part of Senegawbia, divided into *Mandingos proper*, *yolopes*, and *fulaces.* These are the most intelligent, being more or less imbued with the Arabic civilization. Most of them can write in Arabic, and are esteemed for their knowledge of various branches of industry.

2. The *Gangóes,* who inhabit the coast from Cape Palmas, south of the cordillera of Kong. These have various names, and are remarkable for their fine physical condition.

3. The *Minas,* who come from the Gold Coast.

4. The *Lucumies,* from the Slave Coast, but who, it appears, are originally from Soudan. These constitute the greater number of the Cuban slaves, and are distinguished by marks or brands on their cheeks. They are abundantly able to labor, but are indomitable, and much addicted to suicide—to hanging themselves—*propensos al suicidio—ahorcarse.*

5. The *Carabalies* of the kingdom of Benin. These bear different names, and are distinguished by having their teeth cut in the form of lances or spears.

6. The *Congos,* who are from Congo; and lastly,

7. The *Macuaes,* found in Mozambique, and principally in the interior.

The negroes called *criollos* are distinguished into those born in town, and in the country, the latter being called *Criollos de cawpo,* and have a language and manners peculiar and more rustic. The copper-colored, or American race of Cuba, still existing there in very small numbers, are considered by Señor Torre to be the true descendants of the aborigines found on the island when first visited by Columbus. This, however, is disputed by some authorities, among whom, we believe, is Humboldt. They are found chiefly in Carey, Santa Rosa, Tiguabos, Ti-awiba, Tijuani, and in Holguin. As late as 1845, they preserved all the privileges conceded to them by the laws of the Indies. Since 1847, the *Yucatecos,* or natives of Yucatan, have been introduced into the island.

Of the Mongolian race, none were seen in Cuba prior to 1847, except an occasional sailor from the coast of China. Since that time the introduction of Asiatic colonists has commenced from China. Up to the present time there have arrived some 6,000. They are introduced by contract, generally as field laborers, for a term of years; but what the precise terms of the contract are Señor Torre does not say. Some 20 or 30 of them have returned to China. The system is only the substitution of *white* slavery for black, with the change of the word slavery for that of *apprenticeship.* Half the world are frightened at mere names. The present English operative system, in which white men, women, and children are worked as hard as our stout negroes, and that, too, for a bare subsistence, is considered by enlightened Europeans, and by some Americans, as perfectly humane, philanthropic, and Christian-like; but the very same amount of labor performed by our well-fed and clothed slaves, under the name of *slavery*, is considered by these same enlightened Europeans and Americans as monstrous, cruel, infamous! So much for a mere name. In Cuba it is getting to be considered quite infamous to use African slaves; but to make a poor Chinaman do the same amount of work, under a tropical sun, for a mere pittance, and under the name of *freeman*, is considered quite reasonable, honorable, humane, and Christian-like! One of the grand results of the civilization of the nineteenth century is, that it is quite honorable to enslave the white man, in fact, under the name of *freedom;* and the very height of humanity and decency to turn the negro race loose upon the world, to roam among the whites in idleness and vagabondage. Our cities are overrun with this race, who live by vice and pilfering, keeping our police busy, our magistrates in the active exercise of their judicial powers, and our prisons tenanted with lively specimens of negro humanity. Free negroism is an unsightly, putrifying plague-spot upon the fair face of the nation, that will, some day, be wiped out with a vengeance. It behooves the people of the United States to see that it receives no further extension in Cuba.

We will conclude our observations on the population of Cuba with the following tabular statement, which is the latest official census that has been published:—

FIXED POPULATION OF CUBA IN 1853.

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

JURISDICTIONS.	Area in sq. leagues.	Whites.	Free col'd.	Slaves.	Total.	No. per sq. league.	Pop. of the chief towns.
Pinar del Rio	312	21,843	3,824	9,998	35,665	114	1,500
S. Cristobal	76	11.578	1,923	6,548	20,049	276	270
Bahia-honda	64	4,124	621	5,494	10,239	159	570
Mariel	48	15,921	2,849	19,422	38,192	795	1,296
San Antonio	13	12,284	1,721	10,188	24,193	1,861	2,890
Habana	75	87,916	32,594	26,850	147,360	2,098	125,905
Santiago	18	7.194	1,597	4.964	13,755	764	2,274
Bejucal	16	10,817	1,746	7,938	20,501	1,281	2,264
Guanabacoa	14	10,721	3,273	4,322	18,316	1,308	8,100
Rosario	26	11,764	2,841	5 428	20,033	770	450
Guines	95	18,214	2,442	16,918	37,574	395	3,542
Jaruco	43	10,218	1,875	8.136	20,229	470	611
Matanzas	72	34,721	5,948	40,728	81,397	1,130	26,000
Cardenas	106	27,521	3,824	55,016	86,361	814	6,173
Sagua	123	14 534	1,173	10,001	25,708	209	2,510
Cienfuegos	215	17,811	4,124	11,318	33,253	154	4,708
Santa Clara	113	25,592	8,528	5,301	39,421	348	6,604
Trinidad	73	15,208	7,324	9,318	31,850	422	14,119
Remedios	205	15,149	3,821	4,012	22,982	102	5.270
Sto. Espiritu	321	24,321	6,394	6,816	37,532	116	9,982
Total	2,028	397,451	98,442	268,717	764,610	377	

EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

JURISDICTIONS.	Area in sq. leagues.	Whites.	Free col'd.	Slaves.	Total.	No. per square league.	Pop. of the chief towns.
Pto. Principe	505	26,893	10,318	9,321	46,532	92	26,648
Nuevitas	190	2,721	397	1,742	4,860	25	820
Tunas	229	3,818	1,821	722	6,361	27	2,004
Manzanillo	116	7,321	11,143	917	19.381	167	3.050
Holguin	212	19,427	3,271	3,827	26 525	125	3.754
Bayamo	110	10,721	11,217	2,724	24.662	224	5,875
Jiguani	59	6.721	4,318	684	11,723	198	950
Cuba	267	21,524	29,718	34.000	85,242	319	24,253
Guantanamo	134	1,574	2.281	5,928	9,783	73	863
Baracoa	123	3,817	3,721	1,842	9,381	76	2,400
Total	1,945	104,537	78,205	61,708	244,450	125	
Total of the whole island	3,973	501,988	176,647	330,425	1,009,060	254	

It is to be observed that the above table gives only the *fixed* population of the island, which is 1,009,060. If to this we add the transient population, we have in all 1,050,000. In the area and population of the jurisdiction of Havana is included the Isle of Pines; and in the population of the city of Havana is not included the suburbs, Regla and Casa Blanca. Regla, situated on the eastern shore of the port of Havana, has a population of 7,240 inhabitants; and Casa Blanca, on the northern shore, has 1,070 inhabitants. The areas and population of all the islands and keys adjacent to Cuba are also included in the above table.

MILITARY FORCE.—Just at the present moment, when filibusters are said to be planning extensive expeditions against Cuba, and when the state of our relations with Spain is somewhat equivocal, the subject of the military force of that island has a peculiar interest. We will therefore give, in full, the statements of *Don José Maria de la Torre,* as those statements have been published under the eye of the Captain-General, and may therefore be regarded as official. All familiar with the Spanish character will know what allowances to make; but still, it is well enough to see what accounts the Cuban officials give of their own military powers.

According to our author, the land forces of the island are now on the most brilliant footing, both in respect to military instruction, discipline, and equipment. The army of the island is composed of sixteen regiments of infantry, of 1,000 men each; two companies of picked men, 125 in number; two regiments of lancers, of four squadrons each, embracing 602 men, and 500 horses; besides, there are four light squadrons, each consisting of 151 men, and 125 horses. There is also a regiment of foot, with eight batteries of artillery, a brigade of five batteries, and a company of sappers and miners, together with a large reserve of chiefs and other officials, making the totality of veteran troops as follows:—

Infantry	17,500 men.
Cavalry	1,808 men. 1,500 horses.
Artillery	1,500 men. 190 horses and mules.
Sappers and miners	130 men.
Total	20,938 men, and 1,690 horses.

This total does not include the Civic Guard, which is also a part of the veteran troops.

In addition to the above forces, there are on the island one regiment of militia infantry; one regiment of disciplined militia cavalry, of 781 horses; also eight rural squadrons, of two companies each, and of 100 horses each company. The urban companies of cavalry also number 740 mounted men, making in all a total of 3,500 mounted men.

According, then, to this official statement, there were in Cuba, at the time of its publication, which was made since the commencement of the present year, a land force of 24,438 troops; and more recently there has been announced the arrival of 6,000 troops from Spain, and 500 more on their way from Cadiz; so that the military land force of Cuba, at the present moment, probably exceeds 30,000 men.

Naval Force.—The Cuban squadron consists of 1 frigate of 44 guns; 7 brigantines, carrying 104 guns; 11 steam vessels, with 54 guns; 4 schooners, with 11 guns; 2 gun-boats, with 6 guns; and 2 transports; in all, 25 vessels and 219 guns, manned by 3,000 men. Two steamships of war were also building in Spain, destined for Cuba. The personal and material commercial marine force of the Island is as follows: Registered able men, 2,052; disabled, 487; number not in active service, 495. Of the vessels, there are,—

7 of over 400 tons.
30 of from 200 to 400.
99 of from 80 to 200.
295 of from 20 to 80 tons.
208 of less than 20 tons; and
2,454 of still smaller burden.

Regarding the commerce, revenues and expenses of Cuba, M. Torre furnishes us nothing later than 1851, so that all he gives on these subjects has already appeared in the pages of this Review. He is entirely silent on the subject of taxation, as might be expected; and he dispatches the whole subject of revenues and expenditures in twenty lines. And, besides, what little he says on these important subjects is very deceptive. He states that the total revenues of the island, in 1851, amounted only to $13,821,456; and the total expenses to $11,969,750. From this, one might infer that the inhabitants of Cuba were taxed only to the amount of $13,821,456 in 1851; and that after deducting $11,969,750 for the expenses of the island, there remained in the Treasury the balance of $1,851,706;

but such was not the case. The inhabitants of Cuba were taxed to the amount of both the revenue (so called by M. Torre) and the expenses; or, in other words, the taxation amounted to $25,791,206 ($13,821,456, plus $11,969,750.) The $13,821,456, which M. Torre calls all the revenue, went to Spain, while the other $11,969,750 could easily be accounted for by the Captain-General and his army of officials.

Railroads in Cuba.—Internal improvements in Cuba have of late made notable progress, so that, at present, there are 351 miles of railroad connecting some of the most important places. From Havana a railroad extends across the island of Batabano, sending off a branch westward to S. Antonio and Mariel. At S. Felipe the Havana road turns eastward, and proceeds on to Güines; thence further east it unites, at Union, with the Matanzas Railroad, which has its northern terminus at Matanzas. Farther eastward the Havana road unites with the road to Cardenas. So that Havana, Matanzas, and Cardenas are united by railroads. A railroad also extends into the interior, 34 miles, from Jucaro, a place on the northern coast, east of Cardenas. From Cienfuegos a railroad also extends into the interior to Santa Clara. A railroad extends also from Nuevitas to Puerto Principe, 44 miles. There is also a railroad from the city of Cuba to El Cobre. These roads have many important branches leading into the richest parts of the island. Many important roads in the island are also projected, or in progress, which, when completed, will render every part of the island accessible. The highways of the island are, in general, very poor; and in the rainy season almost impassable, as no improvements are ever made upon them.

The railroad from Havana to Bejucal and Güines, which was opened in 1837–8, was not only the first in Cuba, but the first railroad ever constructed in any Spanish country. It was not until 1848 that the first railroad in Spain was opened—that from Mataró to Barcelona. The road from Madrid to Aranjuez was opened in 1851, and extended to Tembleque in 1853.

Telegraphs.—The magnetic telegraph is in operation in several parts of Cuba. Lines are being extended from Pinar del Rio, in the western part of the island, to Santiago de Cuba in the eastern part, with branches to the principal towns on the coasts. Havana is also being connected by telegraph with Matanzas, Cardenas, and Guanajay, the wires following the railroads. A telegraph line between Havana and Batabano, on the south coast, is now in operation.

The external means of communication with the principal points of the island are very extensive. Steamers and sailing vessels run regularly between all the principal ports. Havana is connected by daily lines of steamers with Matanzas, Cardenas, and Jucano, arriving at Matanzas in five hours. Between Batabano and Santiago de Cuba, in the eastern part of the island, steamers and sailing vessels run regularly, touching at Cienfuegos, Trinidad, Santa Cruz and Manzanillo, and arriving at Santiago de Cuba in five days. Steamers also run daily between Batabano and Bailen, touching at Dayaniguas, Coloma, and Punta de Cartas; also weekly between Batabano and the Isle of Pines. Havana is also connected with other important places on the northern coast by regular steamers.

EDUCATION IN CUBA.—Public instruction has made notable progress in the island, particularly since the establishment of the royal *Sociedades Economicas* of Havana and Santiago de Cuba; and above all since 1842, when an important and extraordinary change was effected in the establishments of public instruction.

At Havana is the Royal University, completely and permanently organized, with a rector and a corps of thirty professors. There is now in the course of construction, at Havana, by the government, a large edifice destined for instruction, called the Royal College of Havana; and it is proposed to erect another like it at Puerto Principe.

There is at Havana, and also at Santiago de Cuba, a college, subject to special regulations, in which are taught the branches of an ecclesiastical course, together with the humanities and philosophy. The city of Havana also contains many excellent private schools, similar to those of the cities of this country.

The *press* of Cuba, as all know, is lamentably shackled, fettered and handcuffed, as indeed is the case in all Spanish countries. There are published at present at Havana four daily newspapers; one monthly periodical, entitled the *Anales;* two semi-monthlies, *La Revista de la Habana,* and *El Almendares,* both picturesque; and there are also circulated some literary and scientific publications, edited principally by young men of the country, who, with laudable perseverance, have devoted themselves to the cultivation of letters.

At Matanzas there is issued daily the *Aurora;* at Trinidad, the *Correo;* at Santo Espiritu, the *Fenix;* at Puerto Principe, the *Farial;* and at Santiago de Cuba there are three publications, the *Orden,* the *Redactor,* and the *Memorias de la Real Sociedad Economica.* Newspaper literature in Cuba is at a low ebb, not for the want so much of talent as of liberty. Cuba has produced some respectable authors in various branches of literature. In poetry have figured worthily, in the Spanish Parnassus, Zéqueira, Rubalcaba, Heredia, Blanchié, and Milanés. Most of these have excelled in lyric and descriptive pieces, and some in dramatic compositions. The best Cuban drama is the *Conde Alarcos,* of Milanés. Of female writers, Cuba can cite the Countess de Merlin, who has distinguished herself as a novelist.

Among Cuban historical writers may be mentioned Arrate Urrutia, Valdes, and Heredia; in grammar, Vidal; and in philosophy, the learned priest Varela. In jurisprudence have figured Ayala, Hechavarria, Ponce de Leon, Escovedo, Armas, and Govantes; and in medicine, the memorable Romay.

In all estimates of the territorial extent of Cuba, the adjacent islands are included. It may, therefore, not be improper to give some account of those islands. The largest and most important of these is the Isle of Pines, called by Columbus, who discovered it in 1494, *Evangelista.* It is situated 18 marine leagues south of the port of Batabano, and is included between 21° 27′ and 21° 58′ N. lat., and between 76° 11′ and 76° 52′ of west longitude from Cadiz. In its greatest extent it measures, from north to south, 12 Cuban leagues;* and from east to west, 16. Its area is about 600 square miles, which is not quite half that of Long Island; the area of the latter being 1,500 square miles. Its nearest proximity to Cuba is 16¾ Spanish leagues, or 71.8 English miles. The figure of the island is compared, by Spanish writers, to that of the body of a common chaise, which, indeed, it much resembles.

The climate of the Isle of Pines is exceedingly salubrious, for which reason it is frequented annually by multitudes of patients afflicted with consumption. Its mineral waters are also an inducement to invalids. The aspect of the island is exceedingly various and picturesque, presenting lofty mountains, extensive plains, thousands of beautiful rivulets, and a notable marsh, extending across it from east to west, dividing it into two unequal parts. The coasts are indented with numerous bays and coves of great beauty, the largest of which is that called Siguanea, on the west side.

The most remarkable mountains are the *Sierra de la Cañada,* rising about 1,600 feet above the level of the sea, and presenting precipices 150 feet in height; the *Daguilla,* about 1,500 feet in height, rising in the form of a cove, with the base thickly enveloped in a forest, while the top, destitute of trees, affords a rich pasturage for cattle. From the top of the Daguilla, the eye takes in the whole island at a single view, the panorama being surpassingly grand and beautiful. The *Sierra de la Caballos,* 1,074 feet in height, and that of *Casas,* half a league from the former, are composed of beautiful marble, of all qualities and colors, affording the white statuary, equal to the Carrara. Lastly, the *Cristales,* which, though of little height, is remarkable for its sides abounding in green rock crystal, which might be made very valuable.

The largest river in the island is the *Nuevas,* but it is not navigable, its mouth being obstructed by a bar. The *Santa Fé,* whose waters are medicinal, is navigable to Balandras, one and a half leagues from its mouth, a depth of from 10 to 12 feet of water. The *Sierra de Casos* river, 140 yards wide at its mouth, is navigable for vessels drawing 5¼ feet of water for a league or more.

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* The Cuban or Spanish league is 4,291 English miles.

The Isle of Pines is a dependency of Havana, and is governed by a politico-military *Comandante*. The capital of the island is *Nueva Gerona*, situated in the north part of the island on the river Casas, three-quarters of a league from its mouth. The town stands on a plain between two mountains, the Sierra de Caballos and the Cosas. It contains 109 houses, besides a church, a prison, a hospital, and a free school. Besides two sailing packets, there is also a steamer plying weekly between this place and Batabano, the southern terminus of the railroad from Havana. The passage is made in seven hours.

The other places of the island are unimportant. Santa Fé, which was totally destroyed in 1846, now contains only 20 houses; but, owing to its valuable mineral waters, it is growing rapidly. The population of the island, which in 1797 was about 76 souls, amounted in 1828 to 427. The present population is 1,400, of which 106 are colored, and the rest whites.

The products of the island are cattle, tobacco, timber, pine, mahogany, cedar, and other valuable trees; marble of all qualities and colors, rock crystal, sulphur, spirits of turpentine, pitch, tar, turtles, and tortoise-shells. The island also has mines of silver, quicksilver, and iron.

The other islands belonging to Cuba are *Cayo Romano*, *Guajaba*, *Cayo-Cocos*, *Turiguave*, and several smaller ones called *cayos*, or keys.

Cayo Romano is a long, narrow island, on the northern coast of Cuba, divided into two parts by a channel about half a mile wide. It is about 66 miles long by 2½ wide, and has an area of about 172 square miles. It is a flat island, with the exception of the low ridge called *Silla de Cayo-Romano*, visible at a distance of 24 miles, and the height called *Aji*. It extends in a northwestern and southeastern direction, and contains a hacienda for the breeding of black cattle and horses. Its jerked beef is highly esteemed, and its timber and natural productions in general are excellent. Numerous salt-works exist in the island, but it is badly watered. It belongs to the jurisdiction of Puerto Principe.

Guajaba is between Cayo-Romano and Punta del Sabinal, and is about 30 miles long by 1½ broad. Its area is 15 square miles. It is a fertile island, and well watered. Its productions are the same as those of Cayo-Romano. Cayo-Cocos has an area of 28 square miles, and possesses valuable fisheries. Turiguano contains 38 square miles. Cayo Largo, east of the Isle of Pines, contains also 32 square miles.

All of these islands, and thousands of others clustering about Cuba, though now comparatively worthless, owing to a lack of good government, are, nevertheless, very fertile, and, in better hands, would become immensely productive.

There are at present in Cuba 1,560 sugar plantations, 1,218 coffee plantations, 5,128 cattle farms, 13 chocolate plantations, 224 cotton plantations, 34,439 fruit and vegetable farms, 7,979 tobacco plantations, and 2,284 *colmenares*, or farms devoted exclusively to the production of honey and wax. The amount of the products of the island in 1852 was as follows :—

Sugar	29,165,238 arrobas*	=	7,291,309 cwt.
Coffee	1,166,902 "	=	291,725 "
Tobacco	1,776,160 "	=	444,040 "
Molasses	267,185 hogsheads.		
Brandy	39,411 pipes.		
Honey	106,175 barrels.		
Bees-Wax,	74,903 arrobas	=	18,725 "

The entire exports of Cuba, in 1851, amounted to $31,341,683, and the entire imports to $32,311,430. The annexation of Cuba to the United States would probably quadruple its exports and imports in a very few years, both by vastly augmenting those branches of industry already existing there, and by introducing new branches. The cotton and coffee culture, now almost extinct there, would be revived; the copper mines, by being more effectually wrought, would furnish a more abundant product; and all those branches of industry, now almost smothered by the restrictions and taxation of a despotic and short-sighted government, would revive with all the vigor and enterprise incident to the influences of a free government. The Spanish race would gradually improve from contact with the Anglo-Saxon race, and Cuba would truly become, what the Spaniards already claim for it, " the brightest gem of the ocean."

Art. II.—INFLUENCE OF THE MECHANIC ARTS ON THE HUMAN RACE.

The history of the Mechanic Arts would be the history of man himself, in all the various phases of civilization, the modifications of society and the transformations of polity through which he has passed during so many centuries of his recorded existence, and should conclude with a prophetic survey of their progressive results through ages to come. It is impossible to do justice in a few pages to a subject so vast in its conception, so complicated in its applications, and so infinite in its deductions; and it could not even be done, if permitted to enter upon it on a more extensive scale, unless with the possession of an amplitude and energy of intellect which, although occupying in the narrow cell of the brain no more space than would fill up a lady's glove, could, in obedience to volition, and in imitation of the tent given by the fairy Paribanou to Prince Ahmed, spread itself as wide as the canopy of heaven. This elastic texture of the mind, which, dilating without bounds, could be commensurate with the universe, and which would be so necessary to the proper accomplishment of such a task, was once possessed by a man who, at the age of thirty-one—nay—however advanced might have been his time of life, could alone have written, without provoking a sneer at his consummate presumption: "I have taken all knowledge to be my province." Need we name Bacon, of whom Macaulay has so beautifully said: that the glance with which he surveyed the intellectual universe resembled that which the archangel, from the golden threshold of heaven, darted down into the new creation:

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* The arroba is 25¼ lbs.

Round he surveyed—and well might, where he stood
So high above the circling canopy
Of night's extended shade—from eastern point
Of Libra, to the fleecy star which bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
Beyond the horizon.

Art is defined by that illustrious man, "as a proper disposal of the things of nature by human thought, labor and experience, so as to answer the several purposes of mankind." Physical or intellectual labor, whatever it be, could not but suggest certain rules by which its operations could be performed with more facility, more skill, and with less loss of time. Those rules were next systematized, arranged, and classified as the results of repeated and progressive experiments. These systems regulating the operations of the mind and body, in compelling nature to become the handmaid of mankind by ministering to its wants, gave rise to a decomposition of the meaning primitively attributed to the generic word: Art. Born with man, like man, it went forth and multiplied, and became subdivided into parts or branches originating from the same trunk, and called the useful or mechanic, the fine or liberal arts.

The former are said to be "those wherein the hand and body are more concerned than the mind; of which kind are most of those which furnish us with the necessaries, and are properly known by the name of trades. The latter are such as depend more on the labor of the mind than that of the hand; they are the produce of imagination and taste, and their end is pleasure." But is there sufficient clearness and precision in this definition? Where is that point, in the exercise of the arts, which ceases to be debatable territory between the powers of the mind and those of the body? At what definite moment does the one predominate over the other? Take the mechanic arts, for instance. Every one of them is composed of two elements—speculation, gradually growing into theory—and physical labor, daily ripening into practice and habit. But what is practice, if not the result of thought and the application of speculation, be it done consciously or unconsciously by the mechanic? Conception is the first step—action the next, and when the fruit of both has come to maturity, how can we tell the exact period of its formation when the material power predominated over the ethereal?

The man who first invented a tool which we may now look upon as a very ordinary one was an artist, because in its production there must have been a greater exertion of mind than muscle; although the one who copied it is a mechanic, if we adopt without qualification the definition which has been quoted. But when that mechanic is at work, how do we know, at the time we look at him and give him that name, whether or not he may not be at that moment more engaged in an intellectual than a physical operation? How do we know that the individual who is heaving up the hammer, or driving the plane on a common board, and pursuing an occupation so humble that it is apparently unconnected with any exercise of the mind, is not theorizing about it, without perhaps being aware himself of the mental process he applies to his manual labor, and by which he may suddenly strike out some wonderful improvement, by chance, as it is commonly said, or seemingly, by a flash of inspiration? How do we know, when we only see bodily fatigue pearling out into drops on his bent brow, and exhaustion thickening his panting breath, that, whilst his arms work, he is not weaving comparisons, pursuing a train of deductions and inductions, discovering connections between particular operations, and lifting up his foot to step beyond the line of mere habit? How do we know that practice in him is not spiritualizing itself into speculation and theory, just as that rough material on which he is plying may be one day dissolved into an invisible gas, at the magical touch of science? How do we know that his sooty hand is not already on the latch of the door which he is to open to that splendid procession of improvements which is waiting outside—that he is not ceasing to be a mere unreflecting piece of flesh and bone machinery, and is not ascending the pedestal of invention—that he is not going to rise to the dignity of a benefactor of his race—and that on the hitherto clumsy work on which he had been apparently bestowing only physical labor, he is not now ready to stamp an eternal impress—the token of the sovereignty of the intellect—and make it the Cæsar's coin that will pass current throughout the world?

Thus the mechanic arts may gradually emerge from that kind of twilight to which they have been confined by the common prejudice of mankind, and may brighten up and expand into as glorious an illumination as ever was produced by the fine arts.

Thus may the mechanic secretly feel that he is unfolding the wings of intellectual ascension, when still in the estimate of his fellow-beings he is plodding the dull earth, and when, agreeably to the terms of an accepted definition, which is not more accurate than most definitions, he is engaged in a work "in which the hand and the body are more concerned than the mind." This reflection must be consolatory and encouraging for those who exercise those useful arts which have so long undergone unmerited depreciation.

Look at those two men who are making bronze pitchers. Who are they? Mechanics; will say the inattentive host of those who pass by. But what is called a man of taste happens to stop. He pays no regard to one of those workmen, and bows with reverence to the other. Why?—because the one, in his opinion, is a vulgar mechanic; and the other, Benvenuto Cellini—the great artist. Yet, for the crowd they were both alike—both engaged in the same operation—and both held brothers of the same trade before the distinction of superiority, perhaps accidentally discovered or acknowledged, had set them so far apart. But what is that degree of skill to which the other pitcher maker and chaser must attain, before he may be permitted, like his companion, to merge the mechanic into the artist, although he may never arrive at the same excellence? Who can say? And besides, what is the precise amount of taste required, to justify the issuing of such a verdict, to entitle it to be recorded, and to cause it to be respectfully carried into execution?

Look into a different direction, where two men are stuffing capons. Can there be a less exalted occupation? Who is the one on the left? A mechanic. And the other on the right, is he of the same tribe? Oh no!—It is Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor of England, stuffing a fowl with snow to make an experiment, and applying his favorite process of induction in order to "enlarge the bounds of human empire," through an operation which, apparently, is only mechanical. Thus it is within the power of man to ennoble even the stuffing of a capon, to cause mind to predominate over physical labor even in the improvement of a wheel, and to convert the mechanic art into the liberal art, that in which, according to the received opinion, the intellect is more concerned than the body. We hope that in these two short illustrations will be found a meaning and a morality without further observations on our part.

Within the wants which God gave to our race lay concealed the roots of the mechanic arts, many of which must have been coeval with man. They were to keep pace with the progressive development of his intellect as a condition of his existence. Wants increase with their gratification, and produce others which have the same cravings. Whatever were the original scantiness and simplicity of food, clothing, and habitation, to provide for them required a combined exertion of the body and of the intellect, which is—art, in all the imperfection, it is true, of its primitive rudeness, but yet producing a more or less "proper disposal of the things of nature by human thought, labor, and experience, so as to answer all the purposes of mankind" at the time. For instance, the making of the bow and the arrow is a mechanical operation; but he who first made a bow and arrow cannot be said to have been a mechanic, for its invention and practical application demanded a combination of thought far superior to the physical labor bestowed on the weapon. So impressed with this belief was mankind when in its infancy, and even when beginning to bloom into the adolescence of civilization, that all inventions, however simple they may appear to us now, were attributed to gods and goddesses, or at least to emperors and empresses, and to the most exalted of the human race. Thus spinning was ascribed by the Egyptians to their goddess Isis, by the Greeks to Minerva, by the Peruvians to Mama Ella, wife of their first sovereign Mango Capac, and by the Chinese to the wife of the Emperor Yao. Scythos, the son of Jupiter, was thought to have invented the bow and arrow, and you know that Bacchus, himself a god, and the son of the greatest of the gods, was the first vine-dresser. These illustrations are sufficient; your own erudition will supply you with the rest if necessary.

Thus in the mechanic arts, as in man from whom they emanate, and without which he could not fulfil his destinies, there is a duality—theory and practice—soul and body—practice or physical execution which, like the body, is restrained within certain proportions—and theory which, boundless like the mind, may embrace all the endless variety of the things of nature in seeking to adapt them to the uses of mankind. Wherefore, then, should it not be the ambition of every mechanic to keep himself on a level, by education, with those mechanic arts which we have shown rising to a higher degree of excellence than is generally assigned to them, and which, as we have said, required in their invention, and have displayed in their successive improvements, more labor of the mind than of the body? Wherefore should not a noble attempt be made to refine trades into liberal arts, and by the increased and ever increasing application of the intellect to those trades, to command for them that consideration which, for so many centuries, had been withheld, because they were looked upon as pursuits to be carried on, almost exclusively, by the process of manual labor?

But how came those useful arts which led to the civilization of mankind, and which at first were the object of so much admiration that they were supposed to be the manifestations of divine intellect, to fall so rapidly into disrepute as to bring even contempt on those who exercised them? The reasons of this change strike us as the consequences of some facts, to which attention is called. When the first mechanic arts were invented, men were free—they were hunters, shepherds, tillers of the ground. But when for reciprocal protection they formed themselves into associations, called tribes or nations, they soon began to war upon themselves as they had upon the wild beasts of the forests, and to reduce one another into a state of servitude. Hunting, which certainly is a species of war, had been the first occupation of man, and was thought to be the noblest of all those to which he subsequently addicted himself. When he became the owner of slaves, he soon relinquished to them the drudgery of manual labor or the mechanic arts, and reserved his hands for the exclusive use of the bow and the spear, to which he was indebted for the lordly command he had assumed. Sprung from the free cradle of mankind, but nursed in the lap of slavery, the mechanic arts, in spite of this adverse circumstance, flourished to a considerable degree in Asia, and particularly in Egypt and Chaldea, where we still wonder at the gigantic fossil skeletons of the stupendous cities and monuments they erected. But these nations, great as they rose to be, were but a vast agglomeration of slaves, subjected to the dreaded will of a splendid despotism, cemented by force, and often sanctified by religion, and there the mechanic arts were left to the most inferior classes—to the lowest in the hierarchy of slavery. It is not therefore in Asia that the mechanic arts could command from mankind that position which they are now beginning to enjoy.

When civilization brought the mechanic arts into Greece, it had slavery for its travelling companion, and the same consequences followed—they were left to the slaves. The masters reserved for themselves what are called the liberal arts—the pursuits of the free—from the word *liber*. Hence the admiration of the world was for the liberal arts, and its contempt for the mechanic arts—the useful, but the menial and the slavish. The former were the privileged occupation of freedom, and the glorious exemplification of thought gathering itself into a visible substance in all the diversified splendor of form and color. The latter were debased with the touch of servitude, and were looked upon as more or less ingenious specimens of manual labor, to which the intellect could not be supposed to stoop. Hence the estimate in which they were held in that loveliest portion of the earth, where life was all thought and feeling, and where poetry seemed to rise up like a natural exhalation from every object by which man was surrounded.

Thus the mechanic arts, although the eldest of the family to which they belong, and to the manor born, were stript of their inheritance by the liberal arts, which assumed the exclusive sovereignty of the world, and claimed its undivided homage; and it is almost amusing to see the contempt with which they are treated by their younger sisters. This feeling was carried so far at one time that, to pursue any mechanic art, and therefore to minister to the comfort of human beings, was thought to be more than a condescension, more than an humble office; it was looked upon as a degrading occupation, and, by some, as an immoral one, which ought to be spurned by free and high-minded men. If Democritus had discovered the principle of the arch; if Anacharsis had stooped so low as to imagine the wheel that was to help the potter in his labor, they were to be excused rather than to be eulogized for what they had done. Seneca, who had so much pretension to wisdom, would have considered it an insult if he had been supposed capable of turning away from the pursuit of framing the stilts on which his inane philosophy and inflated morality walked so pompously in preaching their precepts, to waste a thought on the invention or improvement of a plough, a ship, or a mill. That was good enough for his slaves or freed men—it was too menial for himself—it was not a sufficiently imposing taxation on his mind, which could not consent to pay such penny tribute into the exchequer of humanity. But, to justify the murder of a mother by an imperial son, to kiss the foot of the parricide in abject servility, to write moral essays on the same tablets on which he had recorded the panegyric of a monster, to indulge in the solemn mockery of praising poverty amidst the millions he had hoarded up, simplicity of life when owning palaces and gardens worthy of an Eastern satrap, abstinence when reclining on the couch of luxury and liberty with the same voice which had hailed the divine Cæsar, was a liberal pursuit, which slaves and freed men could not be permitted to approach.

"Archytas," says Macaulay, in one of his essays, "had framed machines of an extraordinary power on mathematical principles. Plato remonstrated with his friend, and declared that this was to degrade a noble intellectual exercise into a low craft, fit only for carpenters and wheelwrights. The office of geometry, he said, was to discipline the mind, not to minister to the base wants of the body. His interference was successful; and, from that time, according to Plutarch, the science of mechanics was considered as unworthy of the attention of a philosopher."

In a later age, Syracuse being besieged, Archimedes, the celebrated mathematician, set fire to the fleet of the enemy by causing the concentrated rays of the sun to be reflected from a mirror of his invention, and spread terror among the invaders by the construction of engines which scattered death and havoc at a prodigious distance. But the sage thought that, to descend from the altitude of his learned speculations to the flat level of practical utility, was a sacrifice of intellectual dignity which needed an apology, and he spoke of his improvements in the Mechanic Arts, either as derogatory acts, which had been forced from him by the necessities of the moment, or as trifling amusements into which he had allowed his mind to relax.

The destruction of the Roman empire, with the convulsions which preceded and followed that great event, were not favorable to the development of the Mechanic Arts, either theoretically or practically, and were not of such a nature as to procure for them a higher degree of estimation from mankind, when it was relapsing into the ignorance of barbarian life. In the feudal ages, those arts were left altogether to the serfs, and neither the iron-clad baron, the cloistered monk, the disputatious scholar, nor the fierce sectarian or religious zealot, were disposed to favor those engaged in the Mechanic Arts, and ever thought that there was any merit in undertaking to increase by them the power, and to ameliorate the condition of the human race. It is only about two hundred and fifty years ago, under the reign of James the First, in Great Britain, that their importance and the consideration they deserved began to be appreciated. Then was preached the doctrine of utility and progress, which has since been called the Baconian doctrine, from the name of its originator. That great innovator maintained that the end of science and art ought to be: "The relief of man's estate." It was: *Commodis humanis inservire:* "To serve the interests of humanity." It was: *Efficaciter operari ad sublevanda vitæ humanæ incommoda:* "To remove efficaciously the incommodities of human existence." It was: "*Dotare vitam humanam novis inventis et copiis:* "To endow mankind with new inventions, resources, and faculties." One of the most praiseworthy objects of the highest intellect was, in his opinion, that of teaching man how to use his hands, how to become a skilful mechanic, and how to improve the arts which are so indispensable to his existence and welfare, by the combination of theoretical and practical knowledge. Suiting the example to the precept, he said: "that, as nothing was insignificant that could minister to the slightest wants of humanity, and nothing too humble, provided it was useful, to be disdained by the intellect,* whatever of an architect he might perhaps become in philosophy and the sciences, and whatever else he might happen to be, he would not disdain still to labor as a common worker and stone carrier, and do all those small things from which shrinks the vain pride of others." Thus Bacon aimed at a generous innovation in the ideas and feelings of mankind. He found the Mechanic Arts crouching under the depreciation which had kept them in a state of imbecile servitude, and every man of liberal education turning away from them with scorn, and thinking them unworthy of his attention. What had been the inevitable consequence of such a prejudice? It was, that many of the arts which were undoubtedly the most useful, and therefore of the most vital importance to the human race, and which, under the investigations of a scientific mind, were susceptible of the most wonderful improvements, had been unnoticed by the speculations of the intellect, and pushed aside as ignoble rubbish, befitting only the manipulation of joiners, masons, smiths, weavers and apothecaries. It was necessary to assert the primogeniture of those arts, to vindicate the dignity of their nature and of their rights, to assign to them the prominent post to which they are entitled in the van of civilization; and to proclaim in the words of one of the most brilliant of modern historians: "That, as they have a most serious effect on human happiness, they are not unworthy of the attention of the highest human intellect." Thus Bacon gave the first blow to remove the barrier that impeded the progress of the useful arts, and registered in the records of posterity the verdict of genius against that contempt of centuries which had assumed the prescriptive right of confining them within the narrowest sphere, and to keep those who exercised them forever sunk to the lowest depths of society, in utter forgetfulness that those Mechanic Arts were coeval with the birth of man; that they had civilized him; and that, without them, those fine arts of which we are so proud, and which have monopolized the attention, the studies, and the admiration of mankind, could not have existed.

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* Quique architectus fortasse in philosophiâ et scientiis esse debeam, etiam operarius et bajulus, et quidvis demum fio, cum haud panca quæ omnino fieri necesse sit, alii autem ob innatam superbiam subterfugiant, ipse sustineam et exsequar.

But were the Mechanic Arts deserving of the low estimate in which they were held, and is it true that the mind has less to do with them than the physical powers of man? To ascertain how much of mind there is in them, look at their results, and judge of the tree by its fruits. To him who may inquire what the Mechanic or Useful Arts have done, we answer: they have purified the pestilential breath of disease, clipped its dusky wings, dried up many of its sources, ascertained the various character of the hateful family into which it diversifies itself, and have restrained, or conquered, if not entirely annihilated that relentless foe; they have deadened the sting of pain; and they have, as the tables of mortality will show, prolonged the duration of human life. If the soil round us blooms with more fertility—if the mariner ascends his bark with no hesitation, and dares the pathless ocean with as great a feeling of security as he gambolled in his boyhood round the paternal roof—if the warrior uses weapons, in comparison to which the lance of Achilles would be as insignificant and harmless as the bodkin used by a fairy's tiny hand—to whose influence is it due? If, at the command of man, the darkness of night has vanished from the very hall in which you may be assembled; if, in imitation of Omnipotence itself, he could say: Let there be light—and there was light—whence does he derive that power? Let us, with the help of the imagination, and with its lightning speed, make a journey throughout the world. Here come we to a wide estuary, and no means of transportation is at hand. But lo!— materials of iron, stone or brick gather themselves up into a bridge of the most beautiful architectural form, and we walk over the foaming waves. Shall we tire you with the enumeration of the endless prodigies we shall witness? Do you wish to play with the thunderbolt of heaven—to see the most remote star that modestly twinkles behind the infinite host of fixed or moving orbs which have been flung like dust over the immensity of space, or to examine how many invisible beings a drop of water can contain? Do you wish to travel with almost viewless rapidity—to master all the elements—to annihilate distance—to remove mountains, to fly over their heights or to pass through their strong and compact ribs—to soar into the air—to dive into the sea and walk at its bottom—to visit the gnomes in the frightful recesses of the earth—and to send to a friend who is a thousand miles away from you a message of love which he will receive in a few minutes? Do you want your carriage to whirl along without horses, and your bark to speed on, against the wind, without oars or sails? What other miracles do you want? You have only to speak, and you shall be obeyed. But, before you depart, turn round to thank the Mechanic Arts, and say no longer that "the body is more concerned in them than the mind."

The Mechanic Arts had not been properly understood. Otherwise, how could they have been despised, when their effect is to raise man almost into a God, by giving him empire over matter? Is it not sufficient for their rehabilitation, that their end is the greatest comfort and happiness of the human race? Is not the evidence of their intellectual essence in the mere fact that they make inanimate matter instinct, as it were, with life—that they appropriate to the use of man the plastic powers that lie latent in the womb of nature, and that they convert its substances, apparently the most worthless and common, into such gorgeous or delicate articles as may adorn a lady's brow or a monarch's throne? In the progressive discoveries by which the boiling water, bubbling up in a barbarian's caldron—the light and damp smoke it emitted—and the rough metal which contained it—

were transformed into the complicated agent of power which we possess in the steam-engine, is there not as magnificent a manifestation of intellect as in the most celebrated productions of the Fine Arts?

We have said that all the Arts belong to the same family, and it would require no great effort to show that poetry itself is not unconnected with the Mechanic Arts. Can it be denied that no poetical imagination ever dreamed the realities with which they have surrounded us? Have they not actually produced things so strange, that they look as belonging only to the world of visions? Have they not surpassed in what they have written on the broad tablets of nature the descriptions of the Arabian tales? Have they not achieved feats more bewildering than those related in the romances that disturbed the brains of the knight whom Cervantes has immortalized? To use language which we find ready at hand, and which we borrow as being more elegant than any of our own: "Have they not erected buildings more sumptuous than the palace of Aladdin, fountains more wonderful than the golden water of Parizarde, conveyances more rapid than the hippogryph of Ruggiero, arms more formidable than the lance of Astolfo, remedies more efficacious than the balsam of Fier-à-bras?" We hope we may be permitted to add: is not their sober reason more magnificent than the wildest dreams that ever came out through the portals of brass or ivory? What talismanic wonders are to be compared with the miracles produced by the philosophy of the Mechanic Arts? Which of those incantations in which superstition formerly believed ever produced results so astounding? Have not the Mechanic Arts already accomplished some of those prodigies prophesied in the New Atlantis of Lord Bacon? Had any human being related, a century ago, that he had seen what every child witnesses every day as a common occurrence, would he not have been considered as deserving less credit than Baron Munchausen, or Simbad the sailor?

When Fletcher put the following lines in the mouth of Arbaces, the Oriental conqueror:

> "He shall have chariots easier than air,
> Which I will have invented; and thyself,
> That art the messenger, shall ride before him
> On a horse cut out of an entire diamond,
> That shall be made to go with golden wheels,
> I know not how yet.........."

he was a poet—one who pursued a liberal art. But he who executed the poet's conception, he who gave an endurable and useful embodiment to those flitting visions of the brain, he who produced the fire-breathing horse and the golden wheels, when the poet "knew not how yet" it was to be done—is he not entitled to as exalted a seat as the poet himself on the broad platform of the intellect; and is he not incommensurably his superior as to the benefit conferred on mankind?

We invite you to remark, that the Fine Arts have long reached perfection, and have ever since remained stationary, whilst the Mechanic Arts seem destined to expand beyond any of the limits which the imagination can assign to their march. Has Homer ever been surpassed? Can there be a more eloquent writer than Plato, more splendid orators than Demosthenes and Cicero, more sublime historians than Tacitus, and greater philosophers than Socrates and Aristotle? Has the sculptor Phidias ever been eclipsed? Will those who erected the Coliseum and the other architectural wonders of antiquity—will Michael Angelo, Raphael, Murillo, and many others, their peers in genius, ever acknowledge a master? Will the art of music ever find more admirable interpreters than Rossini and Meyerbeer? The human mind can readily imagine that they can be equalled, but cannot conceive how they can be excelled. But are you not convinced, from the experience of the past, and on the evidence of the present, which meets your eyes whichever way you turn, that there is no stopping point in the improvements of the Mechanic Arts? If this be true, if progressive expansion without bounds be one of their constitutional elements, do we venture too far when we maintain that it is illogical to say, that they do not appertain to the domain of the intellect as much as the Fine Arts, which, for centuries, have been moving in a mere circle, luminous though it be, and worthy as it is of all the admiration of our race, of which they are the delight and solace? Is not the divine nature of man better exemplified, and is not his imperial destiny better demonstrated and established, by the limitless conquests made, and to be made, by the Mechanic Arts over the world of matter, on which they inscribe the title deeds and proofs of his sovereignty? This can no longer be denied, and thus for them has come at last the day of justice. Truly, indeed, may it be said of the Mechanic Arts, that their triumph is great—for they have conquered the prejudices of the world with the noblest of weapons—in striking them with admiration and gratitude, by the magnificence of their works, and by the blessings they have showered upon our race with the almost gorgeous profusion of divine benevolence.

Thus the celebrated Huygens, although he was the first mathematician and astronomer of his age, did not blush, as Seneca would, at having discovered the means of rendering clocks exact by applying the pendulum, and of equalizing its vibrations by the cycloid. That great philosopher and mathematician, Robert Hooke, would have scorned a Plato's remonstrance against his stooping so low as to invent the spring or pocket watch, and several other mechanical improvements. The learned Otto Guericke, who invented the air pump, and the Honorable Robert Boyle, who improved it, never thought of apologizing, like Archytas and Archimedes, for what they had done. A Howard, a brother of the Duke of Norfolk, did not think he was degrading himself into a slave, and that he was engaged in a base occupation, when he discovered a new process of refining sugar, "by which more money has been made in a shorter time, and with less trouble and risk, than was perhaps ever gained from an invention." Sir Humphry Davy did not feel, as Socrates himself might, that he was derogating from the majesty of the intellect, when he instituted a series of philosophical experiments, by which he constructed the safety lamp, with the assistance of which "the miner walks through a body of fire-damp in his subterraneous apartments without danger of explosion." Arkwright, who had not originally received a regular scientific education, thought, no doubt, that he was following as noble and as intellectual a pursuit as that of any Greek rhetorician, when, for years, he went through an unwearied course of multifarious studies to improve the spinning-jenny—that so remarkable and so useful invention of his, "by which a pound of the finest cotton has been spun by machinery into a yarn extending more than one hundred and nineteen miles." He who, by a certain combination of charcoal and saltpetre, produced one of the most tremendous powers with which man is armed, lived, probably, in the time of Petrarch and Boccacio. The inventor of printing was, it is believed, contemporary with Pope Nicholas the Fifth, with Cosmo de' Medici, and with a crowd of scholars, then distinguished, now sunk into comparative oblivion. But the prejudice which, for so many centuries, had been implanted in the human mind, had not yet been eradicated. Those two men, who had done more for mankind than all their contemporaries put together, were looked upon, it may fairly be presumed, as belonging, not to the aristocratic circle of those who cultivate the Liberal Arts, but to the plebeian class of those who pursue the Useful Arts, and are called Mechanics. Hence it is not surprising that no one thought of inquiring their names to record them for posterity. But if the inventor of gunpowder, and particularly the inventor of that art which has made thought visible, and given it life and body forever, were permitted to reappear on this earth, is there one among you who would not gaze on them with as much admiration as on any Nicholas the Fifth, Cosmo de' Medici, Petrarch, and Boccacio, that ever lived? This shows the change which has taken place in the human mind, and the existence of a more correct appreciation or estimation of the respective merits of the Mechanic, the Liberal, and the Fine Arts.

Nay—the march of the Mechanic Arts has been such, that if the old definition of them, which was quoted at the beginning of this sketch, possessed originally a befitting exactness of description, it does now seem so accurate in its application. You will recollect that the definition, acknowledged almost by all writers, is: "that the Mechanic Arts are those in which the hand and body are more concerned than the mind." Therefore its product, partaking of the nature of the producer, must be that in which there is more manual than intellectual labor. But is this the fact? On the contrary, is it not well known that, frequently, the most exquisite product of the Mechanic Arts is that issuing from those manufactures which may be said to dispense entirely with manual labor, by the use of such machinery as works with little or no aid of the human hand, but only through the will of the human intellect? For this reason, the former scholastic distinctions established between the Arts ought to be abolished, and the old landmarks removed. The mutual assistance existing between the Arts is so great, their affinities are so strong, that they ought to blend harmoniously together in a democratic union, and disclaim all the pretensions of an unnatural hierarchy. Equals in rank, and with laurels crowned, hand in hand, and forming round man a radiant circle of love and protection, let them move on, satisfying his physical wants, refining his moral and intellectual desires, and gratifying his tastes for pleasure and beauty. The Mechanic Arts are the embodiment of the sober faculties—of the ratiocination of man—the ingenious tools of his patient and reflective industry. The Fine Arts are the fairy children of his imagination—the gems that dropped from the rich casket of the mind—the realization of the dreams of the soul. The former are the fruits of the tree of knowledge—the latter are the flowers, and the delicate leaves, and the variegated hues with which it is embellished. In that little world of inventions which man is entitled to call his creation, the Mechanic Arts, although "formed out of the dust of the ground," like Adam, are, like him, "endued with sanctity of reason," and are "upright with front serene to govern" the world. They are made to

> Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth—
> Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
> Over fish of the sea, and fowl of the air,
> And every living thing that moves on the earth.

To complete the comparison, we will say that the Fine Arts are, like Eve, "all grace, and dignity, and love,"

> "With what all earth or heaven could bestow,
> To make them amiable."

It is hoped there is nothing in the observations which have been submitted that can, in the slightest degree, be construed into a wish on our part to diminish the favor of that worship which has always been paid at the shrine of the Fine Arts;

and no one is disposed to bend lower than ourselves in the temple where the blest effulgence of their glory abides. Nay — who, in their presence, is not impressed with a sense of their majestic loveliness and supreme excellence? Look at the dying gladiator—you forget the marble—you feel tempted to rush to the assistance of the quivering flesh and the streaming blood which you fancy before you, for

> He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
> Consents to death—but conquers agony,
> And his drooped head sinks gradually low—
> And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
> From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
> Like the first of a thunder shower; and now
> The arena swims around him—he is gone,
> Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.

Is not the whole scene as vividly before you, as if you were sitting in a Roman amphitheatre?

But stop, and beware of profane intrusion. Here is

> The lord of the unerring bow,
> The god of life, and poesy, and light—
> The sun in human limbs arrayed, and brow
> All radiant from his triumph in the fight;
> The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright
> With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye
> And nostril beautiful disdain, and might,
> And majesty, flash their full lightnings by—
> Developing in that one glance the Deity.

Is not the illusion complete? Do you not feel that you are in the presence of the Apollo of Belvidere? And are you not indebted for it to poetry—the most beautiful, the most bewitching of the Fine Arts—the purest fountain of delight given to man, and where bubble up, invitingly to his lips, the perennial waters of immortality?

Shall we point out to you the Venus de' Medici—the dream of genius drunk with love—the cold stone made to breathe immortal grace, youth, and divinity—every perfection that visible substance can possess, gathered into a goddess—the divine forehead—the ambrosial lips—the soft curving lines of a body from which voluptuousness seems to exhale, as perfume from the rose?

Shall we attempt to describe the ecstasy which every one must feel at sight of the Coliseum, St. Peter's Church, the cathedral of Seville, the Moorish Alhambra, and so many other architectural wonders? Shall we speak of painting—which makes us shudder at the agonies of the crucifixion, and fall prostrate, shrouding our face from the overpowering glories of the transfiguration? Shall we mention music, that lingering echo of heaven preserved in the human soul—which soothes even the fury of the maniac, and which has a voice equally acceptable to the prostration of grief and to the elation of happiness? We have said enough to show that, if we claim for the Mechanic Arts a portion of that sovereignty which their favored sisters had hitherto exclusively exercised over the world, we are as willing as any one to pay the tribute of our allegiance, when passing before the throne on which the admiration of mankind has placed the Fine Arts.

This is but a brief sketch, inadequate to the merits of the subject—a flitting and vague shadow cast on the wall—the imperfect concatenation of a few thoughts, caught at random and on the wing, as they sped their hurried flight—the mere outline or indication, rather than the completion, of a picture. Defective as it is, it closes at the point where we have conducted you—the rehabilitation of the Mechanic Arts in the estimation of mankind. In our next, we shall attempt to present, in the same comprehensive manner, some further considerations connected with the influence those arts have had, and which they will continue to exercise on the destinies of the human race. This is but the portico of the edifice through which it will be our pride to escort the reader, on some future occasion.

Art. III.—GREAT CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES—SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

No. V.

By the census of 1850, there were in Savannah 1,720 dwellings, and 1,783 families.

Families.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites	4,409	3,986	8,395
Free colored	264	422	686
Slaves	2,948	3,282	6,231
Total			**15,312**

AGES OF POPULATION.

	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.
Under 1	152	177	20 and under 50	3,951	3,437
1 and under 5	645	766	50 and under 100	631	850
5 and under 20	2,238	2,457	100 and over	1	1

Born in the State	4,774
" New-England	268
" Middle States	533
" South (out of Georgia)	970
" Northwest	14
" South	31
Born in United States	**6,590**

Born in Ireland	1,555
" Germany	383
Other foreigners	496
Total Foregin	2,434
United States	6,590
Total white and free colored	**9,024**

Exclusive of unknown nativities.

	Males.	Females.	Total.	Native-born.
Attending school	562	530	1,094	1,028
Adults who cannot read and write	8	9	17	8

Tonnage of Savannah, 1853, 20,595 tons; steam tonnage, 5,667 tons.

The population of Savannah was—

1800	5,166	1830	7,776
1810	5,215	1840	11,214
1820	7,523		

The following is from the pen of a Charlestonian, and was prepared for the *Charleston Courier*:—

Savannah, the commercial capital of Georgia, is beautifully situated, on the south bank of the Savannah River, so named, we presume, from the swamps, now converted into fields, on its borders. It is the seat of justice of Chatham county, so called in honor of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the great parliamentary advocate of the liberties of America. The city is distant, 12 miles in a direct line, and 18 miles by the curves of the river, from the ocean. It stands on an elevated plateau or high bluff, 40 feet above the bed of the river, at low-water mark. To be seen to advantage, it must be viewed from one of its church spires or other elevations, whence its public and private architecture, its beautiful river and busy wharves, its numerous steamers and other craft, its fertile low lands and adjacent country seats and scenery, present a landscape of great and varied beauty.

Many of the private residences in Savannah are very beautiful, and are mostly built after the Northern rather than the Southern style—with basement stories, in many instances, below the surface, (the soil being dry to a considerable depth,) and without the piazza or verandah. This is doubtless attributable to the large infusion of northern population. The lots are generally small, with little yard or garden room, and kitchens and servants' apartments within the main building. Houses are in great demand, although rapidly increasing in number, and rents are very high.

The interests of religion appear to be well cared for. The Protestant Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, all have one or more places of worship—of more or less elegance of structure—and that of the Independent Presbyterians cost $120,000. Besides these, there are the Roman Catholic Church, Penfield's Mariners' Church, the Jewish Synagogue, an African Methodist Church, and three African Baptist churches, in which four last named the preachers are negroes or colored persons.

Education also commands a high degree of attention and culture; the Chatham Academy, eight schools for instruction in the higher branches; the Savannah Free School, the Savannah Female Asylum, the Institution of the Sisters of our Lady of Mercy, and fourteen primary schools, contributing to the instruction of the rising generation.

The noble office of charity is likewise well served. Besides the private charity, which letteth not its left hand know what the right hand doth, the following institutions and societies, among others, publicly minister in the cause of benevolence, viz.:—The Savannah Poor House and Hospital, Georgia Infirmary, Widows' Society, Savannah Free School, Clothing and Fuel Association, Hibernian Society, German Friendly Society, Mechanics' Benevolent Society, Seamen's Port Society, Female Seamen's Friend Society, Institution of the Sisters of our Lady of Mercy, Union Society, (for the support and education of male orphans,) Savannah Female Asylum, (with a beautiful edifice, and thirty orphans under its care,) five Masonic and four Odd Fellows' Lodges, and two Divisions of the Sons of Temperance. In addition to these, there are some twenty charitable societies or more connected with the different churches. Verily, then, doth Savannah not despise or turn her back upon the poor, but causeth the heart of the widow and the orphan to sing for joy.

She is an extensive cotton mart, and does a large business in rice and lumber, and in general trade. In 1848, according to "White's Statistics of Georgia," she exported 243,233 bags of cotton; in 1845, 304,544; 30,136 tierces of rice, and 16,449,588 feet of lumber. The value of her real estate, in the same year, was $3,000,000. She has a banking capital proportioned to her commercial wants. Bank of the State of Georgia, capital $1,500,000, of which $800,000 are appropriated to Savannah; Planters' Bank, $538,000 paid in; Marine and Fire Insurance Bank, $400,000, with privilege of increase to $800,000; Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia, $2,549,165 paid in, and $205,000 appropriated to banking in 1848; and the Savannah Institution for Savings, instituted in 1844. Numerous steamships, steamboats, and other packet lines connect her with all the principal ports of the United States, north and south of her, extending to Key West, Havana, Chagres, Panama, California and Oregon. The Steamboat Company of Georgia, and the Iron Steamboat Company of Georgia, each with a capital of $100,000, and having three steamers and fourteen or fifteen tow-boats, capable of containing 750 bales of cotton each, besides five or six steamers, in no regular line, connect her interiorly with Augusta.

The Central Railroad places her in connection with Macon; and by means of a branch at Millen, with Augusta, and the railroad lines beyond those limits, open to her the enriching trade, not only of the whole interior of the State, but of the West and Southwest; and the Savannah and Ogeechee Canal gives her an additional channel of internal commerce. Besides all these elements of prosperity, she has cotton presses, steam and hydraulic; steam rice mills; steam saw mills; steam planing mills; steam works and iron foundries, to propel her onward in her career of successful industry and enterprise. She also has telegraphic communications with all the principal cities of the Union.

The wharves of Savannah lie along the margin of the river, 40 feet below the general level of the city; and rising above the edge of the bluff are the fourth stories of the stores erected on the wharves, with entrances opening into them from this elevation.

Savannah enjoys a large degree of health, her authorities having promoted this great blessing by many judicious arrangements, and her statistics comparing favorably with nearly every city in the Union. Among the measures conducive to health is the ventilation effected by the location of a public square on every alternate section or square of the city. A large public park, with a pine grove, is laid out on the southern outskirt of the city; and a fine promenade, shaded by noble trees, occupies a portion of the bluff, near the river. The health regulations are, I learn, very stringent.

During the morning, after my arrival, a young companion and myself took a buggy, and rode out to Bonaventure, distant four miles from the city—"a country seat" formerly the property of Gov. Josiah Tattnall, of the Revolution, and the beautiful cemetery attached to it.

"The Evergreen Cemetery Company of Bonaventure" was incorporated in 1848, in the hope of making Bonaventure Cemetery the burial-ground of the citizens of Savannah, but it has been, as yet, very little used for that purpose. There are but few monumental memorials or vaults yet erected. Among them are those of Gov. Tattnall, Gen. Clinch, and the Cruger family, and some of them are very elegant and tasteful. The inclosure embraces an area of 70 acres, beautifully situated on the river; and it is remarkable for its magnificent avenues of live oaks. The oaks, profusely covered with venerable moss, are not of very large size, but are very numerous, those on opposite sides of the avenues commingling their leafy honors and interlocking their branches and joist-like limbs, so as to form Gothic arches or roof-like canopies over the walks. It has a wild and romantic aspect, and is very much neglected; but its natural and artificial beauty is so great as to render it a favorite ride, to the speed and comfort of which paved streets and a plank road, as substitutes for sand, would very much contribute.

Savannah was originally marked out and settled by the celebrated General James Edward Oglethorpe, with a body of colonists, who arrived (and in part landed) there on the 1st February, 1733. He obtained the consent of Tomo-Chichi, the Mico, or Chief, of a small tribe of Indians, who resided at Yamacraw, three miles up the river, to the settlement of the colony, and thus became the founder of the Empire State of the South. On the 9th February, 1733, "Mr. Oglethorpe and Colonel Bull [from Charleston, with a message from the General Assembly, and a letter from Gov. Johnson of South Carolina, promising assistance to the colonists,] marked out the square, the streets, and forty lots for houses of the town; and the first house, which was ordered to be made of clap-boards, was begun that day." Gen. Oglethorpe, on his return to England, whither he set sail May 7th, 1734, took with him, on a visit, Tomo-Chichi, Scenawki, his wife, and Tooanahowi, his nephew, accompanied by Hillispilli, the war chief, Apakowlski, Stimalchi, Sinlouchi, and Hinguitoi, five chiefs of the Creek nation, and by Umphichi, a chief from Palachocolas, with their interpreter. The Indians were received and entertained with great eclat at the British court, and set sail, on their return to Georgia, in November following. Tomo-Chichi died in 1797, aged 97 years, and was buried in the Court-House square, at Savannah.

In the vicinity of Savannah there are several places of historic or other interest. About nine miles from the city are the remains of Whitefield's Orphan House, an institution founded and established by the celebrated preacher, George Whitefield, who, on the invitation of the Wesleys, (then in Georgia,) offered himself as a missionary to the trustees of the colony, and in that capacity arrived at Savannah, on the 4th May, 1738. Among other useful and Christian labors, he dedicated himself to that of establishing an orphan asylum, for which purpose the trustees presented him five hundred acres of land, and he collected money for the purpose by preaching in Charleston and other places in the colonies—and in England crowds flocking to his ministry, it being "no unusual thing for 20,000 people to assemble to hear him." The Countess of Huntingdon, too, aided him in founding the institution, and it went into successful operation, and flourished for a number of years. An interesting letter from Whitefield himself, dated "Bethesda, in Georgia, March 26, 1745–46," represents it as flourishing at that date, but subsequently it went into decay, and was finally destroyed by fire in 1770; and in 1808, the property was sold by order of the Georgia Legislature, and the proceeds applied to the hospital, the Chatham Academy, and the Union Society. An old document, among the archives of the Georgia Historical Society, containing a list of the orphans of this establishment, shows that the ancestors of many of the most respectable families in Chatham, and other places in Georgia, were educated there.

Thunderbolt lies five miles southeast of Savannah, taking its singular name, according to Gen. Oglethorpe's account of Carolina and Georgia, "from the fall of a thunderbolt; and a spring thereupon rose in that place, which still smells of the bolt." Brewton's Hill, now the property of Dr. Screven, was the place where a portion of the British landed, preparatory to the attack on Savannah, in 1778. At Gibbons' plantation, seven or eight miles from Savannah, is the battle-ground of a conflict between Gen. Wayne and a body of Creek Indians, commanded by Guristersigo, who was left, with seventeen of his warriors, dead on the battle-field. Cherokee Hill, eight miles from the city, and Hutchison's Island, opposite the city, and many other places in the county, are associated with revolutionary incidents. Jasper Spring, situated about two miles from Savannah, just within the margin of an oak and gum forest, derives its name from the rescue of a number of American prisoners, and the capture of their foes at that spot, by Sergeants Jasper and Newton—a gallant incident, which our tasteful artist, John B. White, Esq., has happily commemorated with his pencil.

The gallant Jasper received his mortal wound at the siege of Savannah, when planting on the British lines the stand of colors presented to his regiment by the patriotic lady of Colonel Barnard Elliott, after the battle of Fort Moultrie. Lieutenants Bush and Hume had both been previously shot down in previous attempts to effect the same object, all three thus fulfilling the prediction in Mrs. Elliott's address, when presenting the colors:—"I make not the least doubt, under Heaven's protection, you will stand by these colors so long as they wave in the air of liberty;" and also fulfilling the pledge that "they should be honorably supported, and never be tarnished by the second regiment."

Among the distinguished living citizens of Savannah are the Hon. John McPherson Berrien and the Hon. James M. Wayne, of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Berrien, as a profound lawyer, an able judge, and an accomplished statesman, is largely identified with the history and the fame of Georgia. He is one of the most polished as well as able speakers of our country; by universal consent he was regarded as one of the Ciceros of the American Senate; and his retirement from that body is a national loss. He is the son of Major John Berrien, of the revolutionary army, who migrated to Georgia from New-Jersey, at an early age. Mr. Berrien was born at his grandmother's residence in New-Jersey, where his mother was on a visit, while his father was in Georgia (to which he had returned after the close of his military service) preparing for the reception of the family. Mr. Berrien, therefore, claims a double nativity, being a Jersey Blue by actual birth, and a Georgian by virtue of his father's domicil. His mother was Margaret McPherson, the sister of John McPherson, (aid-de-camp of Gen. Montgomery, who fell at Quebec,) and of Gen. Wm. McPherson, who served in the American army until the close of the Revolutionary War.

The Hon. James Moore Wayne is a native of Savannah, and is maternally a descendant of the Clifford family of Charleston, from which Clifford's street and Clifford's alley took their names, but which is now extinct in the male line. He distinguished himself as a leading member of Congress under General Jackson's administration, and has long worn the ermine of the Supreme Bench of the Union with grace and dignity.

Among the many gratifications of my brief visit to Savannah was that of meeting, in her present postmaster, an old college friend, a native of South Carolina, and a graduate of her college, who, after running a distinguished career, professionally and politically, in both his native and adopted States, is now enjoying an easy independence, the fruit of his honorable toils, and a general esteem and popularity, the meet reward of his talents, his virtues, and his worth. Ever will I cherish among my most pleasant recollections the social as well as hospitable meal, partaken along with my family at his family board, where matronly grace and worth presided, and an affectionate circle gathered around his aged and venerable mother, an octogenarian, yet in a green old age, and full of interesting reminiscences of the olden time. Agreeable converse gave wings to time, and the hour of departure came with mutual regrets at its unwelcome intrusion.

After dinner I was taken by my friend to the residence of Mr. Tefft, who was, unfortunately for me, absent from the city, and I there enjoyed a hurried glance over a number of Mr. T.'s rare autographs and relics, which generally have the peculiar interest and advantage of being accompanied by letters or manuscripts, and often by portraits of the writers of the autographs.

Art. IV.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN CONVENTION IN CHARLESTON.

FOURTH DAY.

The President laid before the Convention certain papers from Mr. J. J. Siebels, United States Charge d'Affaires at Brussels, which were referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Brussels, Belgium, *March* 22, 1854.

Dear Sir:—I learn from the American papers, just this moment arrived here, that the "Commercial Convention of the South" will meet in Charleston in April—next month. I do not know what time in that month, but I trust not too soon for this to reach its destination before its adjournment. I had supposed that the Convention was to have met at a later period, and hence have put off addressing you upon the subject of this communication, that I might obtain all the information which would throw light upon so important a matter. But I must now write very briefly—and I fear very unsatisfactorily—or not at all.

It has long been a question of anxious consideration in the United States, and particularly in the South, that our products should find a more *direct*, and hence a better market, on the Continent of Europe. The tribute that is annually paid to Liverpool for "receiving and forwarding"—for it amounts to about this—our products, cotton, rice, tobacco, &c., is enormous. I have not time to exhibit it by statistical facts; but this can easily be done by reference to the amount of our produce reshipped from Liverpool to the Continent of Europe, allowing *five per cent.* for Liverpool charges on the *gross* amount of sales, which is entirely lost upon every reshipment. This is the amount of tribute paid to that city. This will appear incredible; but I inclose herewith a copy of account sales of one hundred bales cotton, at 8¾ =4⅜d.,* from which it will be seen that, after deducting the freight, the *duty*, (now no longer paid,) insurance charges in the United States, and one or two other minor items, that are common charges, and it will leave some *two hundred* dollars, as the amount of tribute on these one hundred bales cotton, in case they were reshipped to the Continent, where they would have to submit to about the same amount of charges. It may be said that this is paid, after all, eventually by the *consumer*. Grant, for the sake of argument, that it is; still is it not clear, that if the consumer had not this additional tax to pay, that he would be enabled to buy and consume more, and thus extend the use of the staple, increasing its demand, and thereby enhance, to a certain extent, its price?

What is true of cotton is also true of other commodities. Through every hand they pass, something must be deducted to pay for the handling, and the

* Sale of 100 bales of cotton at Liverpool, direct from the United States, when the price was about what it is now.

100 bales of cotton		42,000 lbs.	
Draughts per bale	100 lbs.		
Tare 4 lbs. per cwt	1,500 "		
		1,600 "	
Net weight		40,400 "	
At 4⅜d. per lb. 8¾ cts			$3,535 00
Charges in the United States.			
Baggage, twine, mending and making		$14 50	
Wharfage $4, cartage $10, storage $8		22 00	
Fire insurance, $3 81, postage $3 50		7 31	
Marine Insurance 1 per cent. on $3,578 81		35 79	
Policy		1 25	
			$80 85
Charges in Liverpool.			
Dock dues £4 0s. 6d., town dues 16s. 8d		$23 32	
Duty 35d. per cwt. on 360 cwt., 2 qrs., 24 lbs		252 50	
Carterage, porterage, weighage, £3 14s. 1d		17 78	
Canvas, twine and mending, £2 9s		11 76	
Warehouse rent for 12 weeks, £5		24 00	
Postages and small charges, 10s. 6d		2 52	
Brokerage ¼ per cent., insurance ⅛ per cent., 3 months 10 days interest, discount ¼ per cent., 1⅝ per cent. on £731 9s. 2d		66 26	
Freight ½d. per lb. on 40,400 lbs		404 00	
5 per cent. primage on freight		20 20	
Commission and guarantee 3 per cent. on £736 9s. 2d.		106 05	
Three months' interest on cash charges, £974 7s		14 62	
			$943 01
Total charges			$1,023 86

Nearly one-third of capital.

aggregate of these charges must be, in the end, paid mutually by the *producer* and the *consumer*. The evident desire of these, then, should be to reduce, as far as possible, the number of these charges or handlings, in their transit from the former to the latter. All this, however, is self-evident, and will doubtless be fully understood and appreciated by your Convention.

To the point, then, which is the principal object of this letter: that is, the selection of some suitable port on the western coast of Europe, that may be easily, speedily and cheaply reached by the cotton consuming and manufacturing countries of the continent—by all Germany, Holland, Denmark, France, Switzerland. By casting your eye over the map of Europe, you will perceive that there are but *two* points upon that whole coast, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, that are at all suitable—taking into consideration their harbors, railroad connections, and accessibility at all seasons of the year—for great commercial entrepots for our produce. These are *Antwerp* and *Havre*. The former, I am informed by those who are well acquainted with the subject, is by far the safest and most accessible harbor of the two, with quite as deep, if not deeper water on the bar. Its importance in all respects was fully appreciated by Napoleon I., who had determined to make it *the* maritime entrepot of France; and he had already commenced gigantic works of improvement to this end, when he was dethroned. Again, by reference to the map, you will perceive that *Antwerp* is, upon an average of some *three or four hundred miles*, nearer three-fourths of the cotton manufacturing countries of Europe than *Havre*. Belgium has by far the best and most extensive system of railroads, considering her geographical extent and population, than any country of Europe, hardly excepting England, and their charges for transportation are far less than in the latter country. The whole country is literally covered by a net work of these great iron thoroughfares; and *Antwerp* is connected by *railroad with every important railroad on the continent;* and with Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Cologne, Havre, Ostend, Ghent, of course the Rhine, in fine, with the very heart and centre of almost every important country in Middle and Northern Europe. In this respect, nothing is wanting.

The remaining point of paramount importance is, will the necessary facilities be afforded by the people of Belgium and the merchants of Antwerp, to purchase our produce—of course at fair prices—which may be thus wanted by the manufactories and consumers of Europe? I think I may pretty safely say *yes*.

A more direct and extensive commercial intercourse between Antwerp and the United States has latterly been a subject of much comment and anxious inquiry and consideration among the leading commercial men, and I may say statesmen also, of this country, from the king down. And the subject of a more extensive *direct* importation of Southern produce to *Antwerp* has received particular and special attention, with the double view of increasing the exports of Belgium to that portion of the United States, and of making *Antwerp* a more extensive depot for those products; and I feel quite sure, with the necessary timely encouragement from our side, that ample facilities would be afforded to purchase cotton and other products of our section, commensurate with the wants of this section of Europe; and further, to make *advances* thereon, until sales were effected. In fact, I may say that this has been assured me from the most reliable and wealthy commercial associations in the country. They propose to advance upon cotton for *three* to *six* and *nine* months, if necessary, at the rate of *five per cent. per annum*, and to *sell* at 2 per cent. commissions. These advances to be made in *Southern ports*, upon the shipment or consignment of the cotton.

As an evidence of the sentiment here, upon the subject of a more direct and frequent intercourse with the United States, I may mention, that within the last five months, the money necessary to build *four* steam vessels, to run between New-York and Antwerp, has been subscribed, a company organized, and the vessels contracted for; and it is confidently expected that they will commence their trips within twelve months. And further, that a gentleman of the North, of great sagacity and wealth, has been here for the last five months, making arrangements to put on an *American* line of *four* more steamers, and that he has just left here, after assuring me that he will *succeed.* These are indications, at least, going to show the important estimation in which this point is being held, by sagacious mercantile men in both countries.

But, it may be asked, would not ships bringing Southern produce to Antwerp be compelled to return empty, or seek freight in other ports? Not at all. Belgium herself is the most populous country of Europe, and her manufactories are extensive and of a superior quality. Her laces, carpets, cloths, linen fabrics, glass, leather, etc., are celebrated for their extreme excellence; and my own experience of their very reasonable cost creates a surprise that they are not more extensively imported and consumed in the United States. This would result, I feel sure, from a more intimate knowledge of their great superiority and cheapness; and this would be, doubtless, brought about, so far, at least, as our section was concerned, by a more extensive importation of cotton to Antwerp. But, in addition to what we might take of Belgian produce in exchange, there would be such fabrics and commodities as we take from Germany, the north of France, etc.: porcelains, silks, leather, glass, cloths, jewelry, etc., etc.; and as it is to be hoped that our Southern cities are to become more extensive direct importers of those foreign commodities which are consumed at the South, ships which take out cotton could return with full cargoes *direct* to our ports. How much more natural such a trade would be, and how much more profitable to the producer and consumer of the South than that which now prevails! Cotton is shipped from Charleston, Savannah, Mobile and New-Orleans, mainly to Liverpool. There the ships take in a return cargo—in a great measure previously transported from the continent—for New-York, Philadelphia and Boston; and to these cities our Southern merchants repair to lay in their stocks, to be reshipped by them to the South, at a cost almost equal to that of the original transport from Liverpool or the continent. Thus we pay *double* tribute for the great bulk of foreign goods consumed at the South—first to Liverpool, and then to New-York, Philidelphia and Boston. Surely it must be the finest country of the world, not only to *live*, but to *flourish*, under such unnatural and enormous drafts upon our industry. To what a degree of prosperity should it not advance, could we be disenthralled from such a state of affairs—to sell our produce in markets nearest to their consumption, and to buy, in return, those commodities which we consume of foreign manufacture, in those markets nearest to *their* productions!

Although *Antwerp* is not now what it has been in times long passed, in point of wealth and commercial influence—when it boasted its 5,000 merchants on 'change, its 2,500 ships floating at one time in its harbor—still it is yet a city of extensive commerce and trade. It numbers over one hundred thousand inhabitants, many of them of vast wealth and large business, and it is rapidly recovering the position which it once held in Europe, but which it has partly lost, mainly in consequence of the many cruel reverses to which it has been subjected, pending almost every war in Europe, from the days of its persecution by the cruel Alva, and the inquisition of Philip II., down to the siege of 1831. That it was thus invariably the point of attack, and always of the most stubborn and determined resistance, shows conclusively its great importance. Since 1831, it has gone on steadily to increase in wealth, commerce and population, and with the admirable system of railroads that connects it with every city, town and hamlet, almost, of Belgium, and with every part of Europe accessible by railroad, it must speedily approximate its former grandeur and importance. Its imports from the United States amount to several millions annually, and is steadily on the increase. In 1850 there were about 45,000 bales cotton imported, and last year there were *seventy*. Had it been the lot of this city to belong uninterruptedly to one great power, that could have defended it successfully from that devastation and pillage of which it was so frequently the victim, it would now, perhaps, have excelled any city of Europe in point of trade and foreign commerce.

I regret that the hurried manner in which I am compelled to write this communication prevents the elaboration of many important facts lately alluded to; but they will doubtless be fully considered in all their bearings by your enlightened body.

It is not for me to suggest in what manner this business should be put into formula, or what preliminary steps should be taken in the matter by your Convention. It may, perhaps, be thought necessary to appoint an able and influential committee, on your behalf, to correspond with parties here, in order to arrive at some common understanding on the subject, which might greatly aid and facilitate the undertaking in its incipiency, which is, in truth, the most difficult part of the business, and upon the success of which would depend, perhaps, the whole matter.

It would afford me great pleasure to co-operate with, and aid you in any way in my power, towards the accomplishment of the ends which will be the subject of your deliberations. A citizen of the South, and a planter myself, I have a double interest to subserve in furthering your views, and tendering my cordial good wishes to the issue of your proceedings.

In great haste, believe me, with great respect,
Your fellow-citizen,
J. J. SIEBELS.

To the President of the "Commercial Convention of the South," Charleston.

Lieut. M. F. Maury submitted, from the Committee on Resolutions, the following, viz.:

Resolved, That a committee of be appointed, to consider and report upon the propriety and expediency of adopting some plan for promoting Southern and Western manufactures and mining operations.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to each of the Southern States having a seaport, to encourage the establishment of a direct trade with Europe, either by exempting from taxes, for a limited time, the goods imported, or by allowing the importers an equivalent drawback or bounty, or by such other mode as to the Legislatures of the several States may seem best.

Resolved, That efforts should be made to establish a direct line of steamers with Europe, from some Southern port or ports, *without further delay;* and that, in the event of the establishment of such a line, the united support of all the Southern States should be pledged, if possible, to sustain such a line.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Government of the United States the formation of reciprocal treaties with foreign governments, for the admission of their respective products at reduced and equal rates of duty; and that the Senators and Representatives from the respective States be requested to bring the subject before Congress.

Mr. Oakey, of Louisiana, moved that the gentlemen who desire to discuss the subject of the Pacific Railroad be now heard, which was ruled out of order, inasmuch as all the resolutions had been committed to the Committee on Resolutions.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was taken up from the table.

Pending its consideration, Lieut. M. F. Maury reported that the Committee of Vice-Presidents recommended that when the yeas and nays are called, the call be by States, each State having one vote. And on motion, the recommendation was adopted.

The report was then taken up.

Mr. Oakey, of Louisiana, moved to postpone the consideration of the same until to-morrow, at 9 o'clock, which was not adopted.

The first resolution was then considered, and verbally amended and adopted.

The second resolution was then considered, the blank filled with the words "three from each State represented in this Convention," and in verbal particulars.

Gen. Tilghman, of Maryland, offered as an amendment, to add as follows, viz.:

Resolved, That this Convention earnestly recommend to the Legislatures of the several States here represented the adoption of a system for the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, by the granting of bounties and all such other benefits and privileges as the powers reserved and possessed by the States may permit.

And thereupon he addressed the Convention as follows, viz.:

That if it was in order, he would be glad to offer the resolution he had presented yesterday, as a substitute for this second resolution of the Committee.

The President.—It is in order.

Mr. Tilghman.—Regarding the proposition embodied in this resolution as one of an eminently practical character, without any desire to detain the Convention, yet believing, as his delegation did, that there was a principle involved in the declaration of the General Committee, and in the amendment he proposed to offer, calculated to be as important, if not more important, in its direct tendency and results, and bearing upon the subject now under consideration, and as it was perhaps the only subject on which the State of Maryland would desire to trespass upon the time of the Convention, he begged to be allowed to call attention to the subject most pointedly and particularly. He would then proceed at once to call the attention of the Convention to the particular point on which he desired their consideration. In the language of the General Committee, contained in their resolution, they recommended the appointment of a committee of three from each State, and among the different duties which this committee was to perform were the following:

"And that it be the duty of said committee to address the people of the States represented in this Convention, and to urge the importance of action in the Legislatures thereof, in favor of education, of manufacturing, of ship-building, of direct trade, and of mining."

The difference between that resolution, and the one submitted yesterday by the State of Maryland, was this: The Maryland delegation wished to call the attention, not only of the people and the Legislatures of the various States, to the general policy of promoting, by every means in their power, the important interests enumerated in the resolutions of the committee, but also to make a recommendation—or perhaps it might more properly be called an "instruction"—of this body to their committee, still more pointed and imperative. They wished to impress upon the committee, and through the committee on the people, and their Representatives in their several Legislatures, the importance of obtaining unanimity of action in promoting the encouragement of manufactures.

Mr. President, (continued Mr. T.,) I need perhaps go no further than the commencement of such sessions as the one in which we are now engaged, to show that, whilst the wants of the Southern and Southwestern States have been felt in the most vital degree, and whilst various recommendations have been made, proceeding from the most intelligent men in the country, for the purpose of remedying these wants, these recommendations so far have not proved efficient and effective. I might refer you to the

Convention in the city of Macon, Geo., held in 1839, and, without detaining the Convention with reading any of its proceedings, might simply state that, of the Southern States there represented, South Carolina had 170 delegates, North Carolina 3, Georgia 33, Alabama 5, Tennessee 5, and Florida 3. This, if I am correctly informed, was the third of a series of Conventions held about fifteen years ago. There had been one, I believe, in Augusta, and another in this city. At that Convention there were various resolutions adopted, and various reports were made. I allude particularly to a report made by the lamented General Hayne, of this city, in which he most succinctly describes what were then regarded by eminent men of the South, in that day, as to what were the evils to be remedied, and then proceeds to detail the mode of remedying them. He says that the first of these evils is the want of commercial capital directed to the direct export and import trade; second, the want of a sufficient demand for our own goods in our own ports and States; third, the want of lines of packet and steam ships running at stated periods between our own ports and those of Europe. Sir, there can be no doubt of the truth of all these propositions; and yet, when we come to the remedies proposed—and which I will subsequently state—we cannot agree in the policy and sufficiency of the policy contained in these recommendations, and we think that experience has shown that they are not calculated to produce the effects then anticipated. As a remedy for the first evil—his mode of supply capital—the proposition contained in the report is that, in the first place, the citizens of the States shall devote to the development of their resources a portion of their own means; but deeming these insufficient, a commission is to proceed to Europe, for the purpose of negotiating loans for this purpose. In the second place, it is recommended as a means of furnishing markets for importations, that we should commence and complete works of internal improvement, connecting our seaboard with the interior. And third, that lines of steamers and packet ships should be constructed by the joint corporations of the citizens of these States and of Europe. Now there could be no doubt of the advantage of these recommendations, if they could be successfully carried out. We have seen, on this occasion, recommendations of a similar character reiterated, thus going to show the wants which our States have felt, and that, in the opinion of many, the same remedies would be efficacious. But, sir, we still perceive that the great want is the want of means to carry any project into effect, and that the want of these means is only to be supplied in one way—by a patient, untiring, energetic development of our national resources: that, instead of sending our raw material abroad, we should manufacture it at home; that that State is the most prosperous commercially which contains the greatest amount of population employed in profitable labor; that population is what we want; that we have all the natural resources for the encouragement of immigration; that we have the raw material to manufacture, but not a sufficient population to engage in the production of that raw material, and also in the manufacture of it, and we ought to introduce measures which will induce immigration to our country; and we think that those measures should be by holding out inducements, by State legislation, either by bounties or by discriminations as regards taxation, or by the exercise of any other powers which would come within the scope of a State, and which would have the effect of enabling them to contend successfully with similar undertakings, which have now, under the fostering aid of our government, reached such a degree of excellence in the Northern part of the country as to prevent our competing successfully with them without such aid, at least for a time. Sir, what has been the experience of my own State? I believe, without designing to draw any invidious distinction, we are the largest manufacturing State of the South. Our manufactures grew up under the protection of the General Government; while again, at another period, under the vacillating policy of that same government, our manufacturers were ruined, and their establishments were sold out. And they are now again in a prosperous condition, after having gone through all these vicissitudes. What is the case in the State to which the honorable President of this Convention belongs? Their manufactures commenced at a later period, and under more favorable circumstances, have met with greater success; but I have been informed that that success has been owing, in no inconsiderable degree, to the fostering care which the Legislature of that State has bestowed on these infant institutions. I have been told that articles manufactured in that State have been exempted from taxation; that members of corporations engaged in manufacturing in Georgia have been exempted from individual responsibility for the liabilities of these corporations; and that it has actually been further agitated in that State, to exempt from taxation property invested in such corporations. But, sir, as will always be the case, these questions, I am still further informed, have become matters of political difference between parties, as we saw some years ago, in the case of the General Government.

Now, if there be one purpose, more than another, that this Convention is calculated to subserve, it is this: we meet here on a common platform; we meet here to consult upon matters of business, in which, as citizens of the South, we have a common interest; we meet under a common agreement to have a truce for a time with regard to politics, that, if possible, we may determine by our joint deliberations what principle of trade it will be best to adopt, and by our joint recommendation of this principle we may have such an effect upon the Legislatures of the States, and even, peradventure, upon the General Government, as may be necessary to carry out the objects we have in view.

In reference to the point on which I am addressing the Convention, let me say that we look to State action, and to State action alone. We believe that experience has shown that, wherever the fostering aid of the State or nation has been given to undertakings of this kind, in their infancy, it has been productive of the most beneficial effects. We believe that we possess greater natural advantages than any other portion of the country, if not of the world; but we do not believe—and in this I speak for my State and delegation—that these natural advantages will be sufficient at the start—and we want, in order to secure the thorough independence of the South, to see manufactures encouraged in their infancy by State legislation, which has been so successful in the North, and that no further time be lost in securing so desirable a result.

Sir, these are the views which we wish most particularly to enforce upon the attention of the Convention; and having explained them in the imperfect manner in which I have done—although there are in the resolutions of the committee other topics of great and deep and important interest—I will not detain the Convention by trespassing on its time any further than my duty to my own State requires, for the purpose of making a brief allusion to the position she occupies in this body.

It has been said that the State of Maryland was the first to originate these Conventions. I am happy that the honor has been conceded to her; and, in view of the Convention now assembled, had nothing else proceeded from our efforts in that respect, we should have considered that, under Providence, we had been the means of raising a spirit and attention in the South to her true interests, which, if judiciously and wisely directed, will be productive of important results. We only wish to be understood as occupying a position upon the common platform of Southern interests; that, in originating these Conventions, it was not for the purpose of advancing our own peculiar interests, but really and sincerely for the purpose of advancing the interests of the whole South—aye, every portion of it. [Applause.] We claim—and it is one of our proudest claims—to be a Southern State. [Applause.] We claim to be the only State possessing within its borders one of the largest marts upon the Atlantic seaboard, where citizens from the South can, with perfect impunity and without hesitation, go with family servants and property of every kind. [Applause.] We claim to be connected peculiarly with the South, and at the same time with Northerners in our commercial transactions, and yet more deeply with the West and Southwest. We believe that what is calculated to promote the interest of one portion of the country is calculated to promote the interest of another. We wish to see enlarged measures adopted. We do not wish measures adopted by Conventions, or Legislatures, or Congresses, for this or that section; but, meeting on a common platform, we wish to do everything that will advance all measures which each and all of them deem best calculated to promote their interests, general and particular. [Applause.]

We only desire, therefore, to say, in reference to ourselves, that, possessing all the advantages a large commercial State can confer, for the purposes of trade, the State having intercommunications now complete with every part of the country, a State now about to establish direct communications with Eurpope, and having already established communications with this port, and are rapidly doing so with others, we only wish to say that, possessing these advantages, and associating with all the Southern and Western States we hope that, whenever it becomes necessary for gentlemen from these States to turn their faces towards the North, in carrying out their business relations, they will turn their faces towards us, and they will get a warm Maryland reception; and that, if we use them as well as other cities on the seaboard, they will not refuse to give us the preference.

I have only now to say to this Convention, that having progressed as far as the third annual session, although we do not wish to interfere with the claims of other Southern cities, till they are satisfied, yet we hope the time will come, after the grandcircle of commercial events shall have transpired, which our brethren of the South seem determined to accomplish—after you have visited other great cities—we trust we shall again have the pleasure of welcoming you in Baltimore; and there, sir, we pledge you that, when next favored with your presence, we will give you an excursion.

And after some discussion, by permission of the body, the amendment was withdrawn, and the second resolution then adopted.

The third resolution was then taken up, and the blank filled with the words "three from each State here represented."

A division being then called for, the several measures, the subjects of the resolution, were taken up, and

The first measure being under consideration, Mr. Tift, of Georgia, moved to strike out "remission" and insert "reduction."

Lieut. M. F. Maury addressed the Convention as follows:

Lieut Maury was reluctant unnecessarily to consume the time of the Convention, but as the motion last made had fairly brought the objects of the resolution up for discussion, he would ask the indulgence of the Convention, while he submitted a few remarks concerning the first proposition, asking for the remission of duties on railroad iron.

Gentlemen might well suppose that this subject had not passed through the General Committee hastily, or without discussion. After mature deliberation, that committee, being composed of three delegates from each State here represented, had instructed him to report this resolution.

It might be said that, in one sense, all the energies of the people of these United States were directed to the subject of lessening the expenses of transportation and of facilitating intercourse, and for this end railways might be classed as one of the most potential means. The States, the counties, the cities and the people were contributing largely, in the way of loans and subscriptions, for the purpose of constructing railways and other works of internal improvement. Hundreds of millions of money had been contributed by them, and for what purpose? Why, for the purpose of removing obstructions, and of breaking through barriers which nature had interposed to freedom of trade and facility of intercourse. Every mountain which he saw tunnelled, every difficult pass which he saw accomplished, and every river which he saw spanned with a bridge or an aqueduct, he considered as a step gained in the onward progress of free trade; and whenever he saw subscribers putting down their names for stock in a railway company, he considered those gentlemen as making free-will offerings and giving tribute to the principles of free trade.

While the people, therefore, and the States, and the towns, and the counties, were making such tremendous efforts to remove from the path of free trade every physical obstruction which it was possible for science, skill, and ingenuity, backed by the almighty dollar, to overcome, he thought it monstrous that any system of legislation should be tolerated by the Federal Government, which would rig up legislation in the place of the physical obstructions, which had been removed with so much labor and expense. If the planter have to pay fifty cents extra the bushel, for getting his wheat to market, or fifty cents extra freight on the merchandise which he receives from abroad, in exchange for that wheat, it is immaterial to him whether that extra charge be made in consequence of a tax levied by reason of a physical difficulty placed in the way, or in consequence of legislative enactment. The whole country is concerned in cheap transportation, and any measure—such as the remission of duties on railroad iron—benefits the whole country. The duties upon railroad iron are unjust and unfair. The higher the price of iron, and the greater the difficulties which companies have in procuring their supplies of that material, the more burdensome do the duties become. When railroad iron was $25 the ton, the duties were $5; but now that it is $60, the duties are $12. The cheaper the cost of construction of the railroad, the greater is the circle of its beneficial influences upon the prosperity of the country, and the more does it add to the individual wealth, and to the value of the lands through which it may pass; and it is neither wise nor just for the government to adopt any system of legislation which tends directly to increase the cost of railway construction, as duties on railroad iron do.

There is another reason why the government should be called on to remit the duties on railroad iron. You recollect, that in 1816 a system of national defence was commenced, which contemplated fortifications for the whole Atlantic sea front, from one end of the coast to the other. And upon this system many millions of dollars have been expended. The government steadily pursued this policy for thirty or forty years. Finally, when the fortification bill came up among the annual appropriations, two or three years ago, it was laid aside, and a resolution adopted directing inquiry to be made as to the expediency of continuing that system of fortifications. Officers of the army and navy were consulted, and the result of the inquiry was to the effect that every railroad in the country might be regarded, in some sort, as a work for the common defence, and that the railroads already built, or in process of construction, had placed it out of the power of any nation on earth to invade this country, and that, consequently, it was unnecessary to erect any other fortification whatever, to prevent invasion. Now, then, it would seem but just and fair, that since these works of individual enterprise have saved the government from the expense of providing for coast defences by land, further than it may be necessary to prevent the ships of an enemy from coming with his great guns within reach of our seaport towns —now, then, said he, it would be but fair, considering these things, for the government to aid this wise and beneficial system of defence, by a total remission at least of duties on railroad iron.

And after considerable discussion thereon, the States were called, and resulted as follows, viz.:—

Yeas—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia—9.

Nays—Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Texas—4.

Gen. Gibbs, of Tennessee, offered the following as a substitute, viz.:—

The suspension of the collection of the duties upon railroad iron for four years, and that all railroad companies be entitled to a drawback and credit for such duties, by way of compensation for transporting the mails on the respective roads, when completed and in operation,—which was lost.

Lieut. Maury moved to suspend the consideration of the report until two o'clock this day, which was lost.

Mr. C. C. Clay, of Alabama, moved to postpone the further consideration of the report until 2 P. M., which was ruled out of order.

Mr. Wm. Gregg, of South Carolina, moved to amend, by adding "locomotives and other machinery," which was lost.

The question then recurring upon the adoption of the first measure, as amended, resulted upon the call of the States, as follows, viz.:—

Yeas—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia—10.

Nays—Maryland, Missouri—2.

The first measure, as amended, was then declared adopted.

The second measure was then considered and adopted.

The third measure being under consideration, Lieut. Wm. Lewis Herndon offered the following amendment as an addition, viz.:

"And that the Government of Brazil be requested to permit those vessels to make explorations and surveys on the shores of the Amazon, belonging to that nation.

Lieut. Herndon then addressed the Convention in support of the resolution and amendment.

And the question being taken upon the amendment, it was adopted. The question recurring upon the resolution as amended, it was adopted.

The fifth measure being under consideration, Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, moved to strike out "seaport town," and insert "port or ports," which was adopted.

The measure, as thus amended, was then adopted.

The sixth measure being then under consideration, Mr. Polk, of Tennessee, moved that it be stricken out.

Lieut. Maury said the resolution was fully debated in the committee, and the gentleman from Tennessee had opposed it there, as he had opposed it here. With regard to these harbor improvements, and their constitutionality, he (Lieut. Maury) maintained that the case, as presented by many of them now, is quite different from the case as presented by them when the subject was regularly made one of party politics. These railroads, and other works of internal improvement, effected by individual enterprise, are iron rivers, if gentlemen will allow the figure of speech, along which flow, in continuous and mighty streams, multitudes of people, and vast quantities of merchandise, on their way to the great highways and market-places of the earth. Take the city in which we are, and its harbor, as an illustration, though, with equal propriety, force and application, we might take Mobile, Savannah, Wilmington, N. C., Petersburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg or Baltimore—either would do as well—but we choose to take Charleston, because it was a case present, and therefore palpable to all. When the question arose as to the propriety of the General Government's undertaking to improve navigable rivers and harbors, the bar of Charleston and the business of Charleston were, in comparison with what they now are, matters of mere local concern. At that time, the extent of back country that looked to Charleston for an outlet to the great high seas was of limited extent and of small population. But now, with these iron rivers, which the enterprise of her citizens, the State and her sister States have run back from this place into the interior of the country, a large portion of the people and State of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi have become tributary to Charleston. Through Charleston and Charleston harbor, and across Charleston bar, lies their way to market. The people of all these States are directly interested in the improvement of this bar; and if the doctrine be good, that a river, to be constitutionally improvable with its navigation, must wash its banks in more States than two, we have here, in the case of these bars, all the conditions requisite to make their improvement strictly constitutional.

Charleston, fifteen years ago, did not, the Lieutenant was told, distribute to its back country more than five millions dollars worth of merchandise annually; within the last year she has distributed between thirty-five and forty millions. This fact affords another striking and beautiful illustration as to the tremendous increase of national wealth produced by railroads. What has given the people of this back country the means and the ability to buy and consume forty, instead of five millions worth of merchandise? Be it what it may, all will admit that railroads have had a powerful effect towards it. The people, whose industry, whose enterprise and capital have been employed to construct these railroads, have expended upon them many times the amount that would be required to remove the obstruction caused by these bars; they have done their duty; they have broken through every obstacle and reached the sea, the extent of their beat; they have now come to the place where the General Government has jurisdiction, and, in the language of this resolution, they have the right to demand of the Federal Government to do its duty, and to improve its harbors and navigable rivers: for the rivers—the great Mississippi and others—present cases as strong as do any of the harbors.

And the States being called, resulted as follows, viz.:

Yeas—Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia—4.

Nays—Alabama, Florida, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas—10.

The motion to strike out was declared lost.

Mr. C. C. Clay, of Alabama, offered as an amendment to the sixth measure, the addition of the following words, viz.:

"So far as the same may be within the constitutional competency of Congress."

Mr. T. J. Kirkpatrick, of Virginia, offered, as a substitute for the sixth measure, the following, viz.:

"Upon improvement of harbors and navigable rivers of a national character."

Pending the discussion of this measure, the hour fixed for adjournment having arrived, the President so stated.

But Mr. Coleman, of Mississippi, by permission, laid upon the table the following resolutions, viz.:

Resolved, That each delegate to this Convention be requested to pay over to the Secretary, or one of his assistants, before he leaves the city, the sum of dollars, for the purpose of paying for the printing of the proceedings of the Convention, in pamphlet form, and that at least one copy of said proceedings be forwarded to each delegate.

Resolved, That a committee of five citizens of Charleston, and members of this Convention, be appointed by the chair to act as a Printing Committee, to cause to be printed the *proceedings* of the Convention, and such *documents*, connected therewith, as they may deem necessary and proper.

The President then declared the Convention adjourned, until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Art. V.—AMERICAN CITIES.—HISTORY OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

[We have received an interesting pamphlet, containing several contributions which first appeared in the *Democratic Press*, giving a full account of the history and progress of Chicago. Some extracts from this pamphlet will be inserted in this and the next number of the Review.]

THE POPULATION OF CHICAGO.

1840	4,479
1843	7,580
1845	12,088
1846	14,169
1847	16,859
1848	20,023
1849	23,047
1850	28,269
1852	38,733
1853	60,652

This table will prove that the commercial and manufacturing facilities of Chicago are being appreciated. There is no other city east of the Rocky Mountains that can show a ratio of increase at all corresponding with the above. When to this we add, that with all our populaton and capital we have not half the money nor half the laborers that the commerce, manufactures, and general improvement of the city require, some faint conception may be formed of the strong inducements which are held out here to bring both capital and industry among us. There is not an idle dollar nor an idle arm or head in Chicago, unless it be from choice.

After we published our article on "*Chicago and her Railroads*," in January, it occurred to us that a short sketch of the history of Chicago would not prove unacceptable to our readers. At first we intended merely a brief notice to show her rapid growth, in connection with our Annual Review of the business of the city. The more we studied the subject and consulted those who have been here since the wolves were accustomed to visit every part of the city in the night, and the wigwam of the painted savage dotted the prairie on every side, the more have facts accumulated upon our hands, till now our only difficulty is to know what to reject. The rapid growth of the city within the last eight years—her immense increase in wealth and population—the proud position she has assumed among the commercial cities of the Union, and the certainty that her march will be *onward* till she yields in importance only to New-York, have created a very general desire among a portion of our own citizens, and especially in the Eastern States, to know more of her past history as well as her present resources and future prospects. The history of Chicago is intimately connected with the settlement and growth of the other parts of the State, and it will be equally interesting to notice, in a few paragraphs, some facts in relation to the settlement of this part of the Mississippi valley.

The origin of the term Illinois is given in the "Western Annals," edited by Rev. J. M. Peck, as follows: "The name Illinois is derived from *Leno*, 'man.' The Delaware Indians call themselves Lenno-Lenape, which means 'original, or unmixed men.' The term *manly* men, to distinguish themselves from mean, trifling men, would convey the exact idea. The tribes along the Illinois gave the French explorers to understand that they were *real men*. They said 'leno,' or 'leni.'" The termination "ois" is undoubtedly of French origin. As all strange and uncouth sounds are liable to be mis-spelled, it is very easy to see from the above how the beautiful name which our State bears was formed from the language of the first monarchs of the soil.

The "Illini," or Illinois Indians, occupied all the territory north of a line drawn northeast and southwest through the city of Ottawa, extending east to the Wabash, and west to the Mississippi River. The term was also applied to an indefinite territory west of the Mississippi.

The first white men who ever visited this region were Marquette and Joliet, two Jesuit missionaries, who explored this section of the Mississippi valley in the years 1662–3. Hennepin and La Salle followed a few years later, and as a consequence of these several explorations and discoveries, a magnificent scheme was formed by France to extend her possessions from Canada to New-Orleans, and thus having embraced the entire inhabited portion of the western continent, to advance eastward and secure the authority over the vast empire which her eminent statesmen even then foresaw must ere long occupy this magnificent country. The plan was well arranged, and its accomplishment constantly kept in view for nearly a hundred years, by the adventurous sons of La Belle France, but it was completely overthrown by the gallant Wolfe on the plains of Abraham, on the 13th of September, 1759. As a consequence of that victory, Canada fell into the hands of the English. The war of the Revolution transferred the northwestern possessions of the British to the United States, and the purchase of Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson from the French in 1803, gave us the possession of the entire Mississippi valley. The wisdom of that purchase, though strenuously opposed at the time, is now acknowledged by all parties.

Early in the revolutionary war, Col. G. R. Clark had formed the design of attacking the forts of the British at Detroit and in Southern Illinois, and laid his plans before the Virginia legislature. On the 2d of January, 1778, he received authority from Patrick Henry, then Governor of that State, to raise troops and to march westward on his bold and hazardous enterprise. This expedition was successful, and as a consequence, Virginia laid claim to the territory north and west of the Ohio River. This claim was acknowledged by the other States, and Illinois was organized as a county of Virginia in October, 1778. The act was practically inoperative, as we cannot find that any one in behalf of that State carried the law into effect. From that time till 1784 there was no legal authority in the State. The people were "a law unto themselves," and to the credit of the early settlers, the annalist adds, that "good feelings, harmony, and fidelity to engagements prevailed." In March, 1784, Virginia ceded to the United States all her claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio; and in 1790 Gov. St. Clair organized the county which bears his name. From the year 1800 to 1809, Illinois was attached to the Territory of Indiana. In February of the latter year, Congress passed an act establishing the Territory of Illinois, and appointed Hon. Ninian Edwards, then Chief Justice of Kentucky, Governor of the Territory, and Nathaniel Pope, Esq., of Kaskaskia, Secretary. The Territory was organized by Judge Pope in March, and Gov. Edwards arrived in June, and assumed the duties of his office.

The first Territorial legislature convened at Kaskaskia, on the 25th of November, 1812; the Council, or upper house, consisting of five and the Assembly of seven members. The author of the "Western Annals" says of this body, "They did their work like men devoted to business matters. Not a *lawyer* or an *attorney* is found on the list of names. They deliberated like sensible men—passed such laws as they deemed the country needed; made no speeches, had no contention, and after a brief session of some ten or twelve days, adjourned." We are sorry to say that this good example has had too little influence upon succeeding legislatures.

In 1815, Hon. Nathaniel Pope was elected as Representative of the Territory in Congress. The north line of the Territory, as originally defined, ran due west from the south bend of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. Judge Pope, seeing the importance of having a lake front in the future State of Illinois, procured the passage of an act extending that line north to the parallel of 42 degrees and 30 minutes, thus securing a most important portion of Territory from our sister State of Wisconsin.

Congress passed an act in 1818, approved by James Monroe, April 18th, authorizing the people to form a State government, provided it should be ascertained that it contained 40,000 inhabitants. All accounts agree in estimating the total number of people at about 30,000; but the different Marshals, by *accidentally* counting the emigrants who were coming in or passing through the State several times, made out the full number. Delegates to form a constitution were elected, who met at Kaskaskia in July, 1818, and having completed their labors, they signed the constitution and adjourned on the 26th day of August. The constitution was adopted by the people, and the first legislature convened at Kaskaskia on the first Monday in October following. Shadrach Bond, of Kaskaskia, was elected Governor, and Pierre Menard, of the same place, Lieutenant Governor.

It will be seen from the above that it is not yet *thirty-six years* since our State government was formed; a State which has now more than a million of inhabitants, and whose principal commercial city has more than 60,000 inhabitants and 1,626 miles of railroad completed, contributing to its prosperity. By the first of January next it will have three thousand miles finished and in operation.

We have found a great deal that is both instructive and amusing in the early legislation of the State, but we have room for only a single incident. It must be borne in mind that the first settlements were made in the southern parts of the State, by emigrants principally from Virginia, Kentucky, and some of the other Southern States. Many of them had a sort of "holy horror" for that ubiquitous, ever-trading sharper, "the live Yankee." To guard against his depredations, a law was passed, February 14th, 1823, duly enacting that "No person shall bring in and peddle or sell wooden clocks in this State, unless they first take out an extra license," for which the price was $50. The penalty for violating the law was fixed at the same sum. This "said sum" would make a sad inroad upon Jonathan's profits, and hence, under the impulses of his "higher law" notions of the value of money, he pursued his "chosen calling" without any regard to the majesty of the law in "such case made and provided." He was of course arrested, and in due form arraigned before the court of Fayette County. The fact of "*selling*" was not denied, but it appeared in evidence that one Yankee brought them "*in*," across the river at St. Louis, and another "*sold*" them. The counsel for the prisoner, our fellow-citizen, Wm. H. Brown, Esq., contended that it must be shown that the prisoner did both "*bring in and peddle or sell.*" Jonathan, as usual, escaped, and went on his way "peddling" and "selling" his wooden wares. We believe his "*Yankeeship*" has always, since the failure of that law to "head him off," been permitted to exercise his peculiar habits without "let or hindrance."

The history of our city is very intimately connected with that of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The idea of a canal connecting the waters of the Lakes with those of the Mississippi, was suggested as early as 1814. In Niles' Register of August 6th, the following paragraph may be found:—

> "By the Illinois River it is probable that Buffalo, in New-York, may be united with New-Orleans by inland navigation, through Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and down that river to the Mississippi. What a route!

How stupendous the idea! How dwindles the importance of the artificial canals of Europe, compared to *this* water communication! If it should ever take place, (and it is said the opening may be easily made,) the Territory (of Illinois) will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions."

How strange to us appear some of the expressions in this paragraph! Then, all west of Ohio was an unbroken wilderness, inhabited only by savages, with here and there a fort or trading post, and a few small French settlements along the Mississippi. Little did the writer think that in only *thirty-four* years his "stupendous idea" would become a commonplace reality, and that in less than forty years a city of more than *sixty thousand* people would be reposing in quiet dignity at the northern terminus of that canal! What an "*immense commerce*" that city has enjoyed the past year, the sequel of this article is designed to show.

At the first session of the Illinois legislature, in 1818, Gov. Bond brought the subject of a canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River prominently before that body; and his successor, Gov. Coles, in 1822, devoted a large space in his message to the elucidation of the same topic. By an act passed February 14th, 1823, a Board of Canal Commissioners was appointed; and in the autumn of that year, a portion of the Board, with Col. J. Post, of Missouri, as Chief Engineer, made a tour of reconnoissance; and in the autumn of 1824, Col. R. Paul, an able engineer, residing at St. Louis, was also employed. Five different routes were surveyed, and estimates made of the cost of the canal. The highest estimate was $716,110.

At this time, (1823, only thirty-one years ago), the Sangamon River andFulton County were the northern boundaries of civilization, and in that region there were only a very few inhabitants. The whole northern portion of the State was still under the dominion of the wolf and the savage, with no prospect of its settlement for an indefinite time to come. The leading idea of the citizens of the south half of the State, where the population was then concentrated, was to open a water communication for them by the Lakes and the Erie Canal with New-York City.

January 18th, 1825, an act was passed to "incorporate the Illinois and Michigan Canal Company," with a capital of one million of dollars. As the stock was not taken, a subsequent legislature repealed the charter. In the meantime, our Senators and Representatives in Congress were urging upon that body the passage of an act granting to this State lands to aid in the construction of the proposed canal. The Hon. Daniel P. Cook, from whom this county is named, has the credit of leading in this movement. Accordingly, on the 2d of March, 1827, Congress granted to the State of Illinois every alternate section in a belt of country extending six miles on each side of the canal. Owing to financial embarrassment, nothing effectual was done till January 22d, 1829, when the legislature passed a law organizing a Canal Board, and appointed Dr. Jane of Springfield, Edmund Roberts of Kaskaskia, and Charles Dunn, Commissioners. These Commissioners were empowered, among other things, to locate the canal, lay out towns, to sell lots, and to apply the proceeds to the construction of the canal.

In the autumn of 1829 the Commissioners came to Chicago, having employed James Thompson to survey and lay off the town. His first map bears date August 4th, 1830. It is in the Recorder's office.

Hon. S. D. Lockwood, now a resident of Batavia, Kane County, came up with the Commissioners in the autumn of 1829. We are indebted to him and to Wm. H. Brown, Esq., for much valuable information in reference to the early history of the State. Both these gentlemen are among the oldest citizens in Illinois, as they landed at Shawneetown in 1818, the same year the Constitution was adopted. We have the men among us who have seen the State in her infancy, and now look upon her with pride, assuming a commanding position among the oldest States of the Union.

The list of families residing here in the autumn of 1829, as given by Judge Lockwood, is as follows: John Kinzie, the father of our present excellent Alderman, John H. Kinzie, resided on the north side, a little west of McCormick's factory. West of Mr. Kinzie's, near the site of the Galena Railroad freight depot, east of Clark-street, lived Dr. Wolcott, son-in-law of Mr. Kinzie; Dr. Wolcott was at the time Indian Agent. Near the forks of the river, a little west of where Steel's warehouse now stands, John Miller kept a "*log-tavern.*" On the south side, near the present residence of James H. Collins, Esq., a little south of the old fort, was the house of John B. Beaubien. Besides these, there were some three or four Indian traders living in log cabins on the west side.

There were, of course, the officers and men connected with Fort Dearborn. Perhaps we may as well pause here, and notice the building of the fort, and some other facts connected with our earlier history. It was built by the Government in 1804, and manned with a company of about fifty men and three pieces of artillery. Everything remained quiet till 1812, when the war broke out with Great Britain, and our Government, apprehensive that so distant a post among the savages could not be maintained, ordered it to be evacuated. The commander was required to distribute the government property among the Indians, and to march with his troops to Fort Wayne.

The fort was well supplied with provisions and military stores, and might have maintained a siege for a long time, against any force that the Indians could have brought against it; and nearly all the officers remonstrated against carrying out the instructions, but Capt. Heald determined to obey to the letter the orders of his superiors. The Pottawatamies were well known to be hostile, but Capt. Heald called a Council on the 12th of August, 1812, and laid the propositions of the Government before them, asking in return an escort to Fort Wayne. This the Indians promised to give. The distribution was to be made the next day. During the night, lest the guns and ammunition, which they would necessarily be forced to leave, might prove a dangerous gift to the savages, the powder was thrown into the well, and the guns were broken and destroyed. The liquor shared the same fate. The cannon were thrown into the river.

The next day the Indians came together to receive the presents, but their countenances betokened anger and deep-seated revenge, when only the goods of the United States factory were distributed among them. They charged the whites with bad faith, and left with feelings aroused to the highest pitch of resentment. In the afternoon Capt. Wells, the brother of Mrs. Heald, arrived from Fort Wayne with fifteen friendly Miami Indians, to act as a guard in the retreat that was to follow. On the morning of the 15th of August, the troops took up their line of march for Fort Wayne. Capt. Wells, with the friendly Miamis, acted as the advance guard; and about four hundred Pottawatomies, according to the stipulation made three days previous, followed at a short distance in the rear. They had proceeded in this order along the lake shore about a mile and a half, to a point near the residence of Mrs. Clark, when the Pottawatomies suddenly threw themselves in advance, and brought the sand-hills between their party and the whites. Capt. Wells immediately ordered his men to form, and charge the enemy, which movement was scarcely effected before they received a volley of balls from their savage foe. The troops did not flinch for a moment, but charged and dislodged the Indians in front; but their great numbers enabled them at once to turn the flanks of the troops, and to gain possession of the horses and baggage. At the first fire the Miamis galloped off, and could not be induced to join in the action. Capt. Heald, confident that further resistance was entirely vain, withdrew his troops to a small elevation, and awaited the movements of the enemy. They held a council, and soon their chiefs, of whom *Blackbird* was the leader, motioned Capt. Heald to approach. They met, and Capt. Heald agreed to surrender, on condition that the lives of the prisoners should be spared. The troops delivered up their arms, and were marched back to the fort. The loss in the action, and in the subsequent massacre—for the Indians did not fully comply with their agreement—was twenty-six of the regular troops, twelve being the entire number of the militia; two women and twelve children—in all fifty-two. The children were placed in a baggage-wagon, and fell victims to the tomahawk of a single merciless savage, after the troops had surrendered. Capt. Wells was among the slain. Capt. Heald and his wife were also wounded, as also were Lieutenant and Mrs. Helm.

The next day the fort was plundered and burnt, and the prisoners were distributed in various directions. The family of Mr. Kinzie were taken across to St. Joseph, in a canoe, and subsequently to Detroit. In due time the prisoners were ransomed, and found their way to their eastern friends. No effort was made to re-establish the fort during the war. In 1816 it was rebuilt under the direction of Capt. Bradley. It continued to be occupied by a company of troops till 1837, when the Indians having left the country for a long distance west of us, it was abandoned.. On a part of the grounds of the fort our magnificent Marine Hospital now stands The buildings occupied by the officers are most of them standing. To us the object of greatest interest is the old block-house, and we wish here to put in an earnest plea that it may be preserved so long as one log will "lie upon the other." It is about the only relic of "hoary antiquity" in our city worth preserving. It was built thirty-eight years ago, when the whole country was filled with savages. Let it be surrounded with a neat iron fence, that we may be able to illustrate to our children the nature of the defences which the early settlers of Chicago were obliged to adopt. Let the giant arm of modern improvement, if necessary, sweep away every other vestige of Fort Dearborn, but let the shrill scream of the locomotive, as it brings up its long train of cars from the Gulf of Mexico, or rests from its labors after the mighty race of a thousand miles from the Atlantic seaboard, age after age echo around this humble but significant monument of the past.

Our "oldest inhabitant," at least in one view of the subject, is our excellent fellow-citizen, Alderman John H. Kinzie. He was born in Canada, nearly opposite Detroit, and when an infant only a few months old, was brought to this city, by his parents, in 1804. He is a son of John Kinzie, mentioned above as an Indian trader. Mr. Kinzie settled here in that capacity in 1804, when the fort was first built. Our fellow-citizen, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Esq., came here in 1818, and was then in the employ of the American Fur Company, at the head of which was John Jacob Astor. He frequently was in the town for several days or weeks at a time, but neither Mr. Kinzie nor Mr.

Hubbard were settled here permanently till 1833 or 1834. Mr. Kinzie spent his boyhood here, but was afterwards located at Green Bay for many years.

Our oldest *permanent* resident in the city, is Col. R. J. Hamilton. In this view of the case, he is certainly entitled to the honor of being the "oldest inhabitant." He came here April 9th, 1831, and this has been his *home* ever since. G. W. Dole, Esq., came here May 4th, 1831, and P. F. W. Peck, Esq., July 15th of the same year. But though not living in the city limits, A. Clybourne, Esq., has been identified with it, or rather with the place that became Chicago, since August 5th, 1823. He has resided since that time on the west side of the North Branch, about three miles from Lake Street Bridge. The city limits extend north of his residence, on the east side of the river. We have given the dates when each of these gentlemen came to Chicago, and some of the circumstances connected with the claims of each to the important distinction of being the "oldest inhabitant," and here we leave the decision to our readers, satisfied that neither of them would have dared to predict, even ten years ago, what Chicago would be in the year 1854.

So far as we have been able to learn, the "oldest inhabitant" *born* in Chicago, and now living here, is a lady—we beg pardon for saying it—she is an *unmarried lady*. Be not amazed, ye spruce, anxious bachelors, and if you can count your gray hairs by scores, stand aside, for we are quite sure there is no chance for you. She is not only an unmarried lady, but A YOUNG LADY, only twenty-two years of age, as she was born in Fort Dearborn in the early part of 1832. We have not the pleasure of her acquaintance, and at the peril of incurring her displeasure, we venture to state that the "oldest *native* inhabitant" of Chicago, a city of more than sixty thousand people, is Miss Ellen Hamilton, the daughter of our good friend Col. R. J. Hamilton.

In 1818, when Gurdon S. Hubbard, Esq., came to Chicago, there were but two white families here. John Kinzie lived on the north side, a little west of where McCormick's factory now stands. Antoine Oulimette, a French trader, who had married an Indian woman, lived near the ground occupied by the freight depôt of the Galena Railroad. The fort was occupied by a detachment of troops under the command of Capt. Bradley. The American Fur Company had trading posts at convenient distances all through this country. At that time only a single schooner, of 300 or 400 tons, was sent round from Buffalo with provisions for the fort, during the summer season.

In the fall of 1828, the Winnebagoes, who inhabited the territory west of us, became restless, and threatened the destruction of the fort. Our fellow-citizen, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Esq., went alone on horseback to the settlements on the Wabash and procured reinforcements. He was absent only seven days. The Indians were pacified by the presence of a large force under Gen. Atkinson, and very little mischief was done, beyond the murder of a few travellers.

Col. R. J. Hamilton came to this city as above stated in April, 1831. Cook county had been organized the month previous. He soon obtained a high position among his fellow-citizens, and at that time, young and full of energy and vigor, and not the man to shrink from responsibility, we wonder that he was not crushed with the weight of the "blushing honors" that fell to his share of the spoils in the new county of Cook. In the course of the year, he became Judge of Probate, Recorder, County Clerk; discharged gratuitously the duties of Treasurer, and was Commissioner of Schools. The good Colonel would find his hands full were he to fulfil the duties of all these offices at the present time. We have availed ourselves of his early and accurate knowledge of events for most of the facts which are contained in some half dozen of the succeeding paragraphs.

The county of Cook, in 1831, embraced all the territory now included in the counties of Lake, McHenry, Dupage, Will, and Iroquois. At that time Fort Dearborn was occupied by two companies of U. S. Infantry, under the command of Major Fowle. The resident citizens were Mr. Elijah Wentworth and family, occupying a house partly log and partly frame, owned by Mr. James Kinzie, and situated on the ground now occupied by Mr. Norton as a lumber yard. Mr. W. kept a tavern, the best in Chicago. In the vicinity of this tavern resided Mr. James Kinzie and family, Mr. William See and family, Mr. Alexander Robinson and family—now living on the Des Plaines—and Mr. Robt. A. Kinzie, who had a store composed of dry goods—a large portion of them Indian goods—groceries, &c., &c. Across the North Branch of the Chicago river, and nearly opposite Mr. Wentworth's tavern, resided Mr. Samuel Miller and family, and with them Mr. John Miller, a brother. Mr. Miller also kept tavern. On the east side of the South Branch and immediately above the junction with the North Branch, resided Mr. Mark Beaubien and family, who also kept tavern; and a short distance above him on the South Branch resided a Mr. Bourisso, an Indian trader. Between Mark Beaubien's tavern and Fort Dearborn, there were no houses, except a small log cabin, near the foot of Dearborn street, and used as an Indian trading house. Near the garrison and immediately south, on the property sold by James H. Collins, Esq., to the Illinois Central Railroad Company, was the residence of J. B. Beaubien and family, who was connected with the American Fur Company in the Indian trade. He had near his residence a store, containing such goods as were suitable to that business. A short distance south of him on the lake was a house, then unoccupied.

On the north side of the river and immediately opposite the garrison, stood the old "Kinzie House," as it was commonly called, which was also then unoccupied, and in a very dilapidated state. A short distance above on the main branch of the river, and on the ground occupied by the Chicago and Galena Railroad Company, stood what had been the Government Agency house, and known to the "oldest inhabitants" as "Cobweb Castle." That was then unoccupied, Dr. Wolcott, the Government Agent, having died the fall before. In its vicinity were several small log buildings for the accommodation of the blacksmith, interpreter, and others connected with the Agency. The blacksmith then occupying one of the buildings, was a Mr. McGee, now living in Dupage county. Billy Caldwell, the principal chief of the Ottawa, Pottawatomie and Chippewa Indians, occupied another. He was then Interpreter for the Agency. Col. Thomas J. V. Owen, who had been the winter before appointed to succeed the late Dr. Wolcott, had not then taken up his residence in Chicago; G. Kercheval, who was sub-Agent, was then here. Dr. E. Harmon, the father of C. L. Harmon, and James Harrington, father of the late Jas. Harrington of Geneva, Kane county, had taken up their residence here, and were making claims on the lake shore—Dr. Harmon where Mrs. Clark now lives, and Mr. H. immediately north and adjoining.

Here we have some dozen families in the spring of 1831—only TWENTY-THREE YEARS AGO—constituting, with the officers and soldiers in the fort, the entire population of Chicago. Now the city numbers more than sixty thousand, and its blocks of splendid stores, its fine churches, its railroads, and extensive commerce, are the wonder and admiration of all. We have never spent much time in reading works of fiction, but if there is anything in that dreamy literature more astonishing than these facts, we certainly have never seen it.

In June following the garrison, by order of the Secretary of War, was abandoned by the troops, and left in charge of Col. T. J. V. Owen, the Government Agent of the Ottawa, Pottawatomie, and Chippewa Indians; and by September, the fort, together with the old Kinzie House and the one on the lake shore, (formerly vacant) were filled with emigrant families. In the latter part of September, the payment of the Indian annuities was made by Col. Owen. There were present on that occasion about four thousand Indians, and among them was a deputation of eight Sauk and Fox Indians belonging to the band of the celebrated BLACK HAWK. Their object was to induce the Ottawas, Pottawatomies and Chippewas, to join them in their contemplated invasion of the Rock River country and to wrest it from the whites, who they alleged had obtained it fraudulently. Had it not been for the influence of Billy Caldwell, little doubt was entertained in the success of the mission. Caldwell was well advised of the weakness of the Indians, and the strength of the Government, and by his influence and representations, prevented the alliance. After the payment, a scene of drunkenness, debauchery and violence occurred, such as is never witnessed, excep at an Indian payment.

During the fall, in the month of November, the schooner Marengo, belonging to Oliver Newbury of Detroit, arrived. She had been looked for with much anxiety for some weeks. She encountered a heavy gale on Lake Michigan, which was just subsiding on her arrival. There being no harbor, she anchored out in the lake, more than half a mile from the shore, nearly in front of the fort, where she remained until the lake had become sufficiently calm to unload. This could only be done by the aid of small boats, crossing the bar at the mouth of the river which then emptied into the lake near the foot of Randolph street. The "Marengo" was commanded by Captain Stuart, a veteran sailor who had long been in the employment of Mr. Newbury. The Telegraph, which arrived in July, and the Marengo, were the only arrivals during the season, except the one that transported the troops to Green Bay. The principal part of the population of Chicago during the winter of 1831–2 occupied the quarters in the garrison, and were ministered to, in the way of creature comforts, by our estimable citizen, Geo. W. Dole, who was the only merchant then in Chicago, except Mr. R. A. Kinzie at "*Wolf Point*," which was the name given to the "*settlement*" at the junction of the North and South Branches, where Mr. Norton's lumber yard is now located.

The winter was long and intensely cold, and the population of the surrounding country so sparse, that no traveller could be found sufficiently reckless to traverse it. There were then *no mail routes, post roads, nor Post Office at Chicago*, and the only means its inhabitants had of knowing anything of the world was by sending a half-breed Indian once in two weeks to Niles, in Michigan, to procure all the papers, both old and new, that could be had. "Great caution," says Col. Hamilton, "was exercised in reading the oldest *first*, that we might be properly advised of events in the *world* as they occurred. The trip was made on foot, and usually occupied a week. The arrival of '*the mail*' was an event of quite as much interest then as it is now; but notwithstanding our exclusion from the world we were not unhappy, and doubtless enjoyed ourselves as well as its inhabitants now do."

A debating society was formed, composed of most of the male inhabitants of the fort, over which presided our venerable fellow-citizen, J. B. Beaubien, and with much efficiency and dignity. Although not very conversant with "Jefferson's Manual," he had not occasion to use it, as every member was disposed to be orderly, and behave himself; and each and all felt bound to contribute as much as possible to the general sum of knowledge and usefulness. To vary the amusement, a dance was occasionally got up at the house of Mark Beaubien, Esq.; and for those who had no taste for such amusement, a religious meeting was held generally once a week in the fort, by the late Mark Noble, Jr., and his wife and two daughters, and Mrs. R. J. Hamilton, who were all members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

These early meetings had a most happy effect upon all within their influence. Mrs. R. J. Hamilton, first wife of Col. H., contributed very much to their interest, as she was a lady of great intelligence, enlarged views, and devoted piety. She was for many years among the first in all religious and benevolent enterprises.

Col. Hamilton pays a just tribute to the zeal and piety of Mr. Noble. He was the principal speaker at all these meetings, and his exertions in the cause of truth were greatly blessed. He was a man of practical common sense, and large experience, and was fitted for a "standard-bearer" on the borders of civilization. It will be seen that the Methodists were, here as almost everywhere, the pioneers in Christianity. They did not, however, establish the first church, as will be seen further on in our sketches.

Thus passed the winter of 1831–2. On the approach of spring, it was announced that "Black Hawk," a Sauk chief, was moving up Rock River, with about five hundred Sauk and Fox Indians, with demonstrations of a hostile character, unless he could be permitted to remain on the lands formerly ceded to the United States. The rumor was confirmed by the arrival of the Hon. Richard M. Young, at Fort Dearborn, who was then one of the circuit judges of the State, and within whose judicial district Chicago was at that time. Judge Young was accompanied by Benjamin Mills, Esq., then leading member of the Illinois bar, and our late fellow-citizen Col. Strode, all from Galena. They had come by the way of Dixon, and from the conduct of the Indians assembled there, were convinced of their hostile intentions. Before the adjournment of the court other intelligence arrived confirmatory of these statements. The Indians continued to move up Rock River until they arrived at the Kishwaukie, a tributary of Rock River, where they made a halt. An expedition was organized under the command of Major Stillman of Peoria, from the counties of Tazewell and Peoria, principally with the object, as then understood, to watch the movements of the Indians and protect the few settlements on the extreme frontier from their depredations; but with the further understanding, that they were not to strike the first blow. They proceeded up Rock River until within a few miles of the Indian encampment, and by some want of discipline and caution, an action was brought on against a portion of the Indians, which resulted in a disastrous defeat and total route of the whole of Major Stillman's force. Almost immediately after the defeat of Major Stillman, the Indians, in bands, made a descent upon the settlements on Fox River, at Hollenback's and Holderman's Grove, and at other points on the river where there were settlements, burning the houses and destroying the property; and had it not been for the friendly interposition and warnings of Sha-bo-nee, an Ottawa Chief, who, till within a few years, lived at Shabbona's Grove, many of the people must have been massacred. Some barely escaped, being sufficiently near to witness the smoke ascending from the burning houses—what few inhabitants were in the surrounding country made their way to Chicago to seek safety in Fort Dearborn, and by the 10th of May the fort contained a population of near seven hundred souls, two-thirds of whom were women and children. This great disproportion of women and children was occasioned by the male heads of families taking their provisions and whatever else they could muster to drive their stock into the settled parts of the country, mostly on the Wabash. Col. Owen, the government agent, was then in charge of the fort, and no effort on his part was spared to accommodate all that came. He had himself a large family and occupied the commander's quarters, but he confined himself to a single room, and gave up the rest to those who came in from the country. Gholson Kercheval and Col. Hamilton were appointed quartermasters to arrange quarters equitably among the people, and in many cases fifteen and twenty occupied a room that would not more than comfortably accommodate a family of four or five persons.

Information was again received through "Billy Caldwell," by Col. Owen, that the hostile chiefs were tampering with the Ottawa, Pottawatamie and Chippewa Indians belonging to his agency, and that in consequence of the success in the fight at Kishwaukie, many of the young men were strongly inclined to join them. It was with difficulty the chiefs could restrain them. A consultation was had with Messrs. Robinson and Caldwell, both influential chiefs among the Indians, who advised an immediate council with the principal chiefs, together with some of their young men, at which Col. Owen was to address them, and let them know distinctly that if they formed any alliance or connection with Black Hawk, or furnished him men or aid of any kind, the Government would hold them to a strict accountability for it, and would punish them severely. The council was held at or near the place where the Rev. Mr. Richardson's church now stands, in the north division of the city. There were present a number of the chiefs of the United Nations, including Caldwell and Robinson, and Col. Owen and Col. R. J. Hamilton, on the part of the Government. The council was opened by a few remarks from Caldwell to the chiefs. Blackfoot, a chief of considerable influence and power, then addressed the council. He recounted many of their grievances, and charged the government with gross injustice towards them, and concluded by remarking that now was a good time to redress them. His speech was evidently well received by the young men. Col. Owen followed him, and his boldness, energy, and the scathing rebuke he administered to Blackfoot changed the whole current of feeling against the chief. The Indians retired for a few minutes, and then returned presenting their hands to Col. Owen, declaring their friendship for the Government, and offering to furnish a hundred braves to march against Black Hawk, if desired. Thus terminated a council, small and insignificant as it may now seem to have been, yet it was productive of important results. To the unwavering friendship of Caldwell, and the bold, energetic conduct of Col. Owen before the council, the inhabitants of Chicago were indebted for their safety in the contest which followed.

Late in the month of May, 1832, a small force, consisting of twenty-five men, was organized in the fort, under the command of Captain J. B. Brown, with Captain Joseph Naper and Col. R. J. Hamilton, for the purpose of securing the frontier on Fox River, and to ascertain from personal observation the extent of the depredations committed on the property of the inhabitants. It was also intended to render aid to the inhabitants settled on the Dupage River, who had assembled at Mr. James Walker's, where Plainfield now stands, and erected a small fort for their protection. After leaving the fort on the Dupage, where they had remained a day, rendering such assistance as was desired, the expedition proceeded to Holderman's Grove. The Indians had but recently left it, after having destroyed all the personal property found in the house and around the premises, and scattered the fragments about the yard. The provision which was not taken away was destroyed. On the third evening after their departure from Fort Dearborn, the company encamped about three miles from Holderman's Grove, in the direction of Hollenback's Grove on Fox River. Some time before daylight, Mr. G. E. Walker, of Ottawa, arrived at the camp and stated that a man had arrived at that place (Ottawa) and reported that considerable firing had been heard on Indian Creek, about fifteen miles from Ottawa, at the residence of a Mr. Davis, where the families of Davis, Hall, and Pettigrew had assembled for mutual protection, and in a short time afterwards a young man, a son of Mr. Hall's, arrived and confirmed the statement. He also stated that he was at work in the field about a mile from the house, heard the firing and saw the Indians. Upon receiving this information, Captain Brown immediately marched the company, with all possible dispatch, to Indian Creek, where the firing had been heard. Some five or six, a part of whom had joined the expedition on the route, left it, and returned to afford protection and safety to their respective families. The company arrived at Mr. Davis's residence between nine and ten o'clock, A. M. The scene there, as described by Colonel Hamilton, was the most painful that could well be imagined. Some thirteen dead bodies, composed of the families of Davis, Hall, and Pettigrew, lay in the house and about the yard, consisting of men, women and children, who had been shot, speared, tomahawked, scalped, and mutilated in the most cruel manner. Davis was a blacksmith, and apparently a very athletic man. At the moment of the attack he was in his shop, and started for the house about seventy-five or a hundred yards distance, for the purpose, no doubt, of assisting to protect the families there. He was attacked a short distance from the shop, and from every indication a severe contest ensued.

By his side, or near him, lay a large Kentucky rifle, which had been fired and afterwards used in a hand-to-hand fight, as its stock was much shattered and its breech broken. The bodies were collected and buried as well as they could be under the circumstances; after which the expedition went to Ottawa, where they fell in with Maj. Bailey with a company from Tazewell County, who had been in the late disastrous Stillman expedition against the Indians at Kishwaukie, a part of which, together with Major Bailey, joined Capt. Brown. The whole detachment proceeded to Chicago, under the command of Major Bailey. On the route to Chicago, the guide to the expedition, a half-breed Indian, reported at several points large fresh Indian *signs*. Much solicitude was felt for the families at Walker's on the Dupage, and all possible expedition was used in getting to that place. Some four or five miles from the fort on the Dupage, and some time after dark, a man by the name of Payne was hailed, who had just come alone from Chicago, and was on his way towards Ottawa. The dangers of the route were made known to him, and efforts were made to retain him with the expedition. He, however, announced himself an ambassador of God, and said he would be safe from any attack of the Indians. It was evident he was partially insane, and he could not be induced to change his purpose. He had a long flowing beard and venerable appearance. He was probably killed the same day, as his head was found two weeks afterwards stuck on a pole in the prairie, and his body some half mile distant from the head. Our fellow-citizen, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Esq., was in the party that found him. Major Bailey and his command encamped the same evening at the fort on the Dupage, and started early the next morning with the families in the fort, and all their movable effects that could be transported in ox and horse teams, and arrived late in the evening at Chicago, after an absence of ten days. The fort was immediately organized as a military post, and placed under the command of Major Bailey.

Two young ladies by the name of Hall were captured at Indian Creek, and retained for some two weeks, when they were given up by a party of friendly Indians, to Governor Dodge, of Wisconsin. They were treated with great kindness and respect while they were captives. The massacre of the people of Indian Creek occurred on the 21st of May.

In the meantime 3,000 militia were ordered out from Peoria and the counties south of it, and marched to Rock River, where they were joined by a detachment of regular troops from Fort Armstrong, under General Atkinson. A party of one hundred and fifty militia, under the command of Major Dement, fell in with a detachment of Indians, commanded by Black Hawk himself, somewhere between Rock River and Galena. An action ensued, in which the Indians were routed. The main army continued to move up Rock River, around the head waters of which it was said the Indians were concentrated. On the 21st of July, Gen. Henry, commanding an advanced party of the army, came up with the Indians between the Blue Mounds and the Wisconsin River. The troops were formed into a hollow square, and all attempts to break the line by the savages were in vain. A general charge was finally made by the troops, when the Indians were forced to retreat with a loss of between fifty and sixty of their number.

The Indians continued their retreat to the Northwest, crossed the Wisconsin River, and moved up the east bank of the Mississippi. About fifty miles above Prairie du Chien, they were again overtaken and completely routed, with the loss of one hundred and fifty warriors. This victory completely broke the power of Black Hawk, and ended the war. He was captured by a party of Winnebagoes, and delivered up to the officers of the United States at Prairie du Chien, on the 27th of August, 1832. Early in the season Gen. Scott was ordered to leave the seaboard and gather up all the troops on his route westward, and repair to Chicago. He arrived here on the 8th of July, but a worse scourge than the Indians—the Asiatic cholera—had overtaken him. The havoc it made among the troops was terrible, and his arrival produced the greatest consternation among the few people who then resided in Chicago. The Indians were entirely defeated before he was able to join the army.

On the 21st of September, 1832, all these difficulties were arranged by a treaty made at Fort Armstrong, (Rock Island), by

Gen. Scott and Gov. Reynolds, with the Sauk and Fox Indians, by which they relinquished all their claim to Eastern Iowa, and agreed to move west of the Missouri. Annuities were to be paid to the several bands, and a reservation of forty miles square was made to the principal chief, Keokuk, and a portion of his followers.

We are indebted to P. F. W. Peck, Esq., for the facts contained in several of the succeeding paragraphs:

In July, A. D. 1831, the schooner Telegraph, of Ashtabula, Ohio, Capt. Joseph and John Naper, arrived at Chicago with a number of families, their own among the number, who soon after left and settled the place now known as Naperville. The place took its name from Capt. Joseph Naper, he being the first white settler upon its present site.

Mr. Peck left New-York City in the month of May of that year, (1831), with a small stock of goods for a "*market*," having previously determined upon a Western Home. Accidentally, becoming acquainted with Captain Joseph Naper at Buffalo, at which place the schooner was then loading for "Fort Dearborn," (Chicago), that gentleman, with characteristic frankness, invited Mr. Peck to embark with him and seek a home in that remote region, then but little known, where Capt. N. had previously determined to remove with his family. Mr. P. readily accepted, and left Buffalo with Capt. N. about the 1st of June, A. D. 1831, and arrived at Chicago after a passage of two months from the city of New-York.

Probably many years prior to this arrival, no structure of any kind had been added to the small number of log-cabins which, with the buildings of the garrison, constituted the town of Chicago; and the only addition to its growth during that year was a small log-store for Mr. Peck, shortly after his arrival, and which he owned and occupied until late in the fall of that year. It was built near the Garrison, a few rods northwest of the land on which Colonel Beaubien formerly resided, and which James H. Collins, Esq., recently sold to the Ill. C. C. R. Co.

It was after some deliberation and advice that Mr. P. determined to locate in "the lower village," instead of at "the Point," (west side,) which latter settlement was then, he thinks, rather in the ascendant. Rival feelings to some extent existed at the time between the people of those localities, both contending that they possessed superior advantages for the site of the future village of Chicago.

Shortly before Mr. Peck's arrival, the Canal Commissioners had subdivided into town lots part of Sec. 9, (the Old Town,) and given titles to a few of the lots to different purchasers. "Fort Dearborn" (fractional section 10) was not then subdivided, and much uncertainty existed as to the time and under what auspices it would ultimately be done. These circumstances very much promoted the interests of land-owners at "Wolf Point."

Mr. P. says, that his young and fertile imagination presented before him, as possible to be built up within a reasonable time, the village church, school-house, doctor's and lawyer's office, a tavern (more fashionable than that kept by "*Jolly Mark*"), a blacksmith, shoemaker and tailor's shop, and a few *painted* stores and dwellings; and that his newly-found home would become a respectable consolidated village at one or the other of these two *extreme settlements;* for *then* no intermediate lots were considered to be of much importance.

Late in the fall of 1831, Mr. Peck received from New-York, via the Lakes, a stock of goods; with which, and the small stock he had previously in trade, he removed into Naper's settlement, and united in business with Capt. Joseph Naper, and remained with him until the Spring of 1832, when the Sauk war drove the people into Chicago.

Art. VI.—DESTINY OF THE SLAVE STATES.*

We are at a critical juncture in public affairs. The world is moving forward with enterprise and progress such as has never been before conceived of. Nearly $200,000,000 are being added annually to the gold currency of the world. The whole resources of Australia, California and China, with its 300,000,000 of people, and with more accumulated capital and wealth than any one nation, have been heretofore locked up from the rest of mankind. The treaties made with England, France, and the United States, a few years ago, have broken the chain with which they have surrounded themselves. This, together with the rebellion now in progress, will unfold the resources of that mighty empire, and produce a change in the distribution of wealth, equal to that produced by the discovery of America upon Spain and Europe. Where is all this vast trade and accumulation in gold to pass through the channels of commerce into the exchanges of the world? It must concentrate upon the Pacific coast and force its way across the Isthmus of Panama into the Gulf of Mexico, and thence into the Atlantic, that great reservoir basin for the civilized nations of the earth. The Atlantic will be to the world what the Mediterranean was to the known world under the reign of the Antonies in Rome. Again, the Gulf of Mexico lies between the great region drained by the Amazon on one side and the Mississippi on the other. These are the two greatest valleys upon the face of the earth, and capable of the greatest productions. It is not saying too much to say that if properly developed, they are capable of producing what is produced at present by the whole civilized world. The former is almost in a state of nature, and the latter is not yet half developed. The whole country between these two mighty rivers presents the most wonderful region now to be settled up by the enterprise and genius of man. In the progress of the next fifty years, the commerce and trade that must concentrate upon the Gulf of Mexico, will far exceed anything that man heretofore dreamed of in his wildest imaginations. The Island of Cuba, from its central position, and its great port of Havana, is the key to all this. The nation that holds Cuba will hold control over the commerce and wealth of this new world.

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* From the *Richmond Enquirer*.

It is not saying too much to say that if we hold Cuba, in the next fifty years we will hold the destiny of the richest and most increased commerce that ever dazzled the cupidity of man. And with that commerce we can control the power of the world. Give us this, and we can make the public opinion of the world. These two great valleys of the Amazon and the Mississippi are now possessed by two governments of the earth, most deeply interested in African slavery—Brazil and the United States. Cast your eye over the map, and see their vast capacity for production. While the Mississippi, with its tributaries, can carry to market more of the necessaries and breadstuffs of life than any portion of the habitable globe, the Amazon can float the wealth of nations upon its bosom in the production of the tropics—the whole intermediate countries between these two great valleys, including the West India Islands, is a region under the plastic hand of a beneficent Providence teeming with the fatness of the richest and most luxuriant productions. In its infancy, and as to capacity to produce, it is, as it were, unknown to the world. Most of it has slumbered for ages in solitary grandeur. How is it to be developed? Think you the Caucasian race can stand to toil and labor under the burning rays of a tropical sun, and sleep in vigor and prosperity under the miasma of its exuberant and mighty plains and swamps? No! its resources are to be finally and fully developed by that race which God in his mercy formed and created for just such regions. Providence lots off the earth to its appropriate races. The camel loves the arid air of Arabia, and the reindeer loves the frozen hills of Lapland. So, in like manner, the black man loves to breathe the humid air of his native swamps, while the white man exults and bounds in the elastic air of his native hills. Where you can combine the administrative governing qualities of the one race together with the patient endurance and physical capacities for low altitudes of the other, you have that perfect system by which the vast tropical regions of the earth are to be developed. Whilst the laboring strata of society is occupied by one race, suited to its exposures, give the other race such a position as will enable them to preserve themselves from those daily and exhausting exposures under which the white race will sink in the tropics. Puling and sickly philanthropy may preach a different doctrine, but, if practised, it will forever consign to a barbarian wilderness some of the fairest portions of the world.

Witness the miserable experiment made by the English and French in the West Indies. Twenty-five years ago, where we saw cultivation bringing forth wealth and refinement with all the elegance of polished life, we see vagrant labor stalking through a desolate land, with hungry and brutal ferocity. This experiment of West India emancipation is worth a thousand theories, and is fast enlightening the reflecting parts of mankind. England feels in its consequences her folly. Everything has taken place exactly as the Duke of Wellington predicted it would in his clear and manly speech against the act of emancipation at the time.

The African race, under a system of domestic servitude, tempered by the principles of Christianity, are themselves raised and benefited in the scale of civilization. The great mass of the poor and needy in all portions of the colder and prolific latitudes, require for their comfort, sugar, coffee, rice, and cotton, and the luxurious productions of tropical regions. When they exchange their labors for these products at cheap rates, it tends to raise themselves in the scale of civilization, by administering to their wants and comforts, and thus tempting them to industry and enterprise, in order that they may be able to enjoy the advantages of various climates. This system acts and reacts upon the different branches of the human family, so as mutually to benefit and bless all by diffusing more equally the comforts of life. Hence it is that these productions of slave labor, in the shape of cotton, by which an abundant and cheap article for clothing the poor and needy, has done more to elevate the great masses, and spread civilization to the lower ranks of society, than all the other causes put together in modern times. So now, if the noble regions to which we have alluded above, were reduced to systematic culture by African labor, governed by the energy and intelligence of the white man, they would more than quadruple the present productions of the comforts and luxuries of life, to diffuse them amongst the poor and needy of the higher latitudes of the earth, and thus mutually benefit and bless both regions. This is the true progress of civilization. And it is thus that Providence ever works upon the destinies of men. Apparent evils are the greatest blessings. It is by war you conquer the barbarian race, and by slavery you reduce them to labor and the arts of civilized life. Slavery and war have thus been the two great forerunners of civilization. This modern crusade and pharisaical declamation against domestic servitude will run out, as did the fanatical crusades of old, and society will again resume its reason and common sense, as the best guides in the practical affairs of life.

If we have wisdom and enlightened statesmanship to direct our country, we can turn back the tide, and by successful and triumphant experiment, make a public opinion for modern times.

Everything is at present on a most critical turn in Europe. The Emperor of the French stands upon a mine that may explode any day. A convulsion there, or in Turkey, would shake the world.

The true policy of our government, at present, is to stand still, but be prepared to strike if it can be done successfully. If Europe is thrown into confusion, all American affairs will inevitably fall under our control. We must do nothing to hasten events. Time is doing its work for us more triumphantly than ever the Roman eagles did for Rome in her proudest and palmiest days.

A general rupture in Europe would force upon us the undisputed sway of the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies, with all their rich and mighty productions. Guided by our genius and enterprise, a new world would rise there, as it did before under the genius of Columbus. With Cuba and St. Domingo, we could control the productions of the tropics, and with them the commerce of the world, and with that the power of the world.

The world will fall back upon African labor, governed and owned in some shape or form by the white man, as it has always been. This is the only system which can reduce to thorough cultivation the mighty regions of the Amazon and the great tropical valleys of the Gulf of Mexico. The world will have to choose between that and its remaining an everlasting wilderness. Under African labor, properly owned, the poor and the needy of the more rigid climates of the earth will be enabled to receive and enjoy the comforts and the blessings of its necessary and luxurious productions. Under this system, the industrious but poor laborers of Northern climates can be enabled to enjoy the coffee, rice, sugar, and cotton for cheap clothes, from regions where, if they were compelled to toil and work for it, under the burning rays of a tropical sun, they would sink and perish away.

But England complains of the humanity of such a system! And this is that England, the iron heel of whose power had but recently crushed the Irishman into the dust of the earth upon his native soil, and whose gigantic and bloody footsteps upon the plains of India have made whole empires groan and travail under the most heartless and grinding slavery that the indignation of man has ever painted. Such complaints from such quarter is the most arrant hypocrisy and sanctimonious impudence the world has ever witnessed.

And are we, a great people moved forward in the progress of empire, to be duped by such canting sentimentalities as this? If we are, then will we deserve to wear the yoke of England again. If she has lost the absolute sway of the sceptre over us, she can restore her through her preaching and this mock humanity of her ethereal and sublimated morality.

No! we have a higher destiny than this to fulfil. We, too, are in the hands of a superintending Providence, to work out the real regeneration of mankind.

Take the earth that God has given us, and by labor and industry suited to it, make every portion of it bloom and blossom as a garden to the peace of man. But the objection is often urged that there is danger in extending our territories, and adding new people in our progress. Whether for good or for evil, it is vain to oppose it. Our destiny is onward, until many more rich and prolific regions are to be wrapt under the broad folds of our national banner. The spread of our population and peculiar organization will be more rapid and triumphant than the conquest of the Roman eagles in their proudest day, or the British lion upon the Burampoota or the Ganges. Cautious conservatism may declaim against it, but it will be of no avail. As well might you attempt to turn the angry wave of the Mississippi, by stretching wickerwork across it. The great duty of the statesman is to direct it into proper channels, and let it flow on without eruption, if possible.

In a few years there will be no investment for the two hundred millions in the annual increase of gold, on a large scale, so profitable, and so necessary, as the development and cultivation of the tropical regions, now slumbering in rank and wild luxuriance.

If the slaveholding race in these States are but true to themselves, they have a great destiny before them. Heretofore, the great difficulty in civilizing the barbarian races of the world has been to procure cheap and abundant clothing for them. A naked race must necessarily be a wild one. To Christianize or civilize a man, you must first clothe his nakedness. In the three millions of bags of cotton the slave labor annually throws upon the world for the poor and naked, we are doing more to advance civilization and the refinement of life than all the canting philanthropists of New and Old England will do in centuries. All we want is wisdom and thorough statesmanship to guide and direct us, and we may yet be a chosen people for great and wise purposes.

Art. VII.—AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

[Wm. H. Trescot, of South Carolina, author of the "Diplomatic Policy of the Revolution," has prepared a very able pamphlet upon the Turkish question, in an American point of view. We make an extract, and will publish the whole paper in our next number, if no objection be raised by the publisher. The views in the main are eminently just and wise.]

When, during one of the late debates in Parliament, the Earl of Aberdeen described the condition of England, by saying that the nation was not at war, but was drifting to war, his words might have been applied, with a wider and truer significance, to the state of all Europe for the last forty years. And the history of this time, when it comes to be written, will show that never has European diplomacy been more wisely or actively employed, than during this very period, in postponing the dreaded consummation. But it has proved beyond the power of human wisdom to control the issues of human passion; and after a peace of half a century, partially broken, it is true, by revolutionary struggles, a whole continent is again in arms. The Danube, whose shores have re-echoed the war-cry of the Dacian barbarian, and the tramp of the Roman legion; upon whose turbid waters have gleamed the victorious light of Sobroski's sword, and the waning glory of the Turkish crescent, runs again, exulting to the Euxine, red with Christian blood; and the banners of England, France and Russia, shaken from their trophied drapery, again "stream like meteors to the troubled air." The military salute fired over the last of Napoleon's marshals, has scarcely died upon the ear; the funeral pomp that marshalled England's great captain to the field of his only defeat, has not yet faded to the eye; Metternich and Nesselrode, the great draftsmen of the map of modern Europe, are still alive, but already has their work grown old. The foundations they laid have been broken up; the balance of power they adjusted is disturbed, and the world trembles in apprehension of a bloodier convulsion and a wilder change than in their day rocked the thrones of ancient empires, and inscribed on the ensanguined battle-roll of history the names of Moscow and Waterloo.

The late news from Europe not only proves the existence of war, by the report of battles and the formal declaration of hostilities, but it justifies the gravest apprehensions of a protracted and universal war. The mission of Prince George of Mechlenberg, the last effort of the Czar to avoid or postpone the crisis, has failed. And this must be considered, on the part of the allied powers, as a declaration that they are resolved to make a new and wider settlement of the Eastern question, before they lay down their arms. They will not accept the *status quo ante bellum* as the basis of an arrangement; and as Russia cannot be expected to admit any other, it would seem that upon this contest her whole future power and policy are staked. Austria and Prussia have at last come to an explicit understanding. But by signing with France and England the much talked of protocol, they have not committed themselves to the Western powers, but have simply indicated their readiness, in their own time and in their own interest, to abandon a neutrality which, in the interest of others, sooner or later, they would not be permitted to maintain. The insurrection in Greece, unquestionably encouraged by Russia, has become too formidable for the control of the Greek Government; has already embroiled Greece with Turkey; added another complication to the embarrassments of the Sultan, by forcing him to order all the Greek residents—neither few nor feeble for mischief—to leave his dominions, and may eventually compel an armed demonstration on the part of England and France. Sweden is evidently uneasy, and is already taking measures which look suspiciously towards the abandonment of her neutrality in the interest of Russia. Denmark, bound to Russia by the aid rendered in the affair of the Dutchies, has manifested very clearly to Sir Charles Napier her dissatisfaction at the presence of the combined fleets in the Baltic. The revolutionists of Lombardy and Hungary are alert, organized and almost desperate; while among the Turks themselves there is a strengthening discontent with the Sultan's reforms. "Menshikoff," say they, "came and asked for the Koran, and said, 'Strike out these texts.' The French and English come, and they say, 'Throw this book into the Bosphorus.' "*

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* Since these introductory remarks were written, some modification has taken place in the relations of the European powers, between themselves. I have, however, left these observations as they stand, because no change in the position of the leading powers of Europe affects the argument attempted in the following pages, which rests entirely upon the past history of England and the diplomatic correspondence already exchanged. If the news be true that Austria and Prussia have joined in a treaty with the allied powers, one of two results seems to be certain: either, 1, that any marked and permanent success over Russia will dissolve a coalition representing such divergent interests as belong to the varied policies of England, France, Austria and Prussia; or, 2, that the influence of Austria and Prussia will be used to facilitate a settlement which will compromise Russia as little as possible. The history of Europe proves that the more extensive a coalition, the more brittle is its bond. Prussia has more than once before this shown England what little obligation interest attaches to the most solemn treaties, and England has occasionally profited by the lesson. Besides which, the treaty, as reported in the papers, scarcely goes beyond the obligations of the protocol, and these obligations are in reference solely to the interests of Germany, as they may be endangered by the progress of the war. Indeed, some of the English papers have already said that this treaty is but the introduction to a renewal of negotiations on a new basis, and one adds: "While we are calculating upon the certainty of all the great powers being compactly allied against Russian policy, the Emperor of Russia has probably succeeded in changing the issue, and the controversy will be no longer as to the evacuation of the Turkish dominions, but on the recurrence to the *status quo*, or to a re-distribution of territory with the four powers divided on the question."

Lamentable as is this state of things, it is scarcely surprising. Events for the last forty years have been bringing on this war slowly, but surely, and nothing but the revolutionary dangers incident to general hostilities in Europe, have preserved peace so long among the rival nations. And it is therefore impossible to appreciate the present disturbed condition of Europe, or even to approximate towards a reasonable opinion as to its probable results, without going further back than the recent controversy in Turkey.

The Congress of Vienna undertook no less a task than the reconstruction of Europe; for the French revolution and its consequences interposed a great gulf between the Europe of 1815 and that defined in the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht. The European system came out of the wars of 1800–1815, essentially changed, not merely in its relations, but in its very composition. Four new facts had been established, which must be assumed as the necessary basis of any future political arrangements. They were:—1. The extinction of the old German empire, which was, in truth, the centre of the former system. 2. The astonishing development of Russia. 3. The consolidation of the British power in India, and consequent gigantic growth of her commercial influence; and 4. The presence, in every State of Europe, of an active, organized and radical revolutionary party. It would be difficult to find in the proceedings of Vienna any provision against the necessary consequence of such a condition of affairs. For, 1st, Instead of providing some substitute for the old centre furnished by the German empire, the Congress of Vienna left Germany divided into two factions—Austria and Prussia—supported by a crowd of small States, feeding their interests by a parasitical devotion to one or the other, and both striving for the autocracy of modern Germany. 2. Instead of placing some one strong power between Russia and Western Europe, Russia was allowed to incorporate enough of Poland to bring her in contact with Prussia, as she was with Austria, and thus placed in position to play upon the jealousy or weakness of either, to set one against the other, or to control both. 3d. Instead of attempting to create some balance against the enormous and overgrown commercial power of England, France was both morally and physically diminished, and the commercial interests of Great Britain strengthened by the creation of a new kingdom out of Belgium and Holland, where English influence would be dominant. And lastly, while organizing a sort of royal police over the reforming spirit of Europe, the Congress added fresh fuel to the smoulder-

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Besides the unsatisfactory nature of this condition of things, Greece is occupied by French troops, England seems likely to follow the same policy with Denmark, and the *Times* is busily employed in fomenting the differences between the Swedish Government and the people excited against Russia, in hope of obtaining a restoration of Finland.

ing fire of the Italian revolutionists, by the most arbitrary and offensive violation of national feeling. Genoa, the superb, was degraded into the provincial sea-port of a second-rate sovereignty; and Venice, the bride of the sea, submitted to the coarse grasp of an Austrian subaltern. Whether the actual solution of the difficult questions then calling for settlement was the only practical one, ought to have been better known to the statesmen of that day, than it can be to students of this. But the results are ours, and are certain. The Congress of Vienna has proved little better than an armistice; and from St. Petersburg to Naples, from Paris to Constantinople, the last forty years have developed an agitated life of change, confusion, and revolution. Not only has much of the work of 1815 been undone, but it has been destroyed by its own creators. To use the strong language of Count Ficquelmont, "The two acts of the Congress of Vienna, calculated to exercise the greatest influence on the future of Central Europe, were the re-construction of Poland, and the creation of a kingdom of the low countries. These two new political bodies have been destroyed by the same powers who most largely contributed to their creation. It is Russia who willed, I will not say the restoration, but the re-construction of a Poland—it is Russia who has been brought to destroy her own work. It is England who labored most earnestly in the creation of the kingdom of the low countries, and took the new State under her special protection. It was the illustrious warrior to whose genius she owed so many victories, to whom was committed the organization of the military system of the new State, which England wished to erect into her first line of defence against France. This territory, circled by citadels, secured the communication between the armies of England and Germany. And it was England who eagerly seized the first occasion to destroy her own handiwork."*

The absence of any real German unity has given play to rivalry between Austria and Prussia, dangerous, not only to themselves, but to some of the gravest European interests—opened a field for the exhibition of the miserable folly of the Frankfort Parliament, and permitted the dishonest and disgraceful invasion of the rights of Denmark, in the Dutchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

France, Italy, and Austria, have been weakened and distracted by the fiercest civil commotion; and the present condition of Europe, in contrast with the provisions of the diplomacy of 1815, points, with painful emphasis, the moral of human foresight. One fact remains, indeed, unchanged: England and Russia were the controlling authorities of Vienna, and after half a century of change and controversy, they now front each other, in armed hostility, the rival powers of Europe. But how wide the difference between the course of their respective policies, and their resulting positions! With the exception of the United States, it may safely be said that Russia is the only power in the world with a fixed policy, and a constant progress. England has strength, but she needs it all to hold her own. Her immense commercial development has given to her foreign policy a mercantile rather than a political character, and shifting her conduct to suit her interests, she has been forced to keep the police of Europe in the interest of Manchester and Liverpool. Russia, on the contrary, has devoted near two centuries of astute and systematic diplomacy to one idea—the extension of her empire to Constantinople. Twenty years have never passed, since her first step towards the Bosphorus, that she has not taken another in advance. The fall of markets has not checked her progress—the complications of Parliamentary strife have not disturbed her course—she has moved steadily on, "unchanged through all—unchangingly." And not forgetting her object, she has yet contrived, not only to do justice, but to do efficient service, in Europe, to the cause of justice. In the case of Greece, as far as England was concerned, the Czar acted both wisely and too well. In the contest between Denmark and the Dutchies, he vindicated, efficiently and promptly, the treaties of Europe, while Lord Palmerston finessed England into a state of faithless imbecility. During the struggle in Austria, when the future fortunes of all Europe were compromised by a rash revolution, and while the same Lord Palmerston was contriving a modified policy which would have saved the Italian republicans, at the expense of the Hungarian, the Czar ended the contest by an armed interference, which preserved both to the Austrian crown. Of course it would be easy to show a direct interest, on the part of Russia, in every one of these questions; but who can deny the wisdom of a policy which, without weakening its own strength, made Russia the natural and necessary support of the conservatism of the world? It is true that Russia has systematically and successfully encroached on Turkey. Forced, by the character of her possessions, to seek an outlet into the world of commerce, confined in the Baltic by States whose rights she was bound to respect, and has respected, there was but one direction in which she could advance. Now, on this subject, if there is any people in the world who should avoid the cant of English *commercial* conservatism, we are that people. The history of the world is the history of encroachment, of invasion, of wrong, if you so will. "It must be that offences come," but to Him only, who knoweth the whole counsel of God, is it to say: "Woe unto him by whom the offence cometh." This all history teaches; the strong and weak will not lie down together. You cannot bring into contact an earnest, living will, and a feeble, effete nature, without the absorption of the one into the other. Place England alongside of India, the United States by Mexico and Cuba, Russia by Turkey, and a half century of diplomacy or war will not, cannot, prevent the inevitable result. The first principle of life is progress. As one of our own poets has well said—

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* "Lord Palmerston l'Angleterre et le continent," vol. ii., p. 3.

> "This, the true sign of ruin to a race—
> It undertakes no march, and day by day
> Drowses in camp, or with a laggard's pace
> Walks sentry o'er possessions that decay:
> Destined with sensible waste to fleet away;—
> For *the first secret of continued power*
> *Is the continued conquest.*"—SIMMS.

We propose, therefore, to review rapidly the relations of England and Russia to Turkey, since the Congress of Vienna, in order to appreciate the value of their present relative positions. Turkey has never been considered as forming an element of the European balance of power. In 1791 Burke said: "He had never heard it said before, that the Turkish Empire was ever considered as any part of the balance of power in Europe. They had nothing to do with European policy—they considered themselves as wholly Asiatic. What had these worse than savages to do with the powers of Europe, but to spread war, destruction, and pestilence, among them? The ministry and policy which should give these people any weight in Europe, would deserve all the bans and curses of posterity. All that was holy in religion, all that was moral and humane, demanded an abhorrence of everything which tended to extend the power of the cruel and wasteful empire. Any Christian power was to be preferred to these destructive savages."

It would be interesting to trace the policy of Europe towards the Turks, from the time when, to the horror of Christendom, Francis the First made an ally of Solyman against Charles the Fifth, to the present day, when the Koran finds its safest refuge under the shadow of St. George's cross, but such a sketch would interfere too largely with our present purpose. It is sufficient now, that at the Congress of Vienna which terminated the long and fierce contest, at the commencement of which Mr. Burke used the memorable words which we have just quoted, the Sultan was not represented. He had not then entered the circle of civilized nations, and according to one of the ablest historians of that Congress, "the balance of power in the East was not confided to Congress."*

At the close of 1815, England was unquestionably the dominant power of the world—a great position, doubtless, but one which, in the history of empires, no nation has retained long, or held more than once. Her material resources were almost incalculable; her armies in the highest discipline, and brilliant with the trophies of a hundred victories; her navies floated upon the subject waters of almost every sea. In close alliance with her old companions, the States of the Baltic, she controlled the Northern Ocean and the shores of Germany; of the new kingdom of the low countries she had made a causeway into the heart of Europe; while in possession of Gibraltar and Corfu and Malta, she threatened the Italian provinces of Austria, and claimed the Mediterranean as a subject lake. Her colonies, each a link in the long chain of her commercial dependencies, girdled the globe, and bracing her strength, served also as conductors of her influence. Such power, Russia only could resist, because, except in the case of a general coalition, she was defended by all Europe, and through Turkey she had the means of offensive operations, without the necessity of violating the rights of her nearest neighbors. To this conflict Russia has resolutely addressed herself. Since 1815 there have been three questions directly affecting Turkey, in the solution of which Russia and England have been immediate parties. The Greek insurrection—the war of 1828, between Russia and Turkey, terminated by the treaty of Adrianople—and the revolt of the Egyptian Pacha, or what is known as the Eastern question of 1841. Now, this whole series of transactions, (and among them we should include the colonization of Algiers as another illustration of the same principles,) indicated very clearly the position in which Europe, under the lead of England, intended to place the Turkish Empire. They established, first, that Turkey was not able to maintain her own integrity; and, secondly, that the European powers would modify her boundaries, or sustain her provincial authority as suited their own interests, not hers. In other words, that Turkey was only a legal fiction, in the name of which certain territory should be held for the joint benefit of the great powers; the respective shares of each other's influence to be determined by their own diplomatic relations. More than this, the independence of Greece, and the treaty of Adrianople, the moderation of which must fairly be attributed to Russia herself, established distinctly the principle and policy of a progressive encroachment upon the Turkish Empire. For the freedom of Greece rested on the principle of Christian resistance to the oppressive power of Turkey, and its natural and logical inference promised the same privilege to Albania, Thessalia, and the neighboring provinces, whenever they could organize a like resistance. Indeed, the unwise limitation of the boundaries of the new kingdom, and the refusal to annex Candia to Greece, where she naturally belongs, is to be attributed simply to the timid selfishness of the mediating powers: to which of those powers selfishness was most specially to be credited, may be inferred from the offer of Candia to England in the late famous secret correspondence. While Greece was thus taken from Turkey, and, instead of being made strong enough for independent life, was placed in a condition of miserable dependence on Europe, the treaty of Adrianople regulated anew another portion of the Turkish territory. For, by its provisions, Moldavia and Wallachia were elevated into a *quasi* independence, placed under the immediate influence of Russia, and diplomatized into a position whence they must either degenerate into mere Russian provinces, or develop into the proportions of a new and independent Christian State. Of course, such a solution of these partial questions brought on worse complication. The utter weakness of Turkey, ascertained by Europe, was soon made manifest in its own provinces. Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, who had rendered great services to the Sultan during the Greek insurrection, was rewarded by the further addition to his government of the island of Candia. Wiser and stronger than his master, he too resolved on independence. A series of victories, rapidly and brilliantly achieved, alarmed the great powers of Europe, and the whole machinery of European diplomacy was brought to bear on the Turkish question. The protracted and irritating conferences of the European powers on the Eastern question, as it was then called, proved only too clearly the utter and insincere selfishness of their whole policy so far as any interest of Turkey was concerned, and demonstrated that though Russia might be as selfish as the rest, her policy was guided by an ability, reticence, and calm, assured strength that could not finally fail in its ultimate objects. Let us examine these discussions more closely.

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* Flassan Cong. de Vienne, vol. ii. 114.

Mehemet Ali, under the pretence of subduing some rebellious Pachas, overran Syria, and, backed by a victorious army, made his demands upon the Sultan. They were refused. He crossed the Syrian frontier, defeated the Turkish army, and turned his conquering columns towards Constantinople. Terrified at the prospect, the Sultan Mahmoud appealed to Russia for aid. It was promptly rendered, and on 20th February, 1833, the Russian fleet, sailing from Sebastopol, anchored at the mouth of the Bosphorus. At this crisis the French Ambassador arrived, and, uneasy at the prospective results of such aid, insisted that the Russian fleet should retire. It did so; and France applied directly to Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet, and then in command of the Egyptian army, for a suspension of arms. It was granted, and negotiations followed. They were unsuccessful, and the army resumed its hostile march. Again Russian aid was invoked. The fleet again entered the Bosphorus, and fifteen thousand Russian soldiers disembarked at Scutari, and took position between the Bosphorus and the Egyptian army. Alarmed, however, almost as much at the probable consequences of Russian help as at the approach of his revolted subject, to avoid the one, the Sultan came to terms with the other, and granted in full the demands of Mehemet Ali. The Egyptian army commenced its retreat in one direction, and Turkey's dangerous ally withdrew in the other. But the services rendered so promptly by Russia's advance, and the still greater service by her prompt retreat, disposed the Sultan favorably to the diplomatic proposals of Russia; and the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was the consequence.* By this treaty Russia bound herself to defend Turkey against all enemies, civil or foreign, and Turkey closed the Dardanelles to the armed vessels of all other foreign powers. The immense advantage to Russia of such a treaty need not be pointed out. Mehemet Ali was not satisfied. He demanded the hereditary government of his provinces; for he was ambitious of becoming an independent prince. War was again imminent. The great powers discouraged his ambition, but he persevered. The famous battle of Nezib terminated in the complete defeat of the Turkish army, the old Sultan died, and the Turkish Admiral, by an act of unparalleled treachery, delivered the whole Ottoman fleet into the hands of the rebel Pacha at Alexandria. The fate of the Turkish Empire seemed rapidly approaching its crisis. But on the 23d July, 1839, a French messenger having again induced the victorious Ibrahim to pause, the representatives of the five great powers, Russia, England, France, Austria, and Prussia, addressed the following note to the new Sultan Abduel Medjid: "The five ambassadors undersigned, in conformity with their instructions received yesterday from their respective courts, congratulate themselves on having to announce to the ministers of the Sublime Porte, that the agreement between the five powers touching the Eastern question is certain. And they entreat the Sublime Porte, in waiting for the fruits of their friendly disposition, (*leurs dispositions bienveillantes*,) not to decide absolutely on the said question in a definite manner without their concurrence, (*leur concours*)." Here, surely, one would think was a case in which, if the interests of Turkey were the object, the action of the mediators would have been prompt and unanimous. What was the fact? From July, 1838, when the note was sent, to July, 1841, when they agreed upon a joint treaty, these great powers consumed their time in perpetual disputes and diplomatic intrigue. They could not agree on a policy to be executed, nor upon a plan of execution. A conference called to give peace to the East, came near embroiling all Europe in war. France, who most eagerly commenced the pacification, was diplomatized out of all participation in the concluding treaty; and the Eastern question was finally settled, more by the rough-and-ready responsibility of Sir Charles Napier, than by the subtle dexterity of the ambassadors at London.

For when, after the acceptance of their offer, the representatives of the Five Powers met, the Turkish Secretary of State exposed the weakness of the Empire; declared that they looked to Europe for their salvation, and thanking the Powers for their friendly intervention, submitted, as the first of his demands, that Syria should be restored to the Sultan; and very naturally. England and Austria sustained the demand. Russia and France opposed it. *They* demanded that Egypt and the Syrian Pachaliks should be given to Mehemet, with an hereditary title. Prussia sided with England and France. These conferences were finally adjourned to London, and the Four Powers combined against France. Russia did not wish to weaken Turkey too far at that time; for Europe was not ready for the partition. England not only did not wish to weaken Turkey as against Russia, but she was vehemently opposed to the growth of Mehemet Ali's power in Egypt. France, on the contrary, was anxious to make Mehemet Ali an independent prince with Egypt and Syria, perhaps, because it reduced English influence in the Mediterranean and on the India overland route. In this, Russia at first agreed with her, but finding it easier to manage the English Cabinet than to oppose it, adopted English policy, and used it for her own purposes. Austria and Prussia acted on reasons it is not worth while to examine. Finding France steady in her purpose towards Mehemet Ali, the Czar, through Baron Brunow, induced England, by some concessions of the advantages obtained under the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, to exclude France from any further deliberation, and with herself, Austria, and Prussia, to sign a treaty which would terminate the question. The treaty was signed. France was indignant, but submitted, and after some belligerent manifestations, acquiesced. Sir Charles Napier defeated the Egyptians on the shores of Syria, and upon the taking of St. Juan d'Acre, Mehemet Ali consented to the terms of the Sultan, by which he remained hereditary Pacha of Egypt; and thus another practical dismemberment of the Turkish Empire was effected. Thus, by 1842, in the name of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, Greece had been created an independent kingdom, Servia and Wallachia in a large degree enfranchised, and Egypt converted into an hereditary pachalik only nominally dependent on the Porte. And all this was done with the unanimous consent of the European Powers, acting in different directions, and in furtherance of divergent interests. Whatever of Turkey was left, was left only because the Great Powers could not agree how it was to be divided.

Art. VIII.—COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VIEW OF NOVA SCOTIA.

During the year and a half that I have administered the government of this province, I have endeavored to make myself acquainted with its industrial resources and maritime and agricultural capabilities.

With the Blue Book sent home in 1852, I transmitted the statistical returns for 1851, collected under an act of the Legislature. Without recapitulating what these include, I shall do myself the honor to call your lordship's attention to a few interesting facts and comparative statements, which will serve to illustrate the actual condition of this colony.

I am happy to be enabled to report that it has entirely recovered from the depression occasioned by the potato-rot, and by the derangements which recent changes in the commercial system of the empire at first occasioned. All the great interests of the province exhibit revived activity. Its staples—agricultural produce, fish, coal, gypsum, cordwood, lumber, and new vessels—command high prices. The population are fully employed; and the revenue, collected under a tariff the lowest on this continent, steadily increases, yielding not only all that is required to defray the expenses of the government, but a large surplus, for the protection of the fisheries, the encouragement of agriculture, the maintenance of schools, and for internal improvements of various kinds.

In Canada the ad valorem duty on imports is 12½ per cent.; in New-Brunswick, it ranges from 7½ to 30 per cent.; but in Nova Scotia it is only 6¼ per cent. on the same description of articles.

In 1849 the revenue was £54,179 11 4 sterling. In 1852, in sterling, £93,039 7 2. And the three quarters of 1852, the accounts for which have been closed, show that this increase will be maintained.

The following is a summary of the importations at the forty-three different ports in Nova Scotia, in the year 1852. We have abridged it from the original, which particularizes in detail the value of merchandise entered at each port:—

	Value.		
Imported from Great Britain	£427,532	8	0
" " British Colonies	264.979	9	0
" " United States	347 843	19	0
" " Other Countries	153 819	14	0
Total	£1,194,175	10	0

A summary of exports in the same year shows the following result:—

	Value.
Exported to Great Britain	£62,675 19 0
" " British Colonies	565,219 10 4
" " United States	257,849 17 0
" " Other Countries	85,035 8 0
Total	£970,780 14 4

By a comparison of the totals, it would appear that there is a balance of £223,394 15 8 against the province; but when it is considered that the exports are estimated at the comparatively low prices which they bring here, it will be apparent that if the higher prices which they command abroad, including the freights outward in our own vessels, were given, they would prove that Nova Scotia is fulfilling all the conditions of a healthy and profitable exchange.

The value of new vessels, built for sale and exportation, ought also to be added to the exports. I regret that it is not in my power to furnish an accurate return of these. The Financial Secretary has been instructed to prepare one for the current year.

Before passing over the commercial aspects of Nova Scotia, your lordship will, perhaps, pardon me for calling your attention to the very extraordinary growth of her mercantile marine. This province being nearly surrounded by the sea, with the Bay of Fundy and Basin of Mines extending into the very midst of her, western and midland, and the Bras d'Or Lake into the bosom of her eastern counties, presents to the ocean, in proportion to territory, a greater extent of seacoast than any country with which I am familiar. While the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the northern ports of New-Brunswick are frozen up during four or five months of winter, the whole frontage of Nova Scotia upon the Atlantic, indented by the finest harbors in the world, is open to a profitable commerce throughout the year.

Availing themselves of these obvious advantages, the people of this province not only conduct a profitable fishery, and an active coasting and foreign trade, but enter largely into the carrying trade of other countries, competing successfully, on this extended field of rivalry, not only with the British ship-owners, but with the mercantile marine of the neighboring Republic.

In 1846, Nova Scotia owned 2,583 vessels; Canada but 604; New-Brunswick but 730; Newfoundland but 937; Prince Edward Island, 265. The tonnage of all these colonies, collectively, was, in that year, 252,832 tons, while that of Nova Scotia alone reached as high as 141,093 tons.

During the six years which have elapsed since 1846, the growth of this branch of industry has been most gratifying.

At the close of the last year, 1852, the number of vessels registered in this province, and actually employed in conducting its fishery, commerce, and carrying trade, had increased to 2,943, with a tonnage of 189,083, showing an increase in six years of 360 vessels, and 47,990 tons.

That Nova Scotia is destined, at no distant day, to be one of the largest ship-owning countries in the world, is apparent from the status already achieved. She owns now nearly one-third as much tonnage as France. She beats the Austrian Empire by 2,400 vessels, and by 69,000 tons, and owns 116,000 tons of shipping more than Belgium. She beats the Two Sicilies by 38,449 tons; Prussia, by 90,783. Holland, which once contested the supremacy of the seas with England, now owns but 72,640 tons of shipping more than this, one of her smallest colonies; and Sweden, with a population of three millions, only beats Nova Scotia in shipping by 36,927 tons.

But the comparison which Nova Scotia bears to the United States, taken separately or collectively, is quite as striking. By reference to the following table, it will appear, that of all the republican States and Territories, included in the confederation, the tonnage of but six exceeds that of Nova Scotia:—

	Tons.
Maine	593,806
Massachusetts	767,766
New-York	1,184,831
Pennsylvania	301,723
Maryland	206,247
Louisiana	261,171

Upon the three last, judging from the activity displayed in our ship-yards, we shall press closely, by the end of 1853, while nothing is more certain than that we shall outstrip them in a few years. Maine and Massachusetts, the great centres of New-England commerce, and of the fishery, still are far in advance of Nova Scotia, and with the Empire State of New-York, of course, she pretends to no comparison; but it should be borne in mind, that the loyalists who retired to this province at the Revolution, left all their property behind them; and that Maine, Massachusetts, and New-York, had a flourishing commerce, and owned a large amount of tonnage, before the British founders of this colony had a single sail upon the ocean.

The following table will show to your lordship how largely each of the other States and Territories are beaten by Nova Scotia. It is true that some of them are inland countries, but as most of those lie along the shores of the great lakes, or of navigable rivers, perhaps the comparison, which I am bound to institute, may abate a little of the arrogance with which the citizens of the Republic are apt to challenge rivalry with all the world :—

Nova Scotia.......... ....189,083 tons.

	Tons.		Tons.
New-Hampshire	24,806	Alabama	28.533
Vermont	5,657	Mississippi	1,452
Rhode Island	41,049	Texas	7,120
Connecticut	125.088	Tennessee	4,634
New-Jersey	96.134	Kentucky	11,819
Delaware	9.598	Missouri	37.862
District of Columbia	26,197	Illinois	25.209
Virginia	72,538	Ohio	60,338
North Carolina	50,621	Michigan	46,348
South Carolina	46,735	Wisconsin	6 931
Georgia	25,785	Oregon	1.063
Florida	9,669	California	101,627

If we take the United States collectively, the comparison is still more curious. Assuming, from their latest statistical returns, that their population is 25,000,000, and their tonnage 4,138,439, this would give something over one ton of shipping to every six of the population. Now, taking the population of Nova Scotia at 300,000, and its tonnage at 189,083, this gives but a trifle less than two tons of shipping for every three of the population.

Who can set bounds to the maritime expansion of a people, who have done all this in a hundred years ?

The agricultural capabilities of this province are also very great, and I have endeavored to turn attention to them, by taking a personal interest in the pursuits of husbandry—by encouraging cattle-shows, and by the importation of the best breeds from England.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the nature of the soils or the aspects of the scenery of this province. These will be found described with sufficient accuracy in Sir John Harvey's report for 1849. But, as it has become so much the custom, on both sides of the Atlantic, to wonder at the extraordinary capabilities and advancement of the United States, and to institute comparisons with them unfavorable to the British North American Provinces, I may be pardoned for calling your lordship's attention to a few facts, which prove that, while the Nova Scotians, taken man for man, are outstripping their republican neighbors on the ocean, their country is far in advance of many of the States in the production of the necessaries of life, by the successful cultivation of the soil.

With the wheat-growing countries, which surround the great lakes, whether on the British or the American side of the line, Nova Scotia is not to be compared. She does not raise her own bread ; but while one barrel of her mackerel will purchase two barrels of flour, she can always afford to buy what she requires.

It is curious, however, to discover that even as a wheat-growing country, she beats five of the New-England States, and twelve of the more recently settled States and Territories.

WHEAT CROP.

Wheat raised in Nova Scotia in 1851........................297,157 bushels.

State of Maine	296,259	Louisiana	417
New-Hampshire	185,658	Texas	41,198
Massachusetts	31,211	Arkansas	199,639
Rhode Island	49	California	17,328
Connecticut	41,726	Minnesota Territory	1,401
District of Columbia	17,370	Oregon	211,943
Florida	1,027	Utah	107,702
Alabama	294,040	New Mexico	196,517
Mississippi	137,990		

By reference to the returns, it will be seen that in the growth of rye Nova Scotia goes far ahead of sixteen of the neighboring States and Territories. In the production of Indian corn, (though the quality raised in this Province is excellent,) most of the United States surpass Nova Scotia; but yet, in the growth of oats she beats thirteen, in buckwheat twenty-three, and in barley every State and Territory in the Union except Ohio and New-York. In the growth of hay and in the products of the dairy it may be seen that only the older, larger, and more populous of the United States are in advance of the Province, while in the yield of potatoes she leaves twenty-three of the States far behind her. [Here follow detailed statistics of the foregoing.]

From what has been stated in a previous part of this report, your Grace will readily comprehend the peculiar importance which the people of Nova Scotia attach to the protection of the rights of the fishery, secured to British subjects by the Convention of 1818. They know that a successful fishery has ever formed a secure basis for maritime superiority. They know that France could not man her navy now but for the nursery for seamen which she maintains, by bounties, on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland. They know also that in the only two of the New-England States which exceed them in tonnage, the fishery (directly fostered by bounties paid out of the general treasury of the Union) has been the nursing mother of the mercantile marine.

The fishermen of Nova Scotia ask no bounties from the Imperial Legislature. They have ceased to ask them even from their own. But what they do require is protection from both in the enjoyment of those rights secured to them by treaties, and out of the lawful exercise of which they see slowly evolving maritime capabilities and resources which no wise government, in their opinion, should disregard.

To enable your Grace to see the magnitude of this question from the colonial point of view, I may be pardoned for dwelling upon it for a few moments.

From the mouth of the river St. Croix, which is the boundary between the United States and the British Provinces, to Cape Sable, on the opposite shore of Nova Scotia, following the coast line of the Bay of Fundy and Basin of Mines, there are 400 miles of sea-coast. Tracing the coast lines of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, there are 800 miles more. The northern shores of New-Brunswick and those of Prince Edward Island may be estimated at 500. The coast of Canada, from below where the St. Lawrence is six miles wide to the New-Brunswick boundary, stretch over 800 miles. Following the north shore of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of Hudson's Bay, including the coast of Labrador, there are, perhaps, 1,500 miles more. A crow, flying around the Island of Newfoundland, must travel 1,000 miles. British North America has thus (including that portion between Cape St. John and Cape Ray, on which the French have secured the right to fish) 5,000 miles of sea-coast. The whole Atlantic shore of the United States includes but 1,800. The shore line of the Gulf of Mexico gives them but 1,100 more, or 2,900 in all; of which by far the largest proportion bounds the slave States, whose laboring population cannot be trusted by their masters on the sea. If to those 5,000 miles of sea-coast we add the indentations of bays and harbors—and all North America abounds with them—we shall have at least 5,000 additional miles. Along this whole line of coast, and in these numerous bays and harbors, to say nothing of the Great Banks of Newfoundland, there is the finest fishery in the world. Cod, haddock, halibut, mackerel, herring, alewives and salmon abound, with numerous other fish which have yet no marketable value.

These fisheries naturally (to say nothing of treaties) belong to her Majesty's subjects in North America, who own the adjacent coasts and islands, which flank, enlap, and encompass them on every side. They have the same rights over these exhaustless treasures which the citizens of the United States have long exercised over the comparatively valueless fishery along the southern seaboard, on which the men of the North (even if the doctrines laid down by American publicists were less explicit) would not find it profitable to encroach.

Your Grace is aware that Nova Scotia, so far back as 1819, perceived the importance of maintaining these rights of fishery. In almost every year since that period a small force has been fitted out, and the obvious stipulations of the convention of 1818 have been asserted by the cruizers of this Province, even when they could not be very efficiently enforced. In 1851 efforts were made to interest the other Provinces in this service, and since that year Her Majesty's government has bestowed upon it a degree of solicitude commensurate with its vast importance.

With a view to combine the provincial and imperial operations as much as possible, I place the vessels fitted out by this government in 1852, under instructions approved by Vice-Admiral Sir George F. Seymour, and throughout the season they acted as auxiliaries to Her Majesty's ships employed in the same service. During the past summer the vessels hired by the provincial government have been placed at the Vice-Admiral's entire disposal, and have been manned by drafts from the flag ship and commanded by naval officers.

The zeal, energy, and discretion evinced by his Excellency Sir George F. Seymour, in the protection of this great fishery, while they have commanded the entire confidence of the Provincial government, and drawn forth unanimous expressions of approbation and respect from each branch of the Legislature, have left the commanders of the United States men-of-war, who have in both seasons been sent into the northern waters, nothing of which they could, with any shadow of justice, complain. The effects of increased vigilance are clearly discernible in the reduced catch of our neighbors, and in the enhanced value of our own. For all kinds of fish there is a brisk demand, and mackerel have sold on our wharves, during this summer, as high as $13 per barrel.

The political condition of Nova Scotia, as your lordship is well aware, is quite as much advanced as its industrial. The province enjoys, in common with Canada and New-Brunswick, the full development of representative institutions. Each branch of the Legislature is guided by British precedents. In the courts the law and practice of England universally prevail. The press is free, and even its licentiousness is unrestrained by any check unfamiliar to the inhabitants of the mother country. The public servants hold their offices by tenures sanctioned by imperial practice, and the modes of administration, while they secure to the Queen's representative the aid of a Parliamentary majority, and of able men to preside over the public departments, leave him free to discharge the duties which he owes to her Majesty, by the constitutional exercise and preservation of all the prerogatives of the crown. I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed)

J. GASPARD LE MARCHANT.

Right Honorable His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

Art. IX.—MINES AND MINERALS AND MANUFACTURING IN EAST TENNESSEE.

We take the following from the *Knoxville Register* of the 12th, from which it will be readily perceived that the present course of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee, in granting aid to railroads, will tend to the early development of these latent resources, and make that State one of the wealthiest and most prosperous of the Union.

Much has been said of the copper mines of Polk county, and from what we hear as daily occurring in that region, we are constrained to believe that their value has not been as yet half developed. But recently, we are told, the miners have reached the yellow sulphuret of copper, which we understand is an infallible indication of the inexhaustible extent of the mines, and also their incomparable richness. The fever which has hitherto prevailed in that quarter of East Tennessee seems not yet to have attained its highest pitch, as new discoveries are being made, new mines opened, and large transactions transpiring. But last week, we are informed, there were sales of two or three quarter sections of land, at about $1,250,000.

About five thousand tons of ore are now being taken from the mines monthly, and this of such richness as to be worth net one hundred dollars per ton, thus making the products of the mines even now half a million of dollars per month. What it will be when the shafts that are being sunk all penetrate the rich sulphuret, no one can conjecture, and what discoveries are yet to be made in the intervening spaces between the Polk county mines and those recently discovered in Carroll county, Virginia, "no man can know"—that the two developments are but the outcropping of the same continuous vein, which extends along our eastern border, we think there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, as the Virginia and Polk county veins have the same direction, northeast and southwest, have the same dip, the same surface indications, and are in the same chain of mountains. Besides this, the formation of the intervening country indicates as certainly the presence of copper beneath the surface, as do the masses of once molten matter which are to be seen where the copper has been found.

But these copper developments are not the one-tenth part of the indications of the unprecedented value which is some day, and that now not very far distant, to be attached to mineral lands in East Tennessee. To say nothing of our zinc, lead, marble, &c., &c., and the immense amount of capital which we have no doubt will be some day employed in bringing these treasures out of the earth, we can point to our *mountains of iron* *and coal* as being of more value, ultimately, than all the copper mines of the world, no matter how productive they may be.

It is strange, indeed, that all the capital which is now being invested in mineral lands in East Tennessee, should be controlled by this copper mania. There are immense fields of coal, unsurpassed in their extent, or in the quality of the coal, by any that has ever been discovered, in immediate proximity to the best iron ore in the world, and that, too, so abundant that we verily believe, with the fuel so near, and other facilities which may be had, together with the modern improvements in the art of making iron, the pig iron may be made at a cost of little more than five dollars per ton. And yet thousands of acres of land in East Tennessee, where this coal and iron so much abound, might now be purchased for less than fifty cents per acre; and that, too, in view of the fact, that there are so soon to be radiating from Knoxville railways to the North, South, East, and West, over which the iron may be transported with profit to any market in the United States.

To Charleston, for instance, the time will soon be when it may be transported for eight dollars per ton, thence to New-York for two and a half dollars; to Cincinnati and Louisville for from four to five dollars, making the actual cost of the iron in New-York less than $20 per ton, in Charleston less than $15, and in Cincinnati less than $10! To our distant readers, who are familiar with prices for pig iron, ranging from $20 to $50, these suggestions may seem to be visionary, but they will not so think when we tell them that iron is now made in East Tennessee after the fashion in which "our fathers" made it, and that, too, with charcoal, at $10 per ton, and that the iron men of East Tennessee have always realized good profits in the Ohio River markets, though their only access to them heretofore has been by a transportation of near three thousand miles, (*via* the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers.) Here then is the place to "put money"—in the coal and iron lands; not that there are not large profits to be realized from a more complete development of our marble quarries, zinc and lead mines; but iron has ever been, and must continue to be, an article absolutely indispensable, in some form or other, to every family in this and every other land.

Art. X.—STEAMBOAT DISASTERS ON WESTERN WATERS IN 1858.

The following list was compiled by Edwin A. Goff, of Missouri, and is full of instructive lessons to the mercantile interests of the country:—

Jan. 7th.—Steamer John Simonds collapsed a flue while rounding out from the Louisville wharf-boat, was subsequently repaired at a cost of about $3,000. No one injured.

Jan. 10*th.*—Steamer T. P. Leathers took fire in the hold, ner Natchez, Lower Mississippi, and was badly burned. Captain Carroll, of the James Robb, saved her from destruction. She was towed to New-Orleans by the Robb, and Captain Carroll claimed and obtained salvage on the cargo to the amount of $18,000.

Jan. 19*th.*—Steamers New Lucy, New England and Brunette were burned at the landing and totally destroyed, except portions of their hulls. New England was valued at $6,500, New Lucy at $37,000, and the Brunette at $30,000. The two latter boats were entirely new, the former was an old boat.

Jan. 6*th.*—Steamer Joe Wilson blew up and burnt to the water's edge, at Columbus, Arkansas. Total loss—valued at $18,000.

Jan. 10*th.*—The steamer G. W. Kendall run on the rocks at Louisville, where she remained some two or three months, and was damaged to the amount of $3,000.

Jan. 18*th.*—Steamer Winfield Scott was blown on the rocks in front of Louisville, and was badly damaged thereby. She was subsequently gotten off and repaired at an expense of $2,000 to $3,000.

Jan. 19*th.*—Steamer Allen Grover was wrecked in the Alabama river, between Tuscaloosa and Mobile. Boat and cargo total loss. Value of either unknown.

Jan. 3*d.*—Steamer Alabama was run aground at Montgomery, Alabama river, where she remained some two or three months; was launched at a cost of $3,000.

Jan. 6*th.*—Polar Star encountered a snag below President's Island, Lower Mississippi, slightly damaged.

Jan. 20*th.*—The Michigan and Australia came in collision at Shousetown, on the Ohio; the engine of the latter badly damaged.

Jan. 25*th.*—The Swallow and Edward Howard came in collision twenty-five miles above New-Orleans, by which the former was sunk; loss not ascertained.

Jan. 6*th.*—The Sligo No. 2, an old and worthless boat, was destroyed by fire at Smithland; loss but small.

Jan. 26*th.*—The U. S. Aid ran against Covington Bridge, on the Wabash, by which her chimneys, pilot house, and a portion of her cabin were demolished, and the carpenter, John A. Carr, killed.

Jan. 23*d.*—The Sultana encountered a tremendous gale of wind at Mills' Point, Lower Mississippi, had her chimneys blown down; her cabin and boiler deck were considerably injured.

Jan. 15*th.*—The Mary Bess was sunk in the Alabama river, and a valuable cargo of cotton destroyed, together with the boat; loss $18,000 to $20,000.

Jan. 12*th.*—The Excel left this city for one of the Southern rivers, and when forty-five or fifty miles below here lost her wheel, returned and gave up the trip.

Jan. 14*th.*—John McFadin broke a shaft on her way from the Ohio river, near Paducah.

Jan. 13*th.*—E. Howard was slightly injured by a snag, at Island 21, Lower Mississippi.

Jan. 13*th.*—R. H. Lee had her guard badly torn coming around from the Wabash river.

Jan. 2*nd.*—Steamer Fusileer exploded both boilers in the Mississippi river, near Ship Island, killing eight persons; among them one of the engineers and the mate. The captain was also badly injured.

Feb. 12*th.*—The Memphis was sunk below Madison, Indiana, with a large cargo of merchandise on board; loss $30,000. The boat was afterwards raised, and is now running.

Feb. 6th.—Steamers Jefferson and Col. Bayard came in collision on the Monongahela river, seven miles above Pittsburgh. Both boats were seriously damaged by the accident, and were compelled to lie up for repairs. On board the Jefferson two lives were lost.

Feb. 10th.—Steamer Memphis sunk at Madison, Ohio river; valued at $12,000.

Feb. 9th.—The Grand Tower run into a wharf-boat lying at Warsaw, Ohio river, and sunk it with a large amount of merchandise on board. Loss not ascertained.

Feb. 14th—Sam Cloon was sunk in Spanish Moss Bend, Lower Mississippi, by coming into collision with the Harry Hill. The Cloon was subsequently raised at a cost of $5,000.

Feb. 25th.—Steamer Pittsburgh and Falls City came into collision at Petticoat Island, Ohio river. Both boats badly damaged. The former to the amount of $3,000 and the latter $5,000.

Feb. 15th.—Steamer John Swasey was totally destroyed by fire at New-Orleans, with 1,600 bales of cotton on board. Three of the crew perished in the flames; loss of boat and cargo estimated at $70,000.

Feb. 6th.—The G. W. Kendall sunk a barge at St. Joseph, Lower Mississippi, by which 1,600 barrels molasses were lost.

Feb. 8th.—The Bride got aground in Wabash river, and while sparring the boat off three men were killed by the breaking of the capstan.

Feb. 5th.—The Avalanche was burnt at Peoria—loss $7,000.

Feb. 16th.—A collision took place in the Missouri river, between the Highland Mary and El Paso; damages light.

Feb. 12th.—A collision occurred in the Illinois river, near Hardin, between the R. H. Lee and Movastar; little or no damage done.

The steamers Sun and Echo were both sunk in Red river, in February, exact date not recollected; loss not known.

Mar. 8th.—Steamer Shenandoah, on her way down from Keokuk, struck a snag, which broke fifty of her hull timbers; was docked at this city, at an expense of $2,000.

Mar. 9th.—The Highland Mary No. 2 sunk in Upper Mississippi, two miles above Hamburg. Loss $4,000.

Mar. 3d.—The Emma Watts was sunk in the Wabash river, by coming in collision with the steamer Hermann. She was subsequently raised at an expense of $3,000.

Mar. 4th.—Steamer Retrieve sunk in the river between Columbus, Georgia, and Apalachicola. Total loss, value $15,000.

Mar. 6th.—Steamer Thomas Swan was snagged in the Ohio river, near Wheeling; damage $3,000.

Mar. 12th.—Steamer Kate Swinney, in coming down the Missouri river, broke out her cylinder head; lost a trip by the accident; damage $1,000.

Mar. 17th.—The steamer Saxon, on her way up to Alton, run into and sunk a flat-boat laden with staves, hoop-poles and lumber. Flat and cargo a total loss; value $2,500.

Mar. 16th.—Steamer Bee exploded her boilers at West Franklin, Ohio river. Two lives were lost by the accident and several persons injured.

Mar. 12th.—The steamer Milton was totally destroyed by fire below Louisville; boat total loss; value $6,000.

Mar. 17th.—Steamer Robert Campbell struck a snag at St. Aubert, was compelled to go on the docks; loss $1,500.

Mar. 25th.—Steamer California sunk in Shirt-tail Bend, Lower Mississippi; total loss, value $10,000.

Mar. 11th.—Steamers Martha Jewett and Louisa came into collision at

Island 66, Lower Mississippi, by which the latter boat had her wheel-house stove in and wheel badly broken; damage about $1,000.

Mar. 12*th.*—Two coal boats were sunk loaded with coal, in the Ohio river, at Scuffletown; boats and cargo lost, value $3,500.

Mar. 10*th.*—Steamer Asia, a Galena packet, sunk at Keithsburgh, in six feet water, was subsequently raised and docked at an expense of $2,000.

Mar. 1*st.*—The Robt. Campbell struck a log, at St. Aubert, Missouri river, breakin forty to sixty of her timbers, and damaging valuable cargo; loss $4,000

Mar. 3*d.*—The Liah Tuna and L. M. Kennett came in collision at Hat Island; former damaged slightly.

Mar. 14*th.*—The Emma Watts sunk in the Wabash (loss not known) by a collision with the Hermann, but subsequently raised.

April 2*nd.*—Steamer Charleston sunk at Rising Sun, Ohio river. Total loss $35,000.

April 20*th.*—Steamer Georgia, on her way down from Council Bluffs, Missouri river, was caught in a storm of wind, which blew down her chimneys and damaged the boat to the amount of $1,200.

April 18*th.*—Steamer Julia Dean sunk in Wabash river above the town of York. Total loss—value of boat $11,000, cargo worth $2,500.

April 25*th.*—Steamer Kansas sunk in the Missouri river, at Linden Landing. Boat valued at $7,000, value of cargo unknown.

April 28*th.*—The Amazonia was badly damaged in the Illinois river by running into the bank. Loss both chimneys overboard. Damage $1,000.

April 8*th or* 9*th.*—The steamer Olivia sunk in the Upper Ohio, above Portsmouth, with a cargo of salt, amounting to about 2,000 barrels. Boat and cargo lost, valued at about $6,000 to $7,000.

April 12*th.*—The Eastport caught fire below Memphis, and two hundred bales cotton were destroyed thereby.

April 20*th.*—The Julia Ann, a small craft, sunk near York, Wabash river; loss $3,000 to $4,000; covered by insurance.

April 21*st.*—The mud receiver of the Henry Chouteau burst at Grand Gulf; one man killed and two slightly scalded.

May 6*th.*—Steamer Hiram Powers was burnt in Wabash river. Boat total loss; value $20,000.

May 2*nd.*—Steamer Bride was snagged and sunk in Wabash river. Total loss—valued at $15,000.

May 4*th.*—Julia Dean snagged and sunk in White river. Value $8,000. Was afterwards raised and put in running order.

May 15*th.*—Steamer Badger State struck a snag and sunk in the Desmoines river. Was raised and docked at a cost of $2,000.

May 16*th.*—The Caleb Cope sunk a barge in the Illinois river, loaded with merchandise. The barge and part of cargo lost; value $2,700.

May 20*th.*—Steamers Atlantic and Paul Anderson came in collision at Cairo, by which accident the latter boat sustained damage to her stern in the amount of $500 or $600.

May 2*nd.*—The Leslie No. 2 was destroyed by fire at Algiers, opposite New-Orleans. Loss very small.

May ..— Steamer Preston, with a large cargo of merchandise, sunk in Upper Red river, below White Oak shoals. Loss heavy; exact amount not ascertained; supposed about $50,000 or $60,000.

May 1*st.*—Virginia and Orion came in collision on the Ohio river; latter damaged $1,500.

May 8*th.*—The Jim Turner was sunk below the Raft in Red river; boat of very little value.

May 3*d.*—Two men were killed on board the Keokuk packet Jeannie Deans, by the bursting of a small swivel, as that boat was coming into port.

May 15th.—Buckeye State burst her connection pipe at Merriman, below Pittsburgh; one man killed.

May 17th.—The Gen. Scott was sunk near Memphis; most of her freight saved; boat not very valuable.

June 11th.—The Falls City, in a gale at Blennerhassett's Island, received injuries to the extent of $5,000.

June 1st.—The canal boat Western World, sunk at Naples, Illinois river, while in tow of the steamer Fayaway. Part of cargo only lost, valued at $1,100.

June 10th.—The steamer Kate Swinney, on her way up the Missouri river, took fire in the hold, but little damage done—not more than $500 worth.

June 20th.—The steamer James Millingar was burnt up at the Cincinnati wharf; worth $10,000.

The steamer Memphis, No. 1, was also burnt at the same time and place with the James Millingar—worth $6,000.

June 23d.—Steamer Michigan encountered a severe storm of wind on her way down from Galena, by which her chimneys were blown overboard, and the boat otherwise damaged. Loss by the accident, $2,000.

June 18th.—Larboard steam connection pipe of the New Lucy burst as she was leaving this port; three persons scalded; no lives lost.

June 20th.—Emperor sunk at McCullum's Riffle, on the Ohio; boat of but little value, and cargo small.

June 2nd.—Steamer Summit sprung aleak at Cincinnati, and damaged her cargo to the amount of $12,000.

The James Millingar and Memphis No. 1 were destroyed by fire at Cincinnati, June 14. Loss, $40,000.

The North America and Clara were consumed by fire at Fulton, Cincinnati. September 8th. Both old boats; loss about $15,000.

The West Newton sunk near Lake Pepin, Upper Mississippi, on the 13th October. Total loss about $5,000.

The tow boat Brooklyn was sunk near Augusta, Ohio river, by collision with the Sciota. Boat of but little value.

July 26th.—The steamers Dr. Franklin No. 2, Bluff City, and Highland Mary No. 1, were totally destroyed by fire at St. Louis wharf. The Dr. Franklin was valued at $8,000, Bluff City $40,000, and Highland Mary $5,500.

July 13th.—The steamer Manchester was totally destroyed by fire at the Pittsburgh wharf. Valued at $20,000.

Aug. 24th.—The Timour, No. 2, got aground at Smith's Bar, on the Missouri, where she lay for three months, but was removed at a cost of $3,000 to $4,000.

Aug. 10th.—The Lady Franklin and Jane Franklin came in collision, a few miles above Madison, Indiana; the latter seriously damaged.

Aug. 13th.—A collision took place at Gunpowder Bar, on the Ohio, between the Express and Envoy; former considerably damaged.

Aug. 15th.—The Dresden and Georgia came in contact on the Mississippi, near Cairo; latter slightly injured.

Sept. 10th.—The Pawnee was sunk a short distance above Cairo, in twelve feet water. Boat total loss; insured for $16,000; cargo badly damaged. Total loss estimated at $35,000 to $40,000.

Sept. 26th.—The Patrick Henry struck a snag, opposite Wittenburgh, 100 miles below this city. Boat slightly damaged.

Sept. 2d.—Steamer Daniel Hillman sunk on Lower Rapids—was afterwards raised at an expense of $2,000.

Sept. 10th.—Col. Dickinson sunk at Island 18, Lower Mississippi. Total loss—valued at $18,000.

Sept. 20th.—Steamer Farmer sunk at the same place. Total loss—valued at $11,000.

Sept. 30th.—The Grand Tower and Saranak No. 2, came into collision below Cairo, by which the latter was damaged to the amount of $1,000.

Sept. 24th.—The steamer General Pike sunk at Bainbridge, below St. Louis. Total loss. Boat valued at $20,000.

Sept. 15th.—The steamer Daniel Boone sunk at College Point, Lower Mississippi, by coming in collision with the Southern Belle. Value of the boat unknown.

Sept. 12th.—The U. S. Mail was sunk at the Louisville wharf, by being run into by the Ben Coursin. She was raised, and is now running.

Oct. 12th.—The steamer Georgetown sunk at Grand Tower, Lower Mississippi. Total loss. Value unknown.

Oct. 21st.—The steamers Montauk, Lunette, and Robert Campbell, were totally destroyed by fire at the St. Louis wharf. Aggregate value, $40,000.

Oct. 11th.—The steamer Flag sunk in the Ohio river, at Flint Island, and was subsequently raised. Damage, $3,000.

Oct. 20th.—The barge John Argeant, in tow of the Ironton, was sunk between here and Cairo. Barge a total loss, worth $3,000; cargo damaged, valued at about $16,000.

Oct. 2nd.—The Wenona struck a snag below Glasgow, on the Missouri, by which the boat and cargo were slightly damaged.

Oct. 6th.—The Wisconsin struck a rock in the Lower Rapids of the Mississippi, by which she sustained inconsiderable injuries.

Oct. 9th.—The R. H. Lee sunk in Campbell Chain, Upper Rapids, by striking a rock, in eight feet water; boat subsequently raised and repaired; cargo of grain and other produce badly damaged.

Oct. 14th.—James Robb, bound for Alton, struck a log or other obstruction, breaking eighty or ninety of her hull timbers. Brought back and docked.

Oct. 19th.—The Shipper was sunk at Harpeth Shoals, Cumberland river, in five feet water; subsequently raised.

Oct. 21st.—The C. Hayes and Southern Belle came in collision a short distance above New-Orleans; former damaged to the extent of $1,000.

Nov. 10th.—The steamer Volant was totally destroyed by fire on the Yazoo river. Loss, $10,000.

The Golden Era sunk in the Upper Mississippi, at Clarksville. Has since been raised and put in running order, at an expense of about $3,000.

Nov. ..—J. M. Clendenin sunk in the Missouri river. Total loss; valued at $16,000.

Nov. 10th.—Steamer Delaware snagged at Hat Island; damaged badly; expense of repairing $4,000.

Nov. 5th.—Amazonia snagged at Hat Island; expense of repairs $1,500.

Nov. 10th.—The Die Vernon was badly damaged by a snag while coming up from New-Orleans.

Nov. 10th.—A barge loaded with grain was sunk in the Illinois river, while in tow of the Gossamer; loss $2,000.

Nov. 4th.—The Lady Pike and Walk-in-the-Water came in contact at Ste. Genevieve; latter slightly injured

Nov. 6th.—The Belle Gould and the Ne Plus Ultra came in collision between this city and Alton; former damaged to a slight extent.

Nov. 20th.—Jeannie Deans snagged at Island 26, Lower Mississippi; damaged to the extent of $1,000.

Dec. 3d.—Steamer Herald run into by the Cincinnati, at Bickney's Landing; former damaged slightly, latter little or none at all.

Dec. 10th.—The Badger State and Time-and-Tide came in collision at French Bar, Illinois river, by which the wheel of the former was broken.

Dec. 13th.—The Admiral was snagged at Henderson Island, on the Ohio, and compelled to unload cargo, which was slightly damaged.

Dec. 21st.—Altona snagged in Sawyer's Bend; came to this city, and repaired at a cost of $800 to $1,000.

Dec. 21*st.*—Zachary Taylor blew up on the Ohio, killing six of the crew, and wounding several others.

Dec. 27*th.*—Steamer Geo. Campbell, bound from Louisville to San Juan, sunk at Island 40, Lower Mississippi. Will be a total loss; value $10.000.

Dec. 18*th* —The Robert J. Ward and Belle Key came into collision at Donaldsonville, Lower Mississippi. The former was damaged to the amount of about $3,000.

The Buckeye sunk in the Lower Mississippi at Three Sisters, some time in December; particulars not ascertained.

Dec. 31*st.*—The last day of the year 1853, the Altona struck a snag and sunk between this city and Alton. It is more than probable that she will be lost; cost when new $32,000; insured for $20,000; worth $20,000.

Dec. 6*th.*—Steamer Timour, No. 2, sunk in the Missouri river, was raised and is now running.

Dec. 6*th.*—The St. Ange struck a snag in the Missouri river and broke fifty hull timbers; repaired at a cost of $2,000.

Dec. 7*th.*—Steamer Badger State broke a crank while coming down from Galena, and when a short distance above the city.

Dec. 8*th.*—Steamer Australia snagged and sunk at Hat Island, Lower Mississippi; boat total loss, valued at $18,000.

Dec. 11*th.*—Steamer Cincinnati sunk at Willard's Landing; total loss; valued at $30,000; worth about $15,000.

Dec. 16*th.*—Steamer Wyoming burnt in Illinois river; total loss; worth $2,000.

Dec. 17*th.*—Steamers Excel and St. Francis sunk in the Illinois river, the former at Apple Creek, and the latter at or near Lasalle. The Excel has since been raised.

Steamer Cornelia, sunk between this city and Alton on the 18th December, will in all probability be a total loss; valued at $22,500; worth about $15,000.

The Uncle Sam got aground during the month of December, at President's Island, Lower Mississippi; will be lost or badly damaged.

Art. XI.—CULTURE AND COMMERCE OF COTTON IN INDIA.

No. I.*

MATERIALS for food and for clothing, both equally necessary for man in a civilized state of society, are yielded in probably equal proportions by the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The flesh of various animals, wool and silk of different kinds being contributed by the former, as the cereal grains, pulses, and roots, with flax, hemp, and cotton, are yielded by the latter, and form the food and clothing of millions of the human race. Though the first coverings of men may have been formed of skins, the wool of sheep and the hair of goats were early employed for such purposes in Northern Asia and Southern Europe, as silk no doubt was in China. Hemp was cultivated in the north of Europe, and flax in Egypt, while COTTON has, from the earliest periods, been considered to be characteristic of India. Though the uncertain nature of Hindoo chronology prevents us from guessing at the period when it was first employed, there is little doubt that it must have been so from the earliest ages of Hindoo civilization: for being indigenous in their country, it could not fail to be noticed by its inhabitants; first, from the brilliancy of its golden inflorescence; and secondly, from the dazzling whiteness of its bursting fruit. This being filled with seeds, enveloped in a material so soft, so white, and so fibre-like as cotton, could hardly fail to be gathered even by the most incurious. On gathering, one would almost involuntarily twist it into a thread, and thus appear to re-discover the patriarchal art of spinning. Other plants have their useful flax-like fibres concealed under bark, or in other vegetable matter: but cotton, on the bursting of the pod, like wool at the birth of the lamb, is at once revealed to view. As this must be separated from its skin, so the other requires only to be pulled off its seed, to be ready for being spun into thread. The father of History, in his account of India, says: "The wild trees in that country bear fleeces as their fruit, surpassing those of sheep in beauty and excellenee; and the Indians use cloth made from these trees."

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* By Dr. J. F. Royle, of England.

Having a thread, the art of weaving would be readily discovered, as that of platting rushes, slender stems and strips of leaves, seems to have been universally practised. But much ingenuity must have been expended before even the most common loom was invented. Weaving was well known to all the civilized nations of antiquity: as, to the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Chinese, and Hindoos. The culture of flax, and the processes of weaving, are represented in the ancient monuments of Egypt; and Joseph was by Pharaoh arrayed in fine linen. The Israelites, on their departure from that country, were acquainted not only with weaving, but with dyeing. The curtains of the Tabernacle were blue, purple, and scarlet. The former art is sometimes stated to have been discovered in Assyria, and its results we see represented in the monuments disinterred by the energy of a Layard, and interpreted by the genius of a Rawlinson. They are noticed in the not less creditable relics of the ancient Hindoos, that is, their Vedas and the Institutes of Menu.

But the art of weaving was not confined to the Old World, for Columbus found cotton abundant on his first arrival in the West Indies; and the early Spanish historians describe it as forming the chief clothing of the Mexicans; and cotton fabrics of different kinds formed a part of the presents sent by Cortez to Charles V. Magellan saw it among the Brazilians; and it has of late years been discovered in the ancient Peruvian tombs, along with cloth of a black and white check, not unlike some modern patterns. We may, therefore, readily concede, what botanists maintain, that the Indian and American cotton plants are perfectly distinct as species. Though a common kind was grown at an earlier period, the United States are described as receiving their fine cotton seeds from one of the West India Islands about the year 1786. The culture was soon carried from the *sea islands* of the coast of Carolina into the interior and *uplands* of Georgia, and shortly afterwards from the Atlantic States to those which lie along the Gulf of Mexico, and latterly into Texas.

Celebrated as India has been, from all antiquity, for the production of cotton, and for the excellence of her calico, as well as for the marvellous beauty of her muslin manufacture, it seems unaccountable to see Indian cotton occupying the lowest place in price currents, and described as inferior in quality, dirty in condition, and deficient in supply. We hear, moreover, of her hitherto matchless fabrics, and the much-desired objects of commerce for probably 3,000 years, beaten out of even her home market by the comparatively recent but now gigantic cotton manufactures of England. The latter effect has no doubt been produced by the joint influence of the persevering ingenuity of her mechanics, and the untiring power of steam, aided by an abundant supply of the raw material from a variety of sources. The alleged failure of India to produce increasing quantities of superior cotton has been ascribed to a variety of causes—to the depressing effects of fiscal regulations, and to the want of easy means of transit; sometimes to the baneful influence of middlemen, and the extortionate demands of money-lenders; seldom to poverty of soil or to unsuitableness of climate, or to the unfitness of Indian cotton for English machinery. Some who complain seem to forget the possibility of change, even in an age of innovations, for they adduce grievances which have years before been abolished, and state as general facts what, on examination, prove to be only local incidents. Few inquire whether the native cultivator participates in the anxiety which is displayed for his improvement or is likely to be rewarded for any extra labor he may bestow on a new culture, or the merchant for the risk he incurs in exporting to an ever-varying market. In such a case, the difficulty of ascertaining the truth is as great as it is important that it should be ascertained, in order that impediments should be removed, and exertion applied to improve the culture of a plant and to the careful picking of its produce, as this could hardly fail to be of benefit to the natives of the country, and to the extension of their commerce.

Next to the grain of the cereal grasses, Cotton is probably the natural product upon which the comfort and prosperity of several nations depend more than upon any other. It may be sufficient to observe, that if it is beneficial for America to produce, and for England to purchase, the raw material for her gigantic manufacture, it is equally so for India to consume what she produces within her natural limits, with the aid and for the use of her hundred millions of cotton-clad inhabitants To those who have not paid attention to the subject, it may appear that we exaggerate its importance, when we connect the welfare of nations with what may to them appear so very trivial a matter as the hair, or rather wool-like covering, of a seed; but let us for an instant, without on the present occasion mentioning all the countries where cotton is produced, take a glance at the great producers and consumers of this not less elegant than useful product of the vegetable kingdom.

§ 1. RISE OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

To England, a regular supply of cotton, and its price, is a subject of paramount importance, even though the manufacture here is of comparatively recent origin; for any interruption in the supply of the raw material is not a question of mere inconvenience, or of the profitable employment of capital, but one of vital statistics; for it deprives hundreds of thousands of her industrious population not only of regular employment, but of their daily bread. In order fully to appreciate the importance of this manufacture, we may briefly notice its origin and rapid extension, as well as connect this with its effects on India.

The cotton manufacture was no doubt established in India long before we find it noticed in any reliable history. The natives of that country early attained excellence in the arts of spinning and weaving, employing only their fingers and the spinning-wheel for the former; but they seem to have exhausted their ingenuity when they invented the hand-loom for weaving, as they have for ages remained in a stationary condition. From India the culture of the plant and the manufacture of cotton spread into the south of Persia and into Egypt. By the Mahomedans both were carried wherever their arms extended their conquests. Mr. Baines, whom we have chiefly consulted for the historical facts, observes it as "extraordinary, that a branch of industry so apt to propagate itself, should have lingered 1,300 years on the coast of the Mediterranean, before it crossed that sea into Greece or Italy."* Cotton seems to have been first cultivated in Spain by the Mahomedans as early as the 10th century, and the manufacture to have been established in Italy in the beginning of the 14th century.

It has been stated that the cotton manufacture has existed in England for three centuries, for the making of cottons at Manchester and Bolton is spoken of in the years 1520 and 1552; but there is undoubted evidence that the "cottons" of Manchester, like the Kendal and Welsh "cottons" of the present day, were a coarse kind of "woollens." The exact period of the introduction of the cotton manufacture into England is unknown, but cotton-wool, for the purpose of making candlewicks, was imported as early as 1298, and from the Levant frequently at the beginning of the 16th century. Though no mention earlier than 1641 has been found of the true cotton manufacture, Mr. Baines is of opinion that the art was imported from Flanders by the crowd of Protestant artisans who fled from Antwerp in 1585, some of whom settled in Manchester, and were patronized by the clergy of its church. In 1641 the manufacture seems to have been well established at Manchester, for several kinds of cotton goods were supplied for the home as well as for the foreign market. About 1739 and 1740, East Indian yarns, we learn, were commonly used for the finer kinds of goods, and "up to the year 1760, the machines employed were nearly as simple as those of India." In 1766, the annual value of the cottons made was estimated at £600,000.

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* History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain. By E. Baines, jun., Esq.

But at this period a rapid increase was about to take place, from the numerous happy inventions which were to abridge labor and multiply produce. In 1738 Wyatt and Paul took out a patent for spinning by rollers; thirty years later, Arkwright perfected a similar machine; carding by cylinders was invented by Paul in 1748, and from 1764 to 1767, Hargreaves completed the spinning-jenny. When these several machines were invented, yarns could be supplied in any quantity and of improved quality, so that weavers could obtain as much as they required and at a reasonable price, and manufacturers could use warps of cotton; for up to about the year 1773 linen yarn was used as the warp for nearly all cotton goods in this country. About this time, the imitation of Indian calicoes was successfully attempted, and "Blackburn became the principal mart for that description of goods" which "now constitutes by far the largest branch of the manufacture." (*Baines*, l. c., p. 332.) The machines hitherto invented not being adapted for the finer kinds of yarn, the *mule*-jenny was invented and completed by Crompton in 1779.

Attempts were made as early as 1780, both in Lancashire and Glasgow, to manufacture the more delicate and beautiful muslins of India, with weft spun by the jenny; but the "attempt failed, owing to the coarseness of the yarn. Even with Indian weft, muslins could not be made to compete with those of the East. But when the mule was brought into general use in 1785, both weft and warp were produced in this country sufficiently fine for muslins," and they soon "so completely succeeded as to banish all fear of the competition of Indian goods." In this year Arkwright's machines were thrown open to the public. Though invented by others, they owed their perfection to his finishing hand. The astonishing extension of the manufacture which immediately followed, showed that the nullification of the patent was a great national advantage.

Water was early substituted for hand-power in turning the machines. This was, in its turn, supplanted by the all-pervading agency of steam, and the factory system became, by degrees, established in England.

Hitherto the cotton manufacture had been carried on almost entirely in the houses of the workmen, as it still is in India, and has been from the remotest period. The series of ingenious inventions seem to have reached their culminating point in the self-acting mule, which seems a thing instinct with life—drawing out, twisting, and winding-up many thousand threads with infallible precision and unfailing strength. But the cotton manufacture would necessarily have been brought to a check, from the difficulty of training hands fast enough to weave all the cotton that was spun into thread. But the invention of the power-loom by Dr. E. Cartwright, not himself a mechanic or a manufacturer, overcame even this difficulty, and the only impediment then experienced was, from the necessity of frequently stopping the machinery, in order to dress the warp with starch.* This was at first effected by a dressing-machine, and now by an improved sizing apparatus. Every difficulty, as it occurred, was overcome, and each then assisted in still further extending, and, at the same time, cheapening the cotton manufacture, and thus magnifying the power and prosperity of Great Britain; at the same time inflicting disastrous consequences on even so anciently established and apparently perfect a manufacture as that of the calicoes and muslins of India. So early as 1793 we find a Select Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company upon the subject of the cotton manufacture, stating that "every shop offers British muslins for sale, equal in appearance, and of more elegant patterns than those of India, for one-fourth, or perhaps more than one-third, less in price."

Having thus taken a cursory view of the history of the manufacture in this country, we may briefly notice the different operations to which the cotton is subjected, and, for this purpose, we shall use Mr. Baines's words: "Let us briefly review the different processes through which the cotton goes, in its conversion into cloth, all of which are performed in many of the large spinning and weaving mills. The cotton is brought to the mill in bags, just as it is received from America, Egypt, or India, and is then stowed in warehouses, being arranged according to the countries from which it may have come. It is passed through the *willow*, the *scutching-machine*, and the *spreading-machine*, in order to be opened, cleaned, and evenly spread. By the *carding-engine* the fibres are combed out, and laid parallel to each other; and the fleece is compressed into a sliver. The sliver is repeatedly drawn and doubled in the *drawing-frame*, more perfectly to straighten the fibres, and to equalize the grist. The *roving-frame*, by rollers and spindles, produces a coarse and loose thread, which the *mule* or *throstle* spins into yarn. To make the warp, the twist is transferred from cops to bobbins, by the *winding-machine*, and from the bobbins at the *warping-mill* to a cylindrical beam. This beam being taken to the *dressing-machine*, the warp is sized, dressed, and wound upon the weaving-beam. The latter is then placed in the *power-loom*, by which machine the *shuttle*, being provided with cops of weft, the cloth is woven."—(*Baines*, l. c., p. 243.) It is obvious that if the fibre, or staple, as it is called, of different cottons vary in length or in strength, some may be able to undergo this rough treatment, while others may escape from it, and yet be well suited to the delicate fingering of the human machine.

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* "The consumption of flour in the cotton manufacture is estimated at not less than 42,301,584 lbs. a year, or 215,824 barrels (of 196 lbs.) or 177,256 loads (of 240 lbs. each.")—*Burn's Commercial Glance for* 1832. "Bengal flour (then), lately introduced into this country, is found to answer well for dressing."—*E. Baines.* "If 2½ oz. of flour be allowed for sizing each pound of twist yarn, it will take 28,437,500 lbs. of flour, or 118,500 packs, or 79,000 quarters of wheat per annum; being nearly ½ per cent., or 1-200th part of the whole wheat consumed in the United Kingdom."—*J. Baynes.*

§ 2. IMPORTS OF COTTON INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

Every difficulty that has occurred has been successively overcome; but one great difficulty still remains, that is, a regular supply of the raw material, not only at moderate prices, but in annually increasing quantities. Mr. J. Baynes, in 1846, calculated that "the consumption of cotton, for the last thirty years, has increased at the compound ratio of six per cent. each year, thereby doubling itself every twelve years." The supply of cotton ought, therefore, to continue to increase regularly, in order to keep the manufacturing population in full and healthy employment. This great object, it appears to us, can only be effected by multiplying the sources, and having so extensive a basis of supply as to counterbalance any local peculiarities of seasons, and to make the annual increase of several places keep pace with the annually increasing demand. Before proceeding to consider the capabilities of different countries to meet, not only the ordinary, but this constantly increasing consumption, it will be instructive to take a cursory view of the way in which the present enormous and comparatively sudden demand has hitherto been met.

Though we have notices of the import of cotton in small quantities at earlier periods, in the year 1697 it amounted only to about two millions of pounds. In 1775, the average import was only four times what it had been in the beginning of the century, and chiefly from the Mediterranean and Levant. In the year 1786, the quantity imported amounted to 19,475,025 pounds, in the following proportions, from—

British West Indies	5,800,000
French and Spanish Colonies	5,500,000
Dutch	1,600,000
Portuguese	2,000,000
Smyrna and Turkey	5,000,000
Total	19,900,000

"The purposes for which the cotton was used, in the year 1787, are thus stated." (*Baines's Hist.*, p. 216.)

Calico and Muslins	11,600,000
Fustians	6,000,000
Mixtures with Silk and Linen	2,000,000
Hosiery	1,500,000
Candle-wicks	1,500,000
Total	22,600,000

The first notice we have of cotton being imported from India is in 1783, when 114,133 pounds were obtained from thence; but in the year 1790, as much as 422,207 pounds, in consequence of an order from the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The export of cotton from the United States was little thought of at this period; for in 1792, Mr. Jay, the American negotiator of a commercial treaty between the United States of North America and Great Britain, stipulated that no cotton should be imported into the latter from the former; the object being to prohibit, in American vessels from the United States, such articles as they had previously imported from the West Indies. But small quantities of the short staple cotton had, previous to this, been grown in North America.

In 1784, an American ship, which imported 8 bags of cotton into Liverpool, was seized, on the ground that "so much cotton could not be the produce of the United States." (*Macgregor's Commercial Statistics*, vol. iii., p. 453.) In 1790, 81 bags were exported to Europe from the United States. The total of the imports into this country in that year amounted to 31,447,605 pounds, and increased in 1800 to 56,010,732 pounds. Though the import increased so much at the end of the century, it did not materially increase for the next fourteen years—being on an average, 66 millions of pounds annually, until the conclusion of the war in 1814. In 1815, the import amounted to 100 millions of pounds. Subsequent to this period, the increase has not only been rapid, but most extraordinary, as may be seen in the average for periods of five years.

		Average increase.
From 1815 to 1819	118,267,611 lbs.	
" 1820 to 1824	152,201,829 "	33,934,218 lbs.
" 1825 to 1829	205,665,011 "	53,463,182 "
" 1830 to 1834	280,918,826 "	75,253,815 "
" 1835 to 1839	415,039,185 "	134,120,359 "
" 1840 to 1844	586,507,757 "	171,468,572 "
" 1845 to 1849	629,144,967 "	43,637,210 "

The author is indebted to the kindness of G. R. Porter, Esq., of the Board of Trade, for informing him that the imports from all countries have been, for the year 1847, 474,707,615; for 1848, 713,020,161; and for 1849, 775,469,000 lbs.

In the year 1846, when Mr. J. Baynes made his calculations, and when there was a deficiency of cotton, in comparison with the consumption, he said: "If the consumption of cotton continues to increase in the same ratio which it has done during the last twelve years—all other things being the same—the cotton required twelve years hence, say for the year 1858, will be—

Great Britain	3,200,000 bales.	*To be supplied—*	
Continent	1,656,000 "	From United States	5,055,000 bales.
United States	954,000 "	" other sources	755,000 "
	5,810,000 "		5,810,000 "

or upwards of 5,000,000 of bales of cotton from the United States twelve years hence."

The latest progress of consumption and supply has not kept pace with these anticipations.

During the year 1849 there were imported—

From the United States	1,477,512	bales of 330 lbs.
" Brazil	163,445	"
" East Indies	182,079	"
" Egypt	72,727	"
" West Indies and other parts	9,485	"
Total	1,905,248	"

A manufacture employing so vast an amount of raw material must necessarily be of immense importance. In the year 1824, Mr. Huskisson considered the total value of the cotton manufacture to amount to £33,500,000. This has since been considered too high an estimate for that period. Mr. McCulloch, in the year 1833, estimated its value to be £34,000,000, and the amount of capital employed in the manufacture to amount to about the same sum; and Mr. E. Baines, who arrived at his result by a totally different process, valued it at £31,338,693 in the same year, and considered Mr. McCulloch's estimate of £34,000,000 as the amount of capital invested in the manufacture to be very moderate. The population of the counties where the chief cotton manufactures are carried on was only 781,850 in the year 1780, but in fifty years it had increased about two millions, for it amounted to 2,753,685 in the year 1831. "The number of individuals directly employed in the manufacture, with those dependent on them for subsistence, must amount to 1,500,000," and now it is supposed to be as much as one-tenth of the population. The exports of cotton goods are valued at twenty-five millions a year, or one-half of the exports of the produce and manufactures of Great Britain, and employ 300,000 tons of shipping for freight. It is stated that, up to the year 1834, cottons to the enormous value of £570,000,000 had been sent from this country to foreign markets, thus furnishing materials for clothing to the people of almost every region of the globe, at the same time benefiting the nation itself by the production of clothing at so much less cost, and of so much better quality, than that to which the mass of the people had been accustomed.

Considering the variety of interests at stake, and the numbers of people employed, directly and indirectly, it is not surprising that any deficiency of the raw material should be contemplated with so much apprehension, not only in Lancashire, but throughout the country; and as the largest supplies come from America, so are the crops of that country looked to as signs of progressive prosperity or of approaching difficulties. The failure of the American crop in the year 1846, as in the very last season, caused a considerable rise in the price of cotton; and it was calculated that in that year an advance in price of 2*d.* a pound required an increased payment by this country of £4,000,000 sterling. In this year, the increase in price has caused many spinners and manufacturers of coarse yarns and heavy goods, either to stop their mills or to work short time, and of course to throw many of their workmen out of full and regular employment. It has been well ascertained that, "with high prices of the raw material, the present enormous production of cotton manufactures will not, and cannot, be taken off by the markets of the world."—(*Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 23, 1850.) Such being the paramount importance of a regular supply and moderate price of the raw material, we cannot but expect that the enlightened Government of this country must have been assured that such methods as were appropriate to its various colonies had been adopted for extending this supply; and that the Directors of the East India Company cannot but have promoted the culture of cotton in the magnificent empire intrusted to their sway. Merchants and manufacturers, also, so keenly alive to what is not only for their own interest, but for the benefit of all, must individually and collectively have concerted such measures as were suitable to the different natures and habits, as well as to the different states of civilization of the several nations of the globe. They, better than any other class, know that even commerce, though it never flourishes more than when left free and unshackled, yet in many situations would never have existed if it had not in a measure been forced, by the more civilized taking to those who are less so, the produce of their skill, to exchange for the rude product of some distant land. Of nations possessing a soil and climate fitted for such a production, some require only to be informed of, others to be induced to do, what is obviously for their own benefit.

Art. XII.—COMMERCE OF LAKE PONTCHARTRAIN.—NEW-ORLEANS AND MOBILE RAILROAD.

THE business and income will be derived from the transportation of *passengers, both way and through*, and of *way and through freight*.

1st. *Trough Travel.*—An inspection of the map of the United States, showing the location of the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad and its connections, accompanying this report, will demonstrate its great importance as a thoroughfare for travel. At its eastern terminus, at Mobile, it will connect with the "Mobile and Ohio," the "Mobile and Girard," and by this, with "Mobile and Selma," and "Alabama and Tennessee," and the "Air Line, Savannah and Albany" Railroads, and by them it will be placed in connection with all the railroads through the Southern, Middle, Western, Northern and New-England States. At its western terminus at New-Orleans, it will be united to the New-Orleans and Opelousas Railroad, and by it with the railways of Texas and the Great Pacific line. Such is its admirable location, that it presents the *shortest and most expeditious* route for travel and the United States mail between Texas and New-Orleans, and all that section of the United States comprising nearly all of Alabama, East Tennessee, and all of Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New-Jersey, New-England States, and large portions of New-York and Pennsylvania. a section containing about 495,000 square miles, and a population of 12,000,000 inhabitants, according to the last census, and nearly all the principal cities of the Union.

The truth of this position is demonstrated by an inspection of the accompanying map, and the following comparisons of distances by the various roads now in operation, or in progress, and those quite certain to be built, as follows:

New Orleans to Washington City, via Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad, Mobile, Selma, Knoxville, and Lynchburg[*]	1,123 miles.
New-Orleans and Washington City, via New-Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, Aberdeen, Chattanooga, Knoxville and Lynchburg..	1,228 "
Difference nearer by Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad	105 "

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[*] NOTE.—This route may be well regarded as the *Great National Trunk Line Railroad, Northeast and Southwest*, connecting the Gulf of Mexico and Texas with the Northeastern cities and the North Atlantic coast.

It commences at Portland, Me., and passes through Boston, New-York, Phila-

New-Orleans to Washington City, via Mobile as above	1,123 miles.
" " " via New-Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, Brandon Road, intersection of North-east and Southwest Railroad, Chattanooga, Knoxville and Lynchburg	1,187 "
Difference nearer by Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad	64 "
New-Orleans to New-York, via Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad, Mobile, Selma, Knoxville, Washington City, Baltimore, and Philadelphia	1,346 "
New-Orleans and New-York, via New-Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dunkirk, New-York	1,689 "
Difference nearer by Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad	343 "
New-Orleans to Philadelphia, via Mobile, Selma, Knoxville, Washington City, &c.	1,259 "
New-Orleans to Philadelphia, via New-Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern, Cincinnati, and most direct route to Philadelphia	1,493 "
Difference nearer by Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad	234 "

delphia and Baltimore, to the city of Washington. To the latter point there is an unbroken communication by railroad, running under good management.

From Washington to Alexandria, a distance of seven miles, a first-class steamboat takes the place of the car. From Alexandria to Lynchburg, Va., a distance of 174 miles, the line continues by way of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, and its extension, all of which is in progress, and ninety miles are in running order.

From Lynchburg to the northern boundary of Tennessee by way of Abingdon, 205 miles, the line continues over the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, 100 miles of which are in actual operation, and the work of the remainder is in course of rapid construction. From the last-named point, to Dalton, Ga., by way of Knoxville, Tenn., the line extends by the East Tennessee and Virginia Road, 130 miles long, and the E. Tennessee and Ga. Road, 111 miles long, 80 miles of which are in operation. From Dalton, Ga., the line continues to the Alabama State line, a distance of 45 miles, over a road recently chartered, and which will probably soon be put under way, as subscriptions are now being made. Thence the line continues by the Alabama and East Tennessee Railroad, 45 miles, to the Alabama and Tennessee River Road at Jacksonville. Thence the Alabama and Tennessee River Road continues the line 145 miles, to Selma, Ala. Nearly all of this road is in course of construction, 55 miles being in running order, and 70 miles being graded. From Selma to Mobile the line continues over the Mobile and Selma Road, 45 miles, and the Mobile and Girard Road, 100 miles long. The former has only recently been chartered, and the latter has subscriptions nearly sufficient to warrant its early completion from Mobile to the intersection of the Mobile and Selma Road.

From Mobile to New-Orleans, 139 miles, the Great National Line continues by the *Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad*, the subject of the present Report.

The late Annual Reports of the Railroad Companies composing the Grand National Line south of Washington, as far as Dalton, Ga., give full assurance that all that part of the line between those two points will be in operation in two years at the furthest. From Dalton southerly, a portion is now prepared for operation, and the whole can and will be in readiness, according to present plans, in three years or less.

There will be an increased stimulus to these companies to complete their roads in even less time than the above, as soon as operations are commenced upon the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad. By referring to the map, it will be seen that this will be the most direct route possible, from the extreme northeast to the two most important cities of the South, Mobile and New-Orleans; and cannot but give promise that it will be the great national thoroughfare between the North and South.

Thus it will be seen that, following the route of the Great National Trunk Line from New-Orleans through Mobile, &c., to Portland, Maine, you have the distances at all points in favor of the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad of 64 miles and upwards; and of course to the east and south of this line, to all the cities of the Middle and South Atlantic coast, the distances will be still more in favor of your road.

The through travel which will be thus supplied to your road, will be derived from a population of 12.000,000, north and northeast of its northern terminus, which can have intercourse with New-Orleans and Texas, in less distance and time over your road than over any other. This is certainly sufficient to establish the fact that it would receive an amount of business from this source which will not only be remunerative, but will tax its utmost capacity to accommodate. But it is proper to remark, that in a few years the State of Texas will have two or three millions of people, many of whom, by means of the Opelousas Road and its connecting lines, will be attracted over your road to the East and North, as most of this population will have left behind them kindred to the east and north of Mobile.

With all the delays and dangers attending the present mode of travel from New-Orleans to the North, it is estimated that the present human movement by the Mississippi River, the ocean steamers from New-Orleans and Mobile, and by the mail route, *via* Mobile, is about 500,000 annually. This large amount will be greatly increased when the railways north and northeast of your road, and the New-Orleans and Opelousas Railroad and its connecting lines, are completed. Not considering, however, the future travel, but such only as is known now to exist, it is moderate to suppose, from the admirable location of your line, that it will have at least one-seventh of the present amount of travel between New-Orleans and the North. This will give for through travel, 71,428 passengers each way per annum, which at $3, not quite 3 cents per mile, will produce $428 568.

2d. *Way Travel*—The way travel will constitute a very important item in the business of the road, as it passes through all the *watering*-places on the Gulf coast usually resorted to by the citizens of New-Orleans, Mobile, and the Southern States. The permanent population of these watering-places is not large, although increasing yearly, but the summer resort for the last two years is estimated on good authority to have been as follows:

At Bay St. Louis	5,000
Pass Christian	5,000
Mississippi City	1,500
Biloxi	6,000
Ocean Springs	1,500
East and West Pascagoula	1,000
Total floating population	20,000

In addition to these, there are scattered along the Gulf coast about 1,000 inhabitants. These, with the local population of the counties which trade with New-Orleans and Mobile, and which will use the New-Orleans and Mobile Railroad, to greater advantage than any other, estimated, according to the census of 1850, at 19,000, would make a local population of 20,000 tributary to the road. With the railroad, this floating and resident population will greatly increase. Estimating that the present floating population (20 000) makes on an average three trips per annum, which, considering its migratory character, must be regarded as a moderate calculation, and that one in every five of the *local* population makes two trips per annum, the income from the *way* travel will be as follows:—

60,000 passengers each way, (floating population), at $2	$240,000
8,000 " " (resident population), at $2	32,000
Total way travel per annum	**$272,000**

3d. *Way Freight.*—The way freight will consist principally of lumber, &c., bricks and sand, &c., and miscellaneous articles, such as charcoal, hides, horned cattle, &c., supplied by the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico from the Rigolets to Tampa Bay, and on the Pearl and Pascagoula Rivers, which drain an area of about 22,400 square miles.

Statement No. 1, showing the yearly commerce of Lake Pontchartrain, and Statement No. 2, showing the receipts from the lake by the new basin, in the Appendix to this Report, will give an idea of the large amount of this trade already developed by the present means of transportation, and the insecure and uncertain navigation of the lake for want of harbors.

The country bordering on the Gulf and the rivers yield an unlimited supply of lumber and firewood, tar, pitch, and turpentine, charcoal, bricks, sand, and shells, all of which are largely consumed at New-Orleans and Mobile. In addition to these articles, should be mentioned the produce of gardens and the dairy, for the supply of New-Orleans and Mobile, and the necessary supplies of provisions, groceries, dry goods, &c., consumed by the floating and resident population.

It may be said that nearly all of this way freight will be transported by *water* to its points of consumption. As a general proposition, it will be admitted that, all things being equal, water transportation is cheaper than railroad; but in this instance, where the water navigation is obstructed, the water shallow, and where there are no safe harbors, with one exception in Pass Great Rigolets, where freight, if insured, is subject to high rates, in addition to *canal* tolls, or to railway charges and transhipment, it must be admitted that a railway which does its own insurance, and which can be maintained and made to yield a lucrative revenue from its passenger traffic alone, and whose freight traffic will therefore be so much *surplus* profit over and above actual cost of transportation, and which can deliver the articles of consumption almost at the doors of the consumers, over a line both *straight* and *level*, must be able to transport freight at such low rates, and with a certainty, safety, and dispatch, as to draw from the water transit a large amount of business. At all events, experience has demonstrated such to be the case. The Hudson River Railroad, built alongside of the *safest and cheapest river navigation of this country*, only five miles shorter than the river, has obtained a very large freight traffic, which is constantly increasing with each succeeding year. The passenger receipts of this road for the year 1853, were $935,627, and freight receipts were $312,000, and this, too, in competition not only with the Hudson River, but with another railroad, the Harlem, at a distance not exceeding fifteen miles, and making the same connections, and competing for the same trade.

Another example is the New-York and New-Haven Railroad, running parallel to, and in competition with, the water transportation of Long Island Sound.

Again, the *two* roads leading from Boston to Portland, the Eastern, and Boston and Maine Railroads, and the Lake Shore lines north and south of Lake Erie, are analogous cases, competing as they do with cheap water navigation, and all of which are doing a lucrative freight business.

The line of railways running alongside of the Great Erie Canal might also be instanced as a case in point.

The number of tons transported on the canals of New-York in 1853, was 4,247,000, and on the railroads alongside, 1,200,000.

Railroads will always have preference over *water* routes, for all articles the value of which depends, to a considerable extent, upon the *speed* with which they are moved—such as vegetables, fruits, live stock, fresh provisions, butter, cheese, &c.; and also for high-priced goods, the cost of transportation of which bears but a small proportion to their value. The ease and rapidity with which orders for such articles can be executed by railroads, has given to these works a monopoly of their carriage. Such is the result which followed the opening of the railroad parallel to the Erie Canal. already referred to. The latter continues to retain most of the flour, lumber, minerals, &c., while the more valuable, and all perishable freight, falls to the share of the road.

Referring to Statements 1 and 2 in the Appendix, it will be seen that the total annual tonnage employed on Lake Pontchartrain, is 577,980 tons. Of this amount, the proportion engaged in the through business between New-Orleans and Mobile is 280,000; the remainder, 297,980 tons, in the *way* business. Estimating that three-fourths of this tonnage (297,980) is employed in the business of that portion of the country, and of the Gulf coast tributary to the road, and that the amount of freight is three-fourths of the tonnage, and that only one-fourth of the freight will be transported by the railroad, and three-fourths by water, the amount of way freight for the road will be 41,903 tons; which transported say one-half distance of the road, at 3 cents per ton per mile, will yield $87,367.

Through Freight.—The estimate for the *through* freight will be made in the same manner as for *way* freight. The annual tonnage engaged in the through business between New-Orleans and Mobile, as has been before stated, is about 280,000 tons per annum. Estimating that the net amount of freight transported is three-fourths of this tonnage, and that the railroad will only perform one-fourth of the business done on the water, the amount of the through freight business for the railroad per annum, will be 52,500 tons per annum, transported the whole length of the road, 139 miles, at 2¼ cents per ton per mile, $164,193.

Statement No. 3 in the Appendix shows the amount and the articles composing the imports into Mobile for several years—nearly all of which are received from New-Orleans, and will give an idea of the amount of through freight.

Recapitulating the foregoing results, and we have the following

ESTIMATE OF THE BUSINESS AND INCOME OF THE MOBILE AND NEW-ORLEANS RAILROAD.

1. *Through Travel.*—71,428 through passengers each way, at $3, (not quite three cents per mile,)	$428,568
2. *Way Travel.*—60,000 passengers each way, (floating population,) at $2	240,000
8,000 passengers each way, (resident population,) at $2	32,000
3. *Way Freight.*—41,903 tons, transported one-half distance of the road, at 3 cents per mile	87,367
4. *Through Freight.*—52,500 tons, transported the whole length of the road, at 2¼ cents per mile	164,193
5. Transportation of the United States Mail, 139 miles, at $250 per mile	34,750
Total estimated receipts	$986,878
Deduct expenses, 54 per cent	532,914
Net income	$453,964

Or more than ten per cent. on $4,500,000.

It will be observed that the expenses have been estimated at 54 per cent of the receipts. The expenses of the average of the Southern roads do not exceed 40 per cent. of their receipts, from the absence of frost and cheapness of fuel. The route of the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad possesses all the favorable characteristics of the best Southern routes, with the exception of the *bridges*. It is for the purpose of the maintenance of these that a much larger than the usual allowance is made for expenses, and which, it is believed, will be ample for its objects.

It is apparent, from the foregoing remarks, that there can be no doubt the Mobile and New-Orleans Railroad will be a good paying road as soon as it is completed. It may be further remarked that its stock will be permanently valuable, because it occupies a route which never can be *superseded* by any *shorter* or *more direct line.*

STATEMENT No. 1.

COMMERCE OF LAKE PONTCHARTRAIN.

The following statement exhibits the yearly commerce of Lake Pontchartrain :—

At the New Canal, the tonnage employed amounts to about 250,000 tons, which embraces steamers, and every other description of craft engaged in the transportation of provisions, dry goods, groceries, passengers, &c., *outward*, and cotton, lumber, brick, fire wood, sand, shells, passengers, &c., *inward.*

At the Old Canal and Bayou, the business amounts to about 10,000 tons.

At the harbor of the Pontchartrain Railroad, there are employed the following steamers, constituting the mail line :—The Florida, the California, the Oregon, and the James L. Day, one of which arrives and departs daily.

The average tonnage of these boats is 540 tons. making yearly	197,100	tons.
Also the steamers Mobile and St. Charles, of the Canal Line, which arrive and depart twice a week each, with an average tonnage each trip of 350 tons, making yearly,	72,800	"
Also the steamer Lenora, plying to Covington, Madisonville and Mandeville, making four trips per week, tonnage 160 tons, making yearly	33,280	"
And the steamer M. A. Moore, of 200 tons, plying to Pearl river, making a trip every two weeks, making yearly	4,800	"
Total yearly tonnage of steamers	307,980	"
The tonnage of schooners plying in various directions to and from the harbor of the Pontchartrain Railroad amounts, per year, to about	10,000	"
Total tonnage of every description from the Railroad harbor	317,980	"

And sum total of tonnage for the Lake, as per foregoing schedule, 577,980 tons.—*New-Orleans Commercial Bulletin.*

STATEMENT No. 2.

RECEIPTS FROM THE LAKE BY THE NEW BASIN.

	1852–1853.	1851–1852.		1852–1853.	1851–1852.
Cotton, bales	32,613	40,6 0	Molasses, bbls	140	893
Sugar, hhds	323	870			

LUMBER, &C.

Yellow pine, cypress, &c., feet	40,163,000	30,570,000	Cypress pickets	2,500	1,300
Shingles	3,449,000	1,844,000	Cypress clapboards	62,500	165,000
Laths	2,587,000	5,090,000	Firewood, oak, ash, and pitch pine, cords	34,412	28,206
Staves	1,870,000	150,000	Cedar logs	200	240
Sash and doors, pairs	15,335	13,900	Buckets, doz	——	——
White oak knees	570	1,165			

NAVAL STORES.

Tar, bbls	7,955	1,872	Turpentine, bbls.,	1.526	2,481
Tar, kegs	13,274	12,066	Rosin, bbls.,	11,419	11,715

BRICKS, SAND, &C.

Brick, (Lake,)	17,542,000	19,329,000	Shells, bbls	45,530	27,000
Sand, bbls	197,550	194,850			

MISCELLANEOUS.

Charcoal, bbls	138,800	114.300	Horned cattle	1,280	123
Hides	3,775	3,024	Cotton gins	146	319
Moss, bales	110	30	Domestics, bales	1,155	1,478
Florida leaf tobacco, boxes	15	844			

STATEMENT No. 3.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF IMPORTS INTO MOBILE.

ARTICLES.	1852–53.	51–52.	50–51.	49–50.	48–49.	47–48.
Bagging, pieces	22,327	21,260	24,662	25,252	29.780	28,770
Bale rope, coils	24,107	17,933	26,572	22,265	27,654	28,033
Bacon, hhds	13,227	13,288	16,578	9,483	5,981	12,623
Coffee, bags	34,503	29,027	26,468	21,790	22,862	24,593
Candles, boxes	....	....	....	....	....	
Flour, bbls	64,444	86,756	94,919	67,668	54,411	38,993
Grain, Corn, sack	92,104	109.615	112,980	24,314	40,146	21,801
Oats, sack	48.395	23,052	12,408	11,123	17,105	13,832
Hay, bales	22,830	29,085	24,459	19,409	17,838	8,938
Lard, kegs	22,389	23,733	19,670	10,582	3,842	8,250
Lime, bbls	21,252	32,109	26,075	18,669	15,781	12.500
Molasses, bbls	19,681	18,691	18,513	17,202	12,793	17,842
Potatoes, Irish, bbls	21,344	24.072	16,734	17,993	17,679	18,257
Pork, bbls	15,841	18.374	22,259	7,517	5,496	12,991
Rice, tierces	1,399	1,766	1,748	1.303	1,012	925
Sugar, hhds	8,352	7,198	6.567	7,082	5,667	6,822
Salt, sacks	123,266	135,009	130.514	131,108	156,107	88,898
Whiskey, bbls	21,754	19,013	25,806	19,077	22,991	20,914

Art. XIII.—THE SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTION.

BEFORE the adjournment of this body, which convened at Charleston, South Carolina, and represented most of the Southern and Southwestern States, a resolution was adopted devolving upon a committee the duty of meeting and corresponding in the recess, and reporting at the next annual meeting, on the second Monday of January, 1855, upon the various matters embraced within the scope of the Convention. The resolution is annexed:—

Resolved, That a committee of three from each State represented in the Convention be appointed by the Convention for the purpose of obtaining the most reliable statistical information as to the number and location of manufactories and mines in the States represented in this body; the amount of capital invested in the several establishments; the amount of income and disbursements; the number of hands (operatives) employed, free and slave, and amount of raw material consumed; the quantity and quality of the manufactured articles produced; the prices at which they are furnished; the markets in which they are chiefly sold; and other items of information tending to show the present condition and extent of our manufacturing interest; and that said Committee furnish to the Secretary of the Convention a report of their investigations, to be laid by him before the next meeting of the Convention; and that it be the duty of said committee to address the people of the States represented in this Convention, and to urge the importance of action in the Legislatures thereof, in favor of Education, of Manufactures, of Ship-building, of Direct Trade, and of Mining; and that it be the duty of the Committee to collect and present at the next meeting of the Convention statistics and other useful information relating to the Internal Improvements of the several States, their Industrial Resources, their Mineral Treasures, their Manufacturing Facilities, and their Capacities for Trade and Commerce; together with a statement in which shall be set forth the names and lengths of the several Railways, their cost, and the increased value which has been imparted to lands and other property in consequence of such improvements; to report the statistics on the subject of Milling and the Lumber Trade as carried on by the several States represented, as well also as the Statistics of Agriculture in the same States.

Under the resolution the following Committee was appointed:—

J. D. B. DeBow, of Louisiana, Chairman; Wm. Crichton, Thos. T. Hutchins, and John F. Dent, of Maryland; Thos. Wallace, Wm. H. Macfarland, and Mordecai Cooke, of Virginia; Dr. J. H. Gibbon, E. J. Hale, and James Patton, of North Carolina; W. B. Johnson, Alex. McBee, and Jos. Walker, of South Carolina; Thomas C. Nesbit, Nathan C. Monroe, and John J. Gresham, of Georgia; Benj. F. Whitner, Columbus Drew, and C. A. Price, of Florida; Dr. Charles H. Patton, Daniel Pratt, and Alfred Battle, of Alabama; J. W. Clapp, And. Matthews, and P. A. Iredell, of Mississippi; J. Forstall and A. Dimitry, of Louisiana; Albert Pike, of Arkansas; Dr. Alex. McCall, Samuel Morgan, and A. W. Van Liew, of Tennessee; A. L. Shotwell, T. S. Kennedy, and B. D. P. Standeford, of Kentucky; John S. Rhea, of Texas; James M. Clendennin and W. H. Blackwood, of Missouri; Hamilton Smith, of Indiana.

W. C. Dawson, Pres't Convention.

Wilmot G. Dessausure, of S. C., Secretary.

In order to secure the better performance of the duties of the committee by a division of its labors, the following sub-committees are nominated by the chairman. Communications in relation to the business of the General Committee may be addressed to the undersigned at Washington, D. C., who will cheerfully co-operate with the several sub-committees.

J. D. B. DeBow, Chairman.

Committee on Internal Improvements.—A. Pike, of Ark., Chairman; W. H. Macfarland, of Virginia; A. McBee, of South Carolina; A. W. Van Liew, of Tennessee; B. D. Sandeford, of Kentucky; W. H. Blackwood, of Missouri.

Committee on Industrial Resources and Direct Trade.—J. W. Clapp, of Mississippi, Chairman; W. Crichton, of Maryland; N. C. Monroe, of Georgia; C. A. Price, of Florida; Dr. Chas. H. Patton, of Alabama; A. L. Shotwell, of Kentucky; T. A. Iredell, of Mississippi; Thos. Wallace, of Virginia.

Committee on Agriculture.—E. J. Forstall, of Louisiana, Chairman; T. T. Hutchins, of Maryland; J. A. Patton, of North Carolina; M. Cooke, of Virginia; W. B. Johnson, of South Carolina; C. Drew, of Florida; A. Battle, of Alabama; A. Matthews, of Mississippi; J. S. Rhea, of Texas; J. M. Clendennin, of Missouri.

Committee on Manufactures and Mining.—Hamilton Smith, of Indiana, Chairman; A. F. Dent, of Maryland; E. D. Hale, of North Carolina; J. Walker, of South Carolina; J. J. Gresham of Georgia; D. Pratt, of Alabama; S. Morgan, of Tennessee; T. S. Kennedy, of Kentucky.

Committee on Education.—A. Dimitry, of Louisiana, Chairman; Dr. J H. Gibbon, of North Carolina; T. C. Nesbit, of Georgia; B. F. Whitner, of Florida; Dr. A. McCall, of Tennessee.

NOTES.

We call attention in our advertising pages to the card of the Nashville University and the University of Louisiana, both Institutions being in a very flourishing condition. We perceive that the Literary Department of the Nashville University will be reopened in October. A Law School will at the same time be commenced. The Medical Department, during its brief existence of three years, has met with unexampled success, being now, in point of numbers, the fifth or sixth school in the Union. The healthiness, centrality, and intelligence of Nashville, together with the established reputation of its University, will soon render it one of the most noted seats of learning in the United States.

We have received the very able and polished Address of the Hon. A. V. Brown, of Tennessee, before the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, and will refer to it again.

We have also received the Report of the Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati for 1854, which evidences a condition of great prosperity. No institution in the Union has higher claims than this.

Lectures on the True, Beautiful, and Good. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. By M. V. Cousin; translated by O. W. Wight.—Of M. Cousin the *Edinburgh Review* speaks as "a writer whose pointed periods have touched the chords of modern society, and thrilled through the minds of thousands in almost every quarter of the civilized world."

The following works were received too late for notice in this number, but will be attended to in the next:—I. Poems by Mr. Thomas Wyatt, 1 vol.; II. Poems of the Earl of Surrey, 1 vol.; III. Poems of Campbell, 1 vol.

These works belong to Little, Brown & Co.'s admirable Series of the British Poets, and are received through Frank Taylor.

Na Motu; or, Reef-Rovings in the South Seas, by Edward T. Perkins. New-York: Pudney & Russell. 1854.

Atherton, and other Tales, by Mary Russell Mitford. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. Washington: Taylor & Maury.

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Art. I.—AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.*

At this period, then, 1842, it may be considered that the gradual extinction and absorption of Turkey was a leading idea of European diplomacy. We are not discussing, and do not intend to discuss, the moral value of such a principle. We are simply reviewing the facts of the diplomatic history of that day. France had Algiers; English influence was dominant in Syria and Egypt; Greece was a constant protest against Turkish rule over Christian subjects; and the Slave provinces of Turkey were open to and prepared for Russian interference. Turkey herself was prostrate, after more than ten years of constant warfare, and as constant defeat. In this condition of affairs, with a principle so obvious, and a policy so tempting, the Czar thought it wisest to prepare for the future—to avoid, if possible, the disturbance of Europe, by any sudden and rude collision in the East, of interests which had by this time taken almost a traditional character. As his late experience had proved that Russia and England could control the Eastern question, to England he applied for counsel. And here we reach at last the famous memorandum of 1844. In analyzing this memorandum, and the correspondence on the questions arising in 1852 and '53, we certainly shall not follow the order of their publication, but their actual chronology. For Part V. of the Parliamentary documents is really Part I. of the correspondence, and the English cabinet and press have derived no little advantage in their argument by this temporary suppression of the earlier papers.

In 1844, soon after the termination of the Egyptian and Syrian difficulties, while the perplexities of that question were fresh in the memories of the Powers of Europe, the Czar visited England. During that visit, he had full and frank explanations with the ministry, as to the probable future of Turkey, and the proper policy, in that regard, of the two Powers. The result of these conferences was summed up in a memorandum, and this memorandum, the Earl of Aberdeen stated in his speech of March 31, was sanctioned and approved by himself, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel. The memorandum recites the anxiety of both powers for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, states the difficulties which are most probable in the internal administration of Turkey, recommends a conciliatory but firm course of conduct on the part of the European powers, which would keep Turkey true to all her engagements, and then proceeds in the following distinct language :

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* Concluded from September No.

"However, they must not conceal from themselves how many elements of dissolution that Empire contains within itself. Unforeseen circumstances may hasten its fall without its being in the power of the friendly cabinets to prevent it. As it is not given to human foresight to settle beforehand a plan of action for such or such unlooked-for case, it would be premature to discuss eventualities which may never be realized.

"In the uncertainty which hangs over the future, a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application : it is, that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished, if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common. That understanding will be the more beneficial, inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria. Between her and Russia there exists already an entire conformity of principles in regard to the affairs of Turkey, in a common interest of conservatism and of peace.

"In order to render their union more efficacious, there would remain nothing to be desired, but that England should be seen to associate herself thereto with the same view. The reason which recommends the establishment of this agreement is very simple.

"On land, Russia exercises in regard to Turkey a preponderant action.

"On sea, England occupies the same position. Isolated, the action of these two powers might do much mischief. United, it can produce a real benefit ; and hence the advantage of coming to a previous understanding, before having recourse to action. This motion was in principle agreed upon during the Emperor's last residence in London. The result was the eventual engagement, that if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey, Russia and England should previously concert together as to the course which they should pursue in common. The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding, may be expressed in the following manner :

"1. To seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman Empire in its present state, so long as that political combination shall be possible.

"2. If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists; and in conjunction with each other, to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of the Empire, shall not injudiciously affect either the security of their own States, and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

"For the purpose thus stated, the policy of Russia and of Austria, as we have already said, is closely united by the principle of perfect identity. If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them, it is to be supposed that France will find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburgh, London, and Vienna.

"Conflict between the great powers being thus obviated, it is to be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained even in the midst of such serious circumstances. It is to secure this object of common interest if the case occurs: that as the Emperor agreed with her Britannic Majesty's ministers during his residence in England, the previous understanding which Russia and England shall establish between themselves, must be directed."—*Blue Books*, Part VI., pp. 3, 4.

We honestly think, that in view of the past, the Earl of Aberdeen was warranted in saying, that supposing the Emperor right in his apprehension of the dissolution of Turkey, he saw "but that which is wise and moderate, and judicious in the memorandum." And when, in 1852, the difficulties arose concerning the Holy Places, the Czar, in perfect faith with this agreement, directly approached the British Government, and united the joint consultation thus provided for ten years before. And it must be recollected, at the outset of this examination, that Russia did not provoke this crisis. For Lord John Russell, on 28th January, 1853, and after he had received the first secret dispatch from Sir Hamilton Seymour, detailing the commencement of the Emperor's confidential conversations, which reached him on the 23d of the same month, says to Lord Cowley, the British Minister in Paris—"In the first place, her Majesty's desire is, to abstain altogether from giving any opinion on the merits of the question. Treaties, conventions, and firmans, are quoted with equal confidence on both sides. But Her Majesty's Government cannot avoid perceiving that the Ambassador of France at Constantinople was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Latin and Greek Churches were not very active, but that without some political action on the part of France, those quarrels would never have troubled the relations of the friendly powers.

"In the next place, if report is to be believed, the French ambassador was the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet to enforce the demands of his country."—*Blue Books*, Part I., p. 67.

It is impossible, of course, to enter at large into the technical perplexities of such questions, as to whether the key of the Church at Bethlehem should be intrusted to the Latin Bishop, or to the Greek Patriarch. But this much is clear to all, that as Turkey holds her place in the political world only by the mutual sufferance of the European powers, the practical question with them is, as to the balance of their respective influence with the Sublime Porte; and as the influences of Russia and France are represented through the privileges of the Greeks and Latins, of whom they are the representatives, questions of apparent insignificance assume importance, as indicating the real power of these several courts. Now, it appears that in 1852, the French Government was not satisfied with the *status quo* of these two parties, and made certain demands in favor of the Latins upon the Porte. Russia considered these demands as inadmissible. The Porte, fearful of offending either, hesitated and prevaricated with both. France and Russia both grew angry. France threatened force, and Russia prepared to use it. The Czar, believing that he saw danger of a rupture, the consequences of which might extend farther than the abstract value of the questions indicated, thought that the case provided for in the memorandum had occurred, and through Sir Hamilton Seymour opened the consultation to which England and himself were pledged. The first secret dispatch of Sir Hamilton Seymour is dated 11th January, 1853, and the question of the Holy Places assumed its very grave character towards the close of 1852, at which time Russia had evidently begun to make preparations for hostilities. Upon the appreciation of these confidential disclosures will depend the character of Russia's conduct; for her intentions, as manifested in them, will give color to her after proceedings. They require, therefore, a careful analysis. These conversations were of course opened by the Czar, and on his part were directed to three points. First—the expression of his strong desire, that in any future policy towards Turkey, himself and the English Government should be in perfect accord. Second—the declaration of his belief that the condition of the Turkish Empire was such, that at any moment, a revolution of the Christians, or a complicated dispute between any of the leading powers of Europe on a Turkish question, would lead to sudden collapse of the Ottoman Empire. And third—an invitation to the English Government to discuss fully and frankly the consequences of such an occurrence, in order to come to some general principles which should regulate their action. And referring to one point of special importance, he said: "Frankly, then, I tell you plainly, that if England thinks of establishing herself one of these days at Constantinople, I will not allow it. I do not attribute this intention to you, but it is better on these occasions to speak plainly; for my part, I am equally disposed to take the engagement, not to establish myself there, as proprietor, that is to say; for as occupier, I do not say; *it might happen that circumstances, if no previous provision were made, if everything should be left to chance, might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople.*"*

Sir Hamilton Seymour sums up the value of these conversations fairly, when he says:

"With regard to the extremely important overture to which this report relates, I will only observe, that as it is my duty to record impressions, as well as facts and statements, I am bound to say, that if words, tone, and manner offer any criterion by which intentions are to be judged, the Emperor is prepared to act with perfect fairness and openness towards Her Majesty's Government. His Majesty has, no doubt, his own objects in view; and he is, in my opinion, too strong a believer in the imminence of dangers in Turkey. I am, however, impressed with the belief, that in carrying out those objects, and in guarding against those dangers, His Majesty is sincerely desirous of acting in harmony with Her Majesty's Government. I would now submit to your lordship, that this overture cannot with propriety pass unnoticed by Her Majesty's Government. It has been on a first occasion glanced at, and on a second, distinctly made by the Emperor himself to the Queen's minister at his court, whilst the conversation held some years ago with the Duke of Wellington proves that the object in view is one which has long occupied the thoughts of his Imperial Majesty. If, then, the proposal were to remain unanswered, a decided advantage would be secured to the Imperial Cabinet, which, in the event of some great catastrophe taking place in Turkey, would be able to point to proposals made to England, and which not having been responded to, *left the Emperor at liberty, or placed him under the necessity, of following his own line of policy in the East.*

"Again I would remark, that the anxiety expressed by the Emperor, even looking to his own interests for an extension of the days 'of the dying man,' appears to me to justify Her Majesty's Government in proposing to His Imperial Majesty to unite with England in the adoption of such measures as may lead to prop up the failing authority of the Sultan. Lastly, I would observe, that even if the Emperor should be found disinclined to lend himself to such a course of policy as might arrest the downfall of Turkey, his declarations to me pledge him to be ready to take beforehand, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, such precautions as may possibly prevent the fatal crisis being followed by a scramble for the rich inheritance which would remain to be disposed of.

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* *Blue Books*, Part VI., p. 4.

"A noble triumph would be obtained by the civilization of the nineteenth century, if the void left by the extinction of Mahommedan rule in Europe could be filled up, without an interruption of the general peace, in consequence of the precautions adopted by the two principal Governments, the most interested in the destinies of Turkey."*

To this dispatch, Lord John Russell replied on the 9th February, 1853. He was "happy to acknowledge the moderation, the frankness, and the friendly disposition of His Imperial Majesty;" and repeats distinctly and fairly the point of the Imperial communication. "The question raised by His Imperial Majesty is a very serious one. It is supposing the contingency of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire to be probable, or even imminent; whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency, than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of an European war; all of which must attend the catastrophe, if it should occur unexpectedly and before some ulterior system has been sketched." And this "ulterior system" he declines to join in sketching, for the reasons he gives, viz.: 1. Because "no actual crisis has occurred, which renders necessary a solution of this vast European problem." 2. The impossibility of making any arrangement without the participation of the other leading European powers. 3. Because any such arrangement would only hasten the catastrophe it was intended to avoid. And he concludes by stating "that no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe, than that which His Imperial Majesty has so long followed, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous Sovereigns, who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory." After this dispatch, the conversations were still conducted through Sir Hamilton Seymour, and the Czar opened himself more fully. "I will not," said he, "tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians: having said this, I will say, that it never shall be held by the English or French, or any other great nation. Again—I never will permit an attempt at the reconstruction of a Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful State—still less would I permit the breaking up of

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* *Blue Books*, Part VI., pp. 5, 6.

Turkey into little republics; asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe; rather than submit to any of these arrangements, I would go to war, and, as long as I have a man and a musket left, would carry it on." * * * * "The Emperor went on to say, that in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, he thought it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed. The Principalities are, he said, in fact an independent State under my protection—this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of Government. So again with Bulgaria—there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent State. As to Egypt—I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say, that if in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the Empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objections to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia—that island might suit you; and I do not know why it should not become an English possession. As I did not wish that the Emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered that I had always understood that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother country." In fact, the summing of this whole very remarkable series of conversations may be accurately stated on the part of Russia, in the language of the memorandum furnished Sir Hamilton Seymour by Count Nesselrode, February 12, 1853; and, on the part of England, in the language of the dispatch of Lord Clarendon to the same ambassador on March 23, 1853.

The memorandum concludes: "In short, the Emperor cannot but congratulate himself at having given occasion for this intimate interchange of confidential communications between Her Majesty and himself. He has found therein valuable assurances, of which he takes note with lively satisfaction. The two Sovereigns have frankly explained to each other what, in the extreme case of which they have been treating of their respective interests, cannot endure. England understands that Russia cannot suffer the establishment at Constantinople of a Christian power sufficiently strong to control and disquiet her. She declares that for herself, she renounces any intention or desire to possess Constantinople. The Emperor equally disclaims any wish or design of establishing himself there. England promises that she will enter into no arrangements for determining the measures to be taken, in the event of the fall of the Turkish Empire, without a previous understanding with the Emperor. The Emperor on his side willingly contracts the same engagement; as he is aware that, in such a case, he can equally reckon upon

Austria, who is bound by her promises to concert with him; he regards with less apprehension the catastrophe which he still desires to prevent and avert, as much as it shall depend on him to do so."

Lord Clarendon's dispatch says:—"Her Majesty's Government have accordingly learnt with sincere satisfaction, that the Emperor considers himself even more interested than England in preventing a Turkish catastrophe; because they are persuaded, that on the conduct of his Imperial Majesty towards Turkey will mainly depend the hastening or indefinite postponement of an event which every power in Europe is concerned in averting. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that nothing is more calculated to precipitate that event, than the constant prediction of its being near at hand; that nothing can be more fatal to the vitality of Turkey, than the assumption of its rapid and inevitable decay; and that if the opinion of the Emperor, that the days of the Turkish Empire were numbered, became notorious, its downfall must occur even sooner than his Imperial Majesty appears now to expect.

"But on the supposition, that from unavoidable causes the catastrophe did take place, her Majesty's Government entirely share the opinion of the Emperor, that the occupation of Constantinople by either of the great powers would be incompatible with the present balance of power and the maintenance of peace in Europe, and must at once be regarded as impossible; that there are no elements for the reconstruction of a Byzantine Empire; that the systematic misgovernment of Greece offers no encouragement to extend its territorial dominion; and that as there are no materials for provincial or communal government, anarchy would be the result of leaving the provinces of Turkey to themselves, or permitting them to form separate republics." The dispatch considers "that the simple predetermination of what shall not be tolerated, does little towards solving the real difficulties, or settling in what manner it would be practicable, or even desirable, to deal with the heterogeneous materials of which the Turkish Empire is composed;" and his Lordship declares that "England desires no territorial aggrandizement, and could be no party to a previous arrangement from which she was to derive any such benefit. England could be no party to any understanding, however general, that was to be kept secret from other powers." At the close, then, of these conversations, that is, about the time of Prince Menschikoff's mission, the history of Europe since 1815, and the diplomatic papers exchanged between Russia and England, had established three facts. 1. That since the Congress of Vienna, a steady and gradual dismemberment of the Turkish Empire had been effected by the joint action of the great powers. 2. That Russia and

England distinctly recognizes as one of the probable eventualities of European politics the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and pledged themselves to a joint consultation, with a view to joint action in such an emergency. 3. That the English Ministry (see the dispatch of Lord John Russell already quoted) acknowledged the existence of a critical and complicated state of affairs in Turkey, threatening the mutual relations of the great powers, and brought on by the rash action of the French Government. And it must also be borne in mind that Lord Clarendon had expressly stated, that "if the opinion of the Emperor, that the days of the Turkish Empire were numbered, became notorious, its downfall must occur even sooner than his Imperial Majesty appears now to expect." Now, this opinion the Czar did hold and did express; so that, according to the principles laid down by the British Government itself, the contemplated crisis was at hand. The justice of Russia's position at this moment depends upon two questions. 1. Whether Russia had in good faith carried out the agreement contained in the memorandum of 1844, by which she bound herself to consult with England in case of certain eventualities. 2. And whether the principles upon which she proposed an agreement were fair and honest. The first question had already been answered in the dispatch of Sir Hamilton Seymour first quoted, from the highest authority, and in the most unequivocal manner. To the second, then, let us address ourselves. It has been urged that the dishonesty of these overtures is evident from the deliberate exclusion of the other great powers. England herself furnishes a complete reply to this charge, both in words and deeds. For in 1841, in arranging the Eastern question of that day, she acted heartily with Russia, not in excluding France from informal deliberations, but in fraudulently shutting France out from participation in a treaty, to the preliminary steps of which France had been a constant and deeply interested party; and this she did under the influence of Russian diplomacy, and very nearly at the expense of the peace of Europe. And in the memorandum of 1844, approved, it must be remembered, by Wellington, Peel and Aberdeen, she entered into a distinct agreement with Russia, on the ground that Russia and herself were all-powerful in the East, to discuss their future policy together, and has put upon that record the emphatic declaration—"If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them (i. e., Russia and Austria), it is to be supposed that France will find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburgh, London, and Vienna." We need scarcely say, that at that time Vienna and St. Petersburgh were so identical, that the former might have been stricken out of the sentence without weakening its force; and that Prussia was not even referred to by either of the contracting parties. If France, then, was excluded from the discussion, the memorandum of 1844 had worked the exclusion.

It is next declared that the proposals of the Czar amount to an iniquitous proposition to partition the territory of an independent and allied power in a time of profound peace, and without sufficient provocation. Now we might well remark, that this moral sensibility would have exerted a better influence if a little sooner manifested; and that after the independence of Greece, Egypt, and the provinces, its sudden exhibition may be the miraculous cure of a moral paralysis that seemed almost hopeless with the great powers; but it may also be the hypocritical indignation of a very selfish virtue. But the truth is, Turkey is *not* an independent power, and is only so far an allied one, that the great powers, in their own interest, have combined to preserve it, until they can agree upon the distribution of its territory. The Turks have no part in Europe; they share neither its civilization, its interests, nor its policy; and if we are to look for the criminal selfishness of European politics, it will be found in the miserable cant of "the integrity of the Ottoman Empire." The great powers of Europe have stood like an armed police on the borders of this country, to prevent the natural and necessary development of its Christian population; and they have combined in fear, not of Turkey, but of an independent Christian power which should reassume the Byzantine diadem. Russia and England both agree in this, with, however, this material difference. Russia is willing to create a set of independent provinces under her protectorate. England prefers the preservation of Turkish rule over the same provinces. The history of Europe, and the diplomatic language of each of the great powers, prove that the *final* extinction of Turkish rule is considered one of the established facts of European policy; and even now, while France and England take arms to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, they call for concessions which amount almost to a national conversion, which must end in revolution, and either leave Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Latins to tear each other to pieces, with all the fervor of religious zeal, and the intensity of civil hatred, or call the allied powers in to measure out the territory, and readjust the authority of an Empire without subjects, and a people without a country; for we are told, on high authority, that even now the highest ambition of a Christian rajah is to become the subject of a foreign power. To talk about Turkey as an independent power, having a recognized place in the European system like Austria or Prussia, or even like Belgium or Switzerland, is to use language contradicted by every fact of European history, and every sentence in the Eastern dispatches of European diplomacy. The extinction of Turkey as the land of Ottoman rule, is simply a matter of time. Russia and England, France, Austria and Prussia, have long since resolved upon its consummation. And England, even that England who, in the language of Lord Clarendon, "desires no territorial aggrandizement, and could be no party to a previous arrangement from which she was to derive any such benefit," will not come out of this war victorious, as she has never come out of any other, without "dividing the prey." And we honestly believe that both she and they are right; that no principle of justice, no interest of civilization, calls for the preservation of Turkey. The Turks came with the sword, let them go by the sword; wherever they spread, cruelty camped under their tents, and desolation was the shadow of their banners. In the annals of their barren and bloody history, we can find nothing that they have preserved—nothing that they have achieved. Ferocious in their strength, and false in their weakness, tyranny and treachery make the antithesis of their chronicles. Like the repulsive creations of their own fiction, the vampire and the ghoul, they have sucked the substance of the fairest portions of the world to prolong a monstrous and abhorred life, and feasted among the tombs of ancient and renowned nations. And when they shall have been expelled from the soil they desolate, and from among the people they oppress, history will only have recorded another example of God's retributive justice. It is, however, when that destruction shall be accomplished, that the true policy of Europe will show itself, and the world will learn whether the great powers would govern in a spirit of wise and honest statesmanship, or short-sighted and greedy selfishness. The dissolution of the Turkish Empire, therefore, is not the crime of Russia; but the use which she proposes to make of that event, must determine the moral character of her policy. What, then, is the nature of her proposals? And it must not be forgotten that conversations contain no distinct propositions; they include, and were intended to convey, only an exchange of opinions as the basis of future agreement. Were they just towards the various people who have hitherto lived subject to Turkish rule, and were they in harmony with that principle of European policy which forbids the sudden and disproportionate growth of any one of its leading powers? The idea suggested by Russia in these conversations was, that in case of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire, as neither England nor herself could hold Constantinople, the Christian population of Turkey with the Slave provinces should be formed into independent governments under a Russian protectorate, while Egypt and Candia should become English provinces. As far as the Christian population of Turkey is concerned, such an arrangement would be a great gain. They would at once be delivered from the degrading tyranny of Turkish rule; and although governed to a great degree by a foreign will, they would be governed in sympathy with their faith and habits, and in view of their own interest. For it is clear that the interest of Russia would be to develop the commercial and agricultural resources of these countries to their fullest extent; and the use which Russia has already in her history made of her gigantic power in promoting art, commerce, and industry, is a sufficient guarantee of the future. It is admitted on all sides, that the elements of a new Byzantine Empire do not at present exist. What better, then, could happen to the Slave provinces of Turkey than the quasi independence of a Russian protectorate? Under such protection they would either become gradually integral parts of the Russian Empire, or they would form by consolidation among themselves a new kingdom, with its capital at Constantinople. Which of these results would occur would depend upon the interests of the Slave population themselves. In the meantime, Russia is specially adapted for their guardianship. It would be Russian interest to develop their resources, and to perfect their military strength and commercial capabilities. They would preserve under Russian rule more of their native habits and peculiar institutions than under any other power; for Russia is, in fact, a vast confederacy of differing nationalities. It has been very justly and very well said, that "Ruling over eighty different nations or tribes, the autocrat of all the Russias claims the allegiance of people of every variety of race, tongue, and religion. Were it possible to transport to one common centre of his empire the gay opera lounger of St. Petersburgh, habited in the Parisian mode; the fierce Bashkir of the Ural mountains, clad in rude armor, and armed with bow and arrows; the Armenian, with his camel from the southern steppes; and the Esquimaux, who traverses with his dogs the frozen regions of the North—these fellow-subjects of one potentate would encounter each other with all the surprise and ignorance of individuals meeting from England, China, Peru, and New Holland; nor would the time or expense incurred in the journey be greater in the latter than in the former interview." Now Russia, on this vast and varied field of labor, with what was originally a barbarous aristocracy and a brutal serfage, has achieved miracles; she has built splendid cities, created a wide and rich commerce, nourished great statesmen, and given birth to renowned warriors; she has improved the manners, increased the comforts, and as far as possible ameliorated the condition of her people; and in doing all this, while she has of necessity centralized to an almost incredible degree the power by which she acts, she has not destroyed these peculiar habits, nor obliterated the native nationality of any one of her component people.

The Slave provinces of Turkey are not, it is admitted, ready for independence—they cannot yet consolidate into one free, firm government. What better condition, then, could be found than a quasi independence under the protection of Russia, which would enable them in the pursuit of their own interests to develop either into Russian provinces, or into the centre of a new European State, as the wants of the future may require? We cannot realize, we must confess, the existence of one Empire with two capitals, like St. Petersburgh and Constantinople, and would consider even the unmodified absorption of Turkey into Russia but as one stage in that constant process of growth and dissolution, which has marked the history of all the great Empires of the world. But whether Russia is destined to absorb Turkey, and to become the vast Empire that terrifies European diplomacy, or whether she is destined to divide into two great kingdoms in the East of Europe, we cannot feel a doubt that, as far as the interests of the Christian population of Turkey is concerned, the change from the rule of the Sultan to the dominion of the Czar is to them a change for the better, freer, and higher political life. It must be noticed also, that while the Czar claims the gradual incorporation of those populations between whom and himself there exists the sympathy of race and faith, he is willing to relinquish the sovereignty of Egypt to England. He recognizes the truth of that principle, by which England has conquered India—the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race in its contact with the inferior nature of the Asiatic people.

Wherever the English settler lands, he conquers—he never incorporates, he subjects. Now the Turkish possessions cover two classes. 1. The Christian population of Turkey in Europe, who have in themselves the elements of life, activity, and prosperity: These, the Czar says, must be incorporated into an Empire understanding, and sharing their sympathies. 2. The Mahometan populations of Asia and Egypt: These have no vitality drawn from the past, no progress to be hoped for the future: they must be the subjects of Christian civilization; and he accordingly delivers them to the great Colonial nation of the world, whose commerce will renew, whose colonial genius will govern, and whose maritime power will protect, the trade, life, and territory, of these conquered countries, until they shall have been re-created by English capital and enterprise for a newer and more vigorous life. If, then, this scheme was just, as concerned the Christian provinces of Turkey, was it a fair proposition, in reference to the balance of power? Taking for granted the principles of this very indefinite system called the balance of power, we might fairly object to the theory of that system which confounds the balance of European power with the balance of the world. England herself, by the vast extension of her colonial Empire, an expansion which, taken together with her maritime force, is equivalent to the territorial increase of any other nation of the world, has disturbed the old balance, and by extending herself in all parts of the globe, has brought all parts of the globe into the relations of this system. Having done so, she must adjust the balance on a new and larger scale. But we do not intend now to dwell on that point of view. We assume the European stand-point, and would remark, first, that the balance of power is a defensive system; not to prevent change, but to forbid oppression. The gradual, natural growth of any one nation, is not in violation of its principles, be the degree of power to which it attains ever so exaggerated, as is proved by the history of England herself. England came out of the wars of 1815 with immensely increased strength, both military and moral. She naturally, necessarily, without fraud or force, developed her commercial capabilities, and her colonial Empire, until she has become the greatest nation that history has recorded. This progress was owing, not only to her wealth, intellect, and enterprise, but to the exemption from the desolation of war, within her own borders, which had ravaged the continent from Moscow to Madrid, consuming its wealth, palsying its energy, and shutting out all field for the exertions of peaceful and industrial genius. With such a start, England has distanced Europe, and her power has grown with her prosperity, and on account of her prosperity. But a half century of peace has been rapidly improved by all the relations of Europe; and at their head stands Russia, who has developed her energies with gigantic efforts. The natural result is, that as Europe approximates to the prosperity of England, the power of Europe and England becomes more equally balanced, and the very same principles which, in their successful working from 1815 on, have made England the great power of the world, are in their extension bringing other powers more nearly to an equality. Now any change thus effected, is a legitimate and natural variation of the balance to be corrected, or confirmed by the progress of time; and any change in the relative power of England springing from the gradual increase of any other national prosperity, is just and proper. [And it seems to us that it cannot be denied, that some such process has been at work in Europe, and that English influence, which has been dominant for the last half century, is about to be naturally and necessarily modified. The increase, then, of Russian influence is not of itself a proof that the balance of power has been irregularly disturbed. The question should be, Does the action of Russia threaten to subordinate the power of England, so as to neutralize or to destroy a necessary element in that balance? Not whether the power of England is diminished—for the balance itself may call for such diminution—but whether any power is to be strengthened into an autocracy? Now the Russian scheme, if it increased the power of Russia, did not certainly diminish the power of England. For even if it be granted that Russia would possess Constantinople, its natural power as the mistress of such a situation would be materially modified, by the neighborhood of England's great maritime power at Alexandria. And if Candia be added to Malta, Corfu, and Gibraltar, she would indeed be the ruler of the Mediterranean. As far, therefore, as the relative proportion of Russian and English power would affect the general balance, it must be admitted that the proposed scheme preserved the old proportions in its development. We think, then, that at the close of the conversations between the Czar and the British ambassador, Russia had fulfilled all her obligations to England, frankly and faithfully. A case had arisen which, in the opinion of the Russian Emperor, met the provisions of the memorandum of 1844. The crisis had, according to Lord John Russell, been unprovoked by Russia, and forced on France—it had assumed a very grave character. The Emperor called upon England for consultation and advice. He stated his opinions frankly, and without asking for any action which should initiate the destruction of the Ottoman Empire; he simply suggested the basis of a future understanding; and the leading ideas of his scheme, as we have shown, combined justice to the constituent elements of the Turkish Empire, with due regard to the preservation of European balance. England declined the responsibility of concerted action, and thus afforded the Czar the advantage pointed out by the British minister; and in his own words, which will form the verdict of history, "*left the Emperor at liberty, or placed him under the necessity, of following his own line of policy in the East.*"

And we insist the more strenuously upon this view, because from this stand-point only can we perceive the full character and consequence of Prince Menschikoff's mission. For upon this Turkish question Russia was forced to act either in concert with England, or alone. The concert which she sought was refused, and her own independent action was the only course left open. What influence, then, had Europe a right to exercise upon the relations of Turkey and Russia? and what restraint had Europe a right to put upon Russian policy? And here again we must repeat, that the whole policy of Europe in the East has been based upon two principles. 1. The final extinction of the Ottoman Empire; and 2. The presence of a certain degree of Russian influence over the Slave provinces of Turkey, as one of the elements to govern the future distribution of Turkish territory. The conversations and private correspondence between Russia and England began in January, and may be considered as terminated in April, 1853. Prince Menschikoff received orders in February to prepare for his immediate departure to Constantinople. And towards the close of May, having failed in his mission, he withdrew from Constantinople. What difference was there between the Russian representation of his mission and its reality? Prince Menschikoff's mission ran parallel in point of time with the confidential communications to which we have already referred; and the correspondence in relation to it establishes two points: 1. That in the settlement of the Holy Places, while the Emperor declared that he would not require the withdrawal of any advantages gained by the French court, he distinctly announced that his leading object would be to obtain an *equivalent* for any such concessions; and 2. That in expectation of difficulty, the Czar did openly commence military preparations to meet any such emergency.

"In speaking to me yesterday," says Sir Hamilton Seymour, on February 10, 1853, "of Prince Menschikoff's instructions, which were again represented to be moderate in their character, the Chancellor observed that there was necessarily some vagueness in his orders; as on one side it was hardly ascertained to what extent the rights secured last year to the Greeks had been infringed; and on the other, there could be no question of attempting to regain from the Latins any of the privileges which they subsequently might have acquired at Jerusalem. *The object to be sought for was, therefore, an equivalent for any privilege lost by the Greeks*."—*Blue Books*, Part I., 79. On March 24, 1853, Lord Cowley, the British ambassador at Paris, says, "Assurances are given that there is no intention on the part of Russia to disturb any arrangement made between France and the Porte in regard to the sacred buildings; *but it is laid down that if concessions have been made to the Latins, an equivalent will be required for the Greeks.* The whole tenor of the correspondence shows further, that the Emperor of Russia has no hostile feeling towards Turkey, and is anxious for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."—*Blue Books*, Part I., 96. And again, on March 31, the same ambassador, repeating the substance of the French dispatches from Constantinople, says: "He said that after the positive assurances given by the Russian Government, that there was no intention on their part to procure any retractation of the concessions made to France, the French Government were perfectly satisfied. The latter, moreover, had no pretension to interfere with any concessions which the Porte might think fit to accord, in compensation to the Greeks, unless the independence of Turkey should thereby be threatened, and even then it would be a case for the consideration of the great powers of Europe collectively, and not of France individually."—*Idem*, pp. 100, 101.

That England was aware of the military preparation of Russia, is evident in nearly all of the dispatches from St. Petersburg. On April 7th, 1853, Sir Hamilton Seymour writes to the Earl of Clarendon, "I observed that with the peaceful prospects which were now opening on us, I flattered myself His Excellency could now give me the assurance that military preparations were laid aside; at all events, that there was some commencement of discontinuance of military preparation. Count Nesselrode replied that *he did not feel at liberty to give me that assurance;* but that he did not hesitate to express to me his own conviction that the negotiation at Constantinople would be brought, and speedily, to a happy conclusion."—*Idem,* 142.

And Lord Clarendon himself, in his dispatch of May 31, to Sir Hamilton Seymour, says: "The negotiations at Constantinople have been supported by great demonstrations of force, and every preparation for war has been made in the Southern provinces of Russia. *Great Britain has long been a quiet spectator of those armaments;* but now that the relations between Russia and Turkey are broken off, it becomes our duty to ascertain," &c., &c.—*Idem,* 203.

During the whole of the discussions, therefore, it is clear that Prince Menschikoff's mission, "supported by great demonstrations of force," had for its open and avowed object the attainment of "*an equivalent*" for the Greeks. What must have been included in such an object? As long as the so-called integrity of the Ottoman Empire is preserved, the difficulty always must be to preserve the *status quo* of the contrarient influences of the European courts in Constantinople. Upon the proper and natural balance of these influences, indeed, depends that integrity; and this was the principle of the treaty of 1841—a treaty, it must be recollected, signed without the knowledge, and against the interests of France, and to which she gave, finally, a forced and sullen acquiescence. From the treaty of 1841 to 1852, the action of natural causes has modified the balance of these influences. The very elements of influence recognized in that treaty were gradually developing a modification of the relation of its parties in regard to Turkey. Between the Christian population of Turkey and Russia, the bonds of religious and political sympathy grew stronger and closer every day, and it could not be otherwise than that, in the natural course of events, Russian influence in Turkey must be predominant. This was only the necessary result of time, and the treaty of 1841. The growth, therefore, of this Russian influence must have been anticipated, and the memorandum of 1844 proves was anticipated, by England herself; and this State paper looks forward evidently to the *action* of Russia modified, restrained by, and concerted with England, as the regulator of the fate of the Ottoman Empire. It is admitted, as we have shown by Lord John Russell's own language, that the *status quo* of European influence, as represented in Constantinople by the respective privileges of the Greeks and Latins, was violated by France, and that the French Minister had threatened the Sultan with the French fleet to carry his point. Here, then, was a distinct violation of the established balance against Russia. A long controversy ensued, and finally the Czar declared that he would leave the advantages gained by the French untouched, provided he received in turn from the Porte a *guaranteed* equivalent. Now the only difference, in fact, between Count Nesselrode's statement to Sir Hamilton Seymour, and Prince Menschikoff's demands upon the Sultan, was the *guarantee* of the equivalent. Count Nesselrode always said that an *equivalent* was his ultimatum. Prince Menschikoff required the equivalent to be guaranteed by a treaty: For Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in his dispatch of May 19, 1853, says explicitly, "Of the Porte's intended note, it is but justice to say, *that it declared a readiness to concede every point demanded by Russia, with the single exception of that form of guarantee; I mean an engagement with the force of treaty, which the Porte conceives to be inconsistent with its independence and sovereignty*, and which opinion is more or less entertained by every one who may be supposed to have acquired a competent knowledge of the subject."—*Blue Books*, Part I., 205.

Taking this, then, as granted, we confess we cannot see, whatever may have been the variation in the style of language used by Count Nesselrode to Sir Hamilton Seymour, and that held by Prince Menschikoff to the Sultan, any real and substantial difference between the object of the mission, as declared at St. Petersburgh, and the object as demanded at Constantinople. The demand of an equivalent implied the guarantee of the equivalent, particularly under the circumstances. For "it is but justice," says Lord Stratford, in his dispatch of May 22, 1853, after the departure of Prince Menschikoff from Constantinople, "to admit that Russia had something to complain of, in the affair of the Holy Places; nor can it be denied that much remains to be done for the welfare and security of the Christian population in Turkey. But it is equally true, that a fair measure of reparation has been given to the Russian ambassador," &c. Now, on this latter point, Russia was as much authorized to judge for herself, as England was to judge for her; and as to the great and leading objection afterwards made in the same dispatch, and in the English State papers generally, "as to the dangerous and inadmissible character of the powers which His Majesty's ambassador has sought to obtain at the Sultan's expense," we confess we realize the full force of Count Nesselrode's brief but practical reply to Sir Hamilton Seymour.

"I admitted," says Sir Hamilton Seymour, in the dispatch of

May 27th, 1853, "having some considerable time since learned from His Excellency that it was considered essential that the two firmans should be re-enforced by, or, if he pleased, embodied in, a convention; but, that there was entirely new matter in the 'Projet de Traité' brought forward by Prince Menschikoff; that there was now question of granting to the Emperor a right of protection over 10,000,000 of Greeks, which would render him more powerful in Turkey than the Sultan himself, *which would make them all look up to a foreign sovereign, and not to their own master.*"

"*Have they looked,*" Count Nesselrode replied, "*for the last hundred years, in any other direction?*"

It is unnecessary to follow the course of negotiations from the departure of Prince Menschikoff to the declaration of war, because the effort of diplomacy was then simply to relieve the parties in controversy from the consequences of the position in which they stood to each other at that point. These efforts having failed, the parties stood, therefore, at their close, just where they were at its commencement. An impartial statement of the whole controversy would appear to be this:—The difficulty has arisen, not from any regard to Turkey, nor from any real interest in her Christian subjects, but from the jealousy of the great powers of their respective influence, and seems to be the natural and unavoidable result of the treaty of 1841, and the condition of Turkey. By that treaty, Turkey was deprived of all real independence, her dissolution rendered certain, and Constantinople made the battle-field of foreign and contending interests. In 1852, France having made certain demands by which Russia considered the equilibrium of influences disturbed, the Czar finally required from Turkey a settlement of the local question in dispute, guaranteed by such a diplomatic transaction, whether treaty or note, as would protect the Greek Church for the future; but which in so doing, necessarily owing to the relations between Russia and the millions of Greek subjects in Turkey, would give extended force and increased energy to Russian influence in the Ottoman Empire. Turkey, sustained directly by the counsel and arms of England and France, refused to enter into any such diplomatic arrangement. Upon this refusal, Russia suspended all diplomatic relations with Turkey, and occupied the Danubian principalities. The allies of Turkey entered the Bay of Besika with their fleets, and Turkey declared war. The points which we think demonstrated by the correspondence are: 1. That France, in the first place, disturbed the *status quo*. 2. That Russia claimed what she considered an equivalent, and England and France sustained the Turkish refusal, on the ground that what was claimed gave an influence to Russia so large, as to disturb the balance of European power in Turkey. 3. And that it follows, from these facts, that Russia could not yield her claim, without deferring to the joint and superior influence of France and England; and that thus any termination of the difficulty would be a diminution of influence on one side or the other, and equally a disturbance of the balance which all the powers professed themselves anxious to preserve. Now, whatever we may think of the value of the controversy between Russia and the rest of Europe, it is clear that they are all fighting their own battles; that Turkey is only what she has always been—a prize over which these powers are contending—and not an equal ally, whose interests they are protecting; and that, be the result of this war what it may, it must end only in a change of masters—in the utter dissolution, or very serious diminution of the "integrity of the Ottoman Empire." For it has been the fortune of Turkey, in all her alliances, to illustrate the warning of Prince Metternich to Mons. de Saint-Aulaire, "Prenez-y-garde cependant; rien n'est plus utile que l'alliance de l'homme avec le cheval, mais il faut l'être l'homme et non le cheval."

Considered simply in its effects upon Turkey, this question can have no interest for the American people. But there are some points of view in which it does assume proportions of a larger consequence:—

1. If the war, just commenced in Europe, should be prolonged, or widened into a general war, no result can compensate its disastrous action. If Austria and Prussia fail, finally, in devising some ground for diplomatic reconciliation, the war must become a tremendous struggle for power between Russia and England, France, in all probability, reaping the resulting benefits. For however the other States of Europe may range themselves, these two Empires stand foremost in the contest. We consider them, in the fulness of their strength, as both absolutely necessary to the safety and the future of Europe. We think there is, however, this difference between them: England has already touched that point beyond which any *increase* of her power is dangerous to the world, while Russia has not yet developed the matured proportions of that influence which she can fairly use for the world's benefit. The rest of Europe is in a transition state; its principles unsettled; its populations ripe for revolution; and its territorial limits marked for change. In that change, which is surely coming, Russia and England alone can exercise the influence of established power and consistent principles. Widely different as are their respective forms of government, they are yet both the natural creation of their respective situations; and their joint action, in a spirit of justice, would be powerful to shape and control the future development of Europe. We would not have the power of England positively diminished an iota; for she has played a great and

noble part in the world's history. She has been the foster-mother of commerce, and the founder of arts; nursed at her bosom, great empires have grown into the perfected manhood of national life; and in her living language were uttered the first broken sentences of constitutional liberty. But England has presumed too far in her pride of place. Of late, especially, she has interfered rashly, inconsequentially, and wrongfully, in every globe. The centre of the world's commerce; secure in her island position; fortified almost impregnably in Asia, Africa, and America; armed with a naval power unequalled in history, she has subjected the policy of the world to the test of her trading necessities, and has converted the business card of every itinerant bagman, who seeks orders for the hardware of Sheffield or the dry goods of Manchester, into a proclamation of British possession. The natural growth, therefore, of any counterbalancing European power is a clear gain to the world at large, especially where such a development neither springs from nor necessitates a violent invasion of England's present strength. In this light, the discomfiture of Russia, by the alliance of France and England, will be disastrous to Europe, and dangerous to the world, for it increases the power, and stimulates the ambitious activity, of the two most restless kingdoms of Europe—kingdoms whose natural jealousy has hitherto served as a mutual check. Any such result must give a preponderant continental influence to France; and should the yearning of France for the waters of the Rhine, and the passion of the revolutionary liberals, undertake the reconstruction of Europe, as everything indicates they will do, England must either renew the broken covenant with Russia, or submit to some redivision of Europe, in the interest of Napoleon. But passing by all such speculations, the alliance of England and France for joint action, according to Lord Clarendon, *in both hemispheres*, is a baleful phenomenon in politics. It bodes no good anywhere; but the Tripartite Convention as to Cuba illustrates fully its consequences in this country.

2. It is clear that the allied powers have gone to war, not in the maintenance of rights, or the defence of plain and direct interests, but for the preservation of their influence in the East. A glance at any map which marks the proportion between the territory of Turkey belonging to the Turks, and that occupied by her Christian populations; the natural sympathy of race and religion, and the history of the last century, prove, beyond cavil, that the influence of Russia in Turkey has grown largely, systematically, and naturally; that it is the legitimate development of elements distributed there by the God of nations himself; and that any check upon it is the result of an artificial political system, just only so far as it works with the natural principles of

national progress, and not against them. Now, this Russian influence England and France have combined to neutralize, and they rest their right of interference upon their relations to each other, and their guarantee of Turkish existence in 1841. Now, this is precisely the relation of England, France. and the United States to Cuba. The natural development of this country's influence upon Cuba must grow stronger and larger; the Tripartite Convention rested upon the claim of equal interest on the part of the European powers, and would, if adopted, have placed the existence of Cuba, in its present condition, under the same sort of treaty guarantee; and thus the very same principle which has carried the allied fleets into the waters of the Baltic, would have heralded their gracious presence in the Mexican Gulf. While, then, the relative interests of the contending powers are, to the American people, of no immediate concern, they may very naturally feel a sympathy with any power which threatens the destruction of an alliance which has professed principles of direct interference with their own interests. More than this, in the present condition of the world, there are certain duties which such a crisis imposes upon this government.

1. If this war continues, Russia, England, and France have all colonial possessions on this continent. Russia's possessions on the Pacific are becoming every day more important; and the relations of the European powers in the West Indies with the United States are becoming every day more threatening. Standing perfectly apart from the European quarrel, has not the United States the perfect right to declare that hostilities can, under no possible circumstance, be allowed to extend to this continent; that there shall be no change of possession among the colonial provinces of any of the contending powers? If the papers are correct, the Government has already been notified of the presence of British vessels of war near the Pacific possessions of Russia; and if the war between these powers be once allowed to extend to these shores, it will not be long before the United States finds her interests compromised.

If, as the *Times* of 24th May significantly says, "From Archangel, in the north, to Erzeroum—from the confines of Prussia to *the northwestern territories of America*—there rages, or is about to rage, a conflict gradually drawing within its exterminating vortex the leading nations of the world"—has not this Government a right to insist upon such a precautionary policy on this continent, at least, as will preserve the possibility of her neutrality? Now, situated as this country is towards the West Indies and the Pacific coast, we ought distinctly and decidedly to make it known, that European interests cannot influence the political adjustments of this quarter of the globe; that no change can take place in the relations of the colonial possessions of

Europe here, except in subordination to the interests of the "leading powers" of the Western world. And would it not be wiser to make such a declaration now, when it would apply with equal justice to all—than afterwards, when, if this war should become universal, such a declaration may work, indirectly, a violation of our neutrality?

2. A perfectly honest neutrality is possible only to a strong nation. All history proves that a weak nation is never allowed to maintain a neutral position, if the interests of greater kingdoms require its services. And this is more specially true of a maritime power; and in the present condition of international relations, a great maritime nation, armed with its due and proportionate naval strength, would be, if faithfully neutral, the great mediating power of the world. But it must be *able* to speak with the authority of might, as well as right. If the fleet of Sir Charles Napier were now in the Gulf, what would be the *force* of our protest?

3. In the present condition of things, and in the complications which the future seems to threaten, if there is one thing more necessary to this Government than another, it is full, accurate, impartial information of the strength, feelings, interests and intentions of the leading European powers. Now, there are two kinds of diplomatic service—the one consists in a direct interference with, and interest in, the political schemes of other nations, in an effort to modify or control the action of other powers, for our own purposes. And where nations are closely associated, as in Europe, in material and political interests, this service is one of great delicacy, dignity, and difficulty. Situated as the United States are, their interests open scarce any field for a like activity. [But we stand somewhat like the old neutral and trading republic of Venice; and, like her, we might wsely cultivate the other kind of diplomatic service. Their ambassadors were everywhere thoroughly trained for observation; they passed gradually through the circle of national relations, and impartial spectators of the whole field of politics; they supplied the Government with such full and minute information, that it could at any moment comprehend the whole scope of European politics, and give each separate event its true significance.] To do this, however, would require a thorough reorganization of our whole diplomatic system, on a higher basis, and upon a vastly more liberal scale, than is tolerated at present. Perhaps this, in the temper of the times, is impossible; but it is certain that questions of vast importance are casting portentous shadows as they come. [If the struggle in Europe assumes the proportions of universal war, this country will have a noble, but difficult, task before it.] It may not be able to stand between the contending parties as arbiter; but it can, at least, hold above the hot

strife those principles of international right which would be otherwise trampled out in the struggle, and stand in wise neutrality apart from the bloody follies of older nations. We can preserve, to this continent at least, the blessings and benefits of a well-guarded peace. But to do this, requires knowledge, strength, and temper; and if the United States is to play a proper part in the troubled times at hand, they will need three things: a thoroughly organized diplomatic system to tell them the truth; a navy commensurate with their rank, to support their decisions; and an honest, determined neutrality, as the corner-stone of their policy.

Art. II.—MINNESOTA.

ITS EXTENT—FERTILITY—AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES—SCHOOLS—RAPID GROWTH—ST. PAUL—ST. ANTHONY—POPULATION IN 1854, &C., &C.

The soft and harmonious name, *Minnesota*, is a compound Indian word, of comprehensive meaning, descriptive of the peculiar clouded color of the waters of the St. Peter's River, caused by the sedimentary blue clays brought down by its tributaries. This peculiarity in its appearance led the Indians living on its banks to call it *Minnesota*. The term *minne*, in the Sioux language, means *water*. The Chippewas, who lived to the north and east of the river, called it *Oskibugi Seepi*, or the Young Leaf River, in allusion to the early foliage of its forests.

Already the Mississippi, if we include its eldest daughter, the Ohio, has thirteen States upon its waters, not including Territories; and it furnishes an outlet to the commerce of several more. Minnesota is the last legislative creation whose highway to the busy world without is the Mississippi; and it bids fair, at no distant day, to make one of the noblest States of the Union. Its area, according to Mr. Darby, is about 200,000 square miles; but according to the U. S. Census for 1850, just published, it is only 141,839 square miles. Taking this last area to be correct, Minnesota is large enough to make four States of the size of Maine, and all of them fronting either upon the Mississippi, the Missouri, or upon Lake Superior.

Minnesota is bounded on the north by the 49th parallel of north latitude, by the Rainy Lake River, which runs from Rainy Lake into Lake of the Woods; by the chain of small lakes extending from Rainy Lake to the head waters of the Arrow River; and thence by the Arrow River to its entrance into Lake Superior. This northern boundary separates it from British America. On the east it is bounded by Wisconsin and Lake Superior; the separating line, between it and Wisconsin, being the St.

Louis River, as far up as the falls, a little above Fond du Lac ; a due north and south line from those falls to the St. Croix River, nearly where it is intersected by the 46th parallel of north latitude ; thence down that river to the Mississippi ; thence up the Mississippi to its intersection by the 93d meridian of longitude W. from London ; and thence south on that meridian to the northern boundary of Iowa. It is separated also from Iowa by the Sioux River, from its mouth to the northwest corner of that State. Its southern boundary is Iowa, and the Missouri River, which separates it from the Indian and Northwest Territories. On the west the Missouri separates it from the Northwest Territory, up to the mouth of the White Earth, a branch of the Missouri. The White Earth River, which runs nearly due south, completes the western boundary up to the dividing line between the United States and British America.

The immense Territory of Minnesota, which looks so well on the map, can be duly estimated, as to its extent, only by a comparison with other well-known States. It is a little larger than the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Maryland together, calling its area 141,839 square miles. But large as it is, it lacks 20,821 square miles of being *half* as large as Texas. The States of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio together, are not as large as Minnesota by 8,875 square miles. Making a comparison with certain portions of Europe, Minnesota is about the size of 36 States of the Germanic Confederation, exclusive of Prussia and Austria, plus the whole of Belgium and Portugal. If Mr. Darby's estimate of 200,000 square miles is correct, Minnesota is about the size of France, or of the whole of Turkey in Europe.*

Minnesota must necessarily be a large country, when we consider the fact, that it gives origin to, and furnishes the entire waters of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the St. Croix ; 500 miles of that immense stream being within its borders. The Missouri washes its western border for about 1,000 miles ; while within its area flows, for more than 1,000 miles, the great Red River of the North, in nearly a due north direction to Lake Winnipeg. There are also the Sioux and Minnesota, each several hundred miles in length.

The entire eastern and southeastern portions of Minnesota appear to be a perfect wilderness of lakes and rivers. The lakes are generally small, and almost without number, and are drained almost entirely by the Mississippi River. They hang, as it were, upon all its upper branches, great and small, like fruit upon a tree, whose limbs were ready to break down with their load. Of these lakes, as yet, we have no very accurate description. Some of them are quite large. Minniwokan and Red

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* See McCulloch's Geog. Dict.

Lake, both on the same parallel of latitude (48° N.), are the largest—the former a salt lake, west, and the latter a fresh, east of the Red River of the North.

Both banks of the Mississippi, within the boundaries of Minnesota, are quite elevated. This elevation is rocky, and often precipitous, at the water's brink, as high as St. Anthony's Falls. Above that point, which is, according to Nicolet, in lat. 44° 58′ 40″ N., a succession of elevated plains, with forests of the drift stratum, come in, and characterize both banks, as far up as Sandy Lake, and, with intermissions, quite to the falls of Puckäguma. The consequence of this elevation is, that its waters, which reveal themselves abundantly in pure springs, lakes, and streams, flow into the Mississippi, with rapid currents and cascades, presenting numerous sites for mills. The pine forests of Minnesota may be readily converted into lumber to supply the central and lower portions of the Mississippi. The falls of the St. Croix, of the Chippewa, and other tributary streams, have already been occupied in part with saw-mills. At the falls of St. Anthony, where the Mississippi, agreeably to the measurement of Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. A., drops 20 feet perpendicularly, with strong rapids above and below, its power may be thrown, by a series of mill canals, upon almost any amount of machinery. There is water-power there enough available to put in motion all the machinery on the globe. This point, which is distant 900 miles above St. Louis, and about 2,200 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, is the true head of steamboat navigation of heavy tonnage, and must become, at no very distant day, a great manufacturing city and point of transhipment. In a future state of the country, steamboats of moderate size will be built to run above the falls, during high water, as high up as Comtaguma, or Sandy Lake, and Puckäguma. They may also ascend the De Corbeau, to the mouth of Leaf Liver.*

The topography and general geography of Minnesota cannot be well understood without giving full prominence to the character, course, and origin of the Mississippi. Geologically considered, the Mississippi River originates in the erratic block-group, or drift stratum of the north, in lat. 47° 13′ 35″, and long. W. from Washington 18°, according to Nicolet. This stratum develops itself in a prominent range of sand-hills, once probably naked ocean dunes, which throw out copious springs of the purest water on all sides. Those infant sources of the "Father of Rivers" first gather themselves together in a handsome lake, Itasca, of some five to seven miles in length, whose shores are surrounded with deciduous trees. The scene is one of picturesque beauty. From this lake the Mississippi sets out on its wonderful course of more than 3,000 miles to the Gulf, by an outlet sixteen feet wide, by a depth of fourteen inches—making a body of pure crystal water, gliding rapidly over a sandy and pebbly bed, in which the traveller, as he shoots along in his canoe, can see the broken, white and pearly valves of the unio and other fresh-water shells of the lake scattered in its bed.* Thus much topographically. This great Northern drift stratum, which constitutes the height of land, rests on a broad range of the crystalline or primary rocks, which cross the continent between latitudes about 44° to 50°, linking together the mountain groups of the Labrador and Hudson's Bay coasts with the Rocky Mountains. To these broad ranges and mountain outbreaks, as they are developed west of James' Bay, and north of Lake Superior, Bouchette, the geographer of Canada, has applied the name of Cabotian Mountains, in allusion to the true discoverer of North America. Agreeably to this theory, the St. Louis River, which falls into the head of Lake Superior, presenting a series of magnificent views and cataracts, passes transversely through the Cabotian chain; while the Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods lie north of it. This range of transverse rocks, which, with all its diluvial and drift covering, does not rise over 1,600 feet above the ocean, may be said, by its "rocky roots," to continue west from the Itasca highlands, and to divide the waters of the Upper Missouri from those of the Sas Katchiwine, and Assinaboine Valleys of Red River and Lake Winnipec. The natural line of elevation denotes this. It is, in fine, the transverse *Wasserschied* between the Hudson's Bay and the St. Lawrence waters and the Gulf of Mexico.†

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* Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Part I., p. 184.

It is impossible to visit this remote summit, to which the French apply the term *Hauteur des Terres*, and examine its oceanic dunes, gravel-beds, and sand plains, without supposing the present condition of its surface to be the result of oceanic currents, however produced, which, at a very ancient period of the globe's history, poured their waters over these heights, surcharged with the ruins of broken strata and disruptured formations which overspread even the area north of them.‡ These ruins consist of sandstones and slates, and of primary rocks from remote positions—trap and green stone, grauwackes and amygdaloids, telling of the prostration of volcanic formations, with all their peculiar imbedded minerals and veinstones. Laved agates, chalcedonies and carnelians are found, both in the dry drift, at the highest elevations, and about the shores of lakes and streams. These masses have been carried by fluviatile action down the Mississippi valley to great distances, as low as St. Louis and Herculaneun.*

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* Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Part I., p. 185.

† Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes.

‡ Geological Report of the Expedition of 1820. War Office.

The general character of Minnesota is that of a high rolling prairie; but the borders of the lakes and streams abound with valuable timber, and there is no section of North America of the same area exhibiting so little of waste land. The soil, in general, is equal if not superior in fertility to that of any State in the Union. We cannot here refrain from quoting the language of the late Governor of Minnesota, Alex. Ramsey:

"Of the 37,000,000 of square geographical miles of territorial surface which the globe, according to Malte Brun, contains, probably no tract," says Mr. Ramsey, "of equal extent with that of Minnesota, embraces a fewer number of acres doomed to eternal sterility. Within its extreme limits, it may be safely asserted, that there is hardly a rood that is not arable; for the wet and swampy lands are easily drained, and eventually will be the most eagerly sought for agricultural purposes. Rapid streams, fed from rich prairies, and shaded by noble forests; clear lakes stocked with fish; a soil enriched with the spoils of the decayed vegetation of several thousand years, are features common to the entire region. Rich veins of mineral wealth and an inexhaustible command of water-power, point it out as the future abode of manufacturing greatness; while the boundless plains, subdued by the voluntary toil of freemen, will become the chosen abiding-place of pastoral republicanism. The whole is watered by streams, which form so many natural outlets into the great commercial artery of our continent, the Mississippi. These various rivers, in great part navigable, each with their own set of tributary streams, some fed by rills which gush from fertile highlands, others draining lakes of transparent clearness, form a chain of inland communication, which, as a natural feature, is unknown in the physical geography of the Eastern Hemisphere. Over all, and through all, pervades a climate which stimulates exertion, and is eminently favorable to health.

"The head waters of the Des Moines take their rise within the southern line of the purchase. The lands adjacent to this border, though comparatively far interior, are rich, rolling, well watered and well wooded, and, from the superior agricultural opportunities they afford, will at an early day attract a large immigration.

"The famous valley of the St. Peter's extends in a general direction from west to east, midway through the cession. This valley as well as the country upon its tributaries, such as the Blue Earth, the Warraju, and the Redwood, constitute the garden spot of Minnesota, in the estimation of a western public; and hither the faces of thousands will be turned, so soon as intelligence is received of the ratification of the treaties by the Senate.

"Equal in beauty and fertility to the basin of the St. Peter's is the country watered by the Crow River. This stream, after collecting by its north branch the pure waters near the great bend in the Red River of the North, and by its southern fork draining the lakes as far west as Lac-qui-parle, meanders through the 'Grand Bois' of the *voyageurs*, and enters the Mississippi nearly opposite the town of Itasca. The country upon each margin is highly inviting, and will be early settled.

"The Sauk is a bold and rapid river, with well-wooded banks. The valley between this stream and the Watab presents to the eye the most fascinating landscape in Minnesota, and in quiet beauty is hardly excelled by the most

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* Schoolcraft's View of the Lead Mines of Missouri.

> celebrated scenery abroad. This tract of land is capable of sustaining a dense population in comfort and affluence.
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> "The region of country which skirts Lake Pepin is familiar to our people. Rich in mineral wealth, studded with sites of extraordinary commercial promise, it will be eagerly sought by thousands who have long impatiently awaited an opportunity for its occupancy.
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> "The *Undine Region* of Nicolet, situate about the tributaries of the Mankato, or Blue Earth River, is beautifully diversified with prairies, lakes, and forest; and altogether constitutes one of the most interesting physical features of the American continent."

It is an opinion which still prevails, to some extent, that Minnesota, if not absolutely a barren region, is, in its extreme northern parts at least, extremely cold, inhospitable, and forbidding, bound with almost perpetual ice and snows, and yielding to its scattering Indian and other population but a miserably poor and scanty subsistence. This, however, is far from being the case, high as the latitude of that region is. Governor Ramsey, in speaking of the Selkirk settlement, on the extreme northern boundary of Minnesota, observes :—

> "The agricultural colony within the British line, commonly known as the Selkirk settlement, with its centre at the junction of the Assinneboine with Red River, in the fiftieth degree of north latitude, is a picture of rural affluence and comfort. For miles on either bank of each of these streams, extend, in village-like proximity, the comfortable tenements of the settlers—their farms inclosed with good fences, invariably facing the river. The appearance of grazing cattle, of well-built and well-stocked barns, of grain-ricks, of churches and school-houses, denote a community far advanced in social comfort, and successfully employed in the pursuits of husbandry. The earth is fruitful, and yields ample supplies for the use of man; the almost miraculous rapidity of spring compensates the long months of winter; wheat, rye, oats, barley, potatoes, and the different garden vegetables grow in abundance.
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> "It may be well for those abroad, who, shivering, dream of Minnesota as an arctic region, and deem her climate as inhospitable, and her soil churlish, to reflect that this settlement lies one hundred miles north of the northernmost limit of our Territory. To such, this fact is commended, as a conclusive answer to the objection, that Minnesota is too far north to admit of profitable agriculture.
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> "A portion of the Territory, east of the Mississippi, chiefly confined to the country in the occupancy of the Chippewas, is swamp land, which will require drainage before it will admit of successful cultivation. With this exception, it is hardly an exaggeration to assume, that in the entire region embraced within our extensive borders, there is scarcely an acre that is not tillable. I was informed by Governor Colville, of Rupert's Land, that on Peace River, which empties into Athabasca Lake, in latitude 58°, barley and other cereals were successfully cultivated.
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> "These facts are not alone of deep interest to ourselves—they are doubtless gratifying to the friends of humanity everywhere, for they carry assurance that large districts of this continent heretofore deemed sterile and repulsive, are competent to support in abundance and independence thousands of our race."

The same testimony, in reference to the climate, fertility of the soil, and the agricultural capabilities of Minnesota is also borne by Mr. Schoolcraft, in his great work on the Indian Tribes of North America.

In all the northern latitudes, south of 49°, says Schoolcraft, the cereal grains, where the soil is arable, can be relied on as profitable crops, year in and year out. At Cass Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi, in N. lat. 47°, and at the mission of Red Lake, still within the boundaries of the United States, but a few minutes south of 49°, the sea maize is raised without difficulty. At the Red River settlements, in the Pembina region, it has not been known to fail at all, when not destroyed by floods. Throughout all this range of latitude, bordering the national boundary, wheat, rye, oats, and potatoes amply reward the husbandman. We have seldom or never seen more vigorous productions of the field and garden than mark the area of Minnesota ; and the same vigor of production, by all accounts, marks the region of arable plains reaching west and northwest from the Minnesota, the Sac, and the Crow-wing rivers, to the settlements of Hudson's Bay, on Red River. The great buffalo plains, which reach from the sources of the St. Peter's or Minnesota, and Red River of the North, to the banks of the Missouri, and stretch from its great northern bend to the waters of the Cheyenne, the Mouse, and the Saskatchawine rivers, are probably, by their climate and fertility, destined hereafter to sustain as dense a population of agriculturists as any part of America. It is in these temperate latitudes that agriculture is performed without irrigation ; while its healthfulness and salubrity of atmosdhere, summer and winter, render them a geographical theatre peculiarly suitable to the inhabitants of temperate and northern climates. Their occupancy by full and dense settlements is a mere question of time ; and it is believed that half the period which has marked our national history will show the best parts of this northern region to sustain as many persons to the square mile as any State in the Union. Compare large portions of the arid tracts of Upper Texas, of New Mexico, and of California, with this northern region, for its agricultural capacities, and the former must sink into insignificance.*

That our readers may have a tolerably accurate sketch of the present condition of Minnesota, and thus be able to see the wonderful progress that this new Territory has made within the last three or four years only, we will lay before them an extract from Governor Ramsey's last message, delivered at St. Paul last year. His glowing language is not dictated by mere fancy or imagination, but it is the language of truth :—

"In concluding this my last annual message, permit me to observe that it is now a little over three years and six months since it was my happiness to first land upon the soil of Minnesota. Not far from where we now are, a dozen framed houses, not all completed, and some eight or ten small log buildings, with bark roofs, constituted the capital of the new territory, over whose destiny I had been commissioned to preside. One county, a remnant from Wisconsin territorial organization, alone afforded the ordinary facilities for the execution of the laws.; and in and around its seat of justice resided the bulk of our scattered population. Within this single county were embraced all the lands white men were privileged to till; while between them and the broad rich hunting grounds of untutored savages, rolled, like Jordan through the Promised Land, the River of Rivers, here as majestic in its northern youth as in its more southern maturity. Emphatically, new and wild appeared everything to the in-comers from older communities; and a not least novel feature of the scene was the motley humanity partially filling these streets,—the blankets and painted faces of Indians, and the red sashes and moccasins of French *voyageurs* and half-breeds, greatly predominating over the less picturesque costume of the Anglo-American race. But even while strangers yet looked, the elements of a mighty change were working, and civilization, with its hundred arms, was commencing its resistless and beneficent empire. To my lot fell the honorable duty of taking the initial step in this work, by proclaiming, on the 1st of June, 1849, the organization of the Territorial government, and consequent extension of the protecting arm of law over these distant regions. Since that day, how impetuously have events crowded time! The fabled magic of the Eastern tale that renewed a palace in a single night, only can parallel our reality of growth and progress.

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* Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Part IV., pp. 183-4.

"In forty-one months, the few bark-roofed huts have been transformed into a city of thousands, in which commerce rears its spacious warehouses, religion its spired temples, a broad capitol its swelling dome, and luxury and comfort numerous ornamented and substantial abodes; and where nearly every avocation of life presents its appropriate follower and representative. In forty-one months have condensed a whole century of achievements, calculated by the old world's calendar of progress—a government proclaimed in the wilderness, a judiciary organized, a legislature constituted, a comprehensive code of laws digested and adopted, our population quintupled, cities and towns springing up on every hand, and steam with its revolving wings, in its season, daily fretting the bosom of the Mississippi, in bearing fresh crowds of men and merchandise within our borders.

"Nor is that the least among the important achievements of this brief period, which has enabled us, by extinguishing the Indian title to 40,000,000 acres of land, to overleap the Father of Waters, and plant civilization on his western shore. Broad and beautiful, by universal concession, are these newly-acquired lands—the very garden spot of the Northwest, as explorers have pronounced them—and it is scarcely surprising, though less than six months have elapsed since the ratification of the treaties by the Senate, that the keen-eyed enterprise of our race has within them already planned towns, built mills, opened roads, commenced farms, the nucleus of many a happy home.

"But it is, however, in their initiatory stages only, we can consider the present growth and advancement of our Territory in all the constituents of national and individual prosperity. Our brief, though energetic past, foreshadows but faintly the more glorious and brilliant destiny in store for us in the future; nor is prophetic inspiration necessary to foretell it. It is written so plainly that he who runs may read it. It is written in the advantages nature has so liberally bestowed upon us; by a beautiful country, unqualified by the drawback of much waste land, with an universally fertile soil, where prairies, 'that blossom as the rose,' with groves and woods, are proportionately intermingled; while dotting it over, in refreshing profusion, are gem-like lakes, and intersecting its map, at convenient distances, are crystal streams, whose precipitous waters afford elements out of which to create future Lowells and Manchesters.

'It is written in our geographical position, in the centre of our continent, at the head of the Mississippi valley, and enfolding either bank of the great river with its very head springs, even as its delta is embraced on both sides by our sister Louisiana. It is written in our proximity to Superior's inland sea, and the abundant mines of rich ores possessed alike by its northern, as by its southern shores—mines, whose workmen it will be our inevitable lot to feed and clothe, and whose rough products our manufacturing skill will ultimately fit for the markets of the world. It is written in the fact that nearly half a million of people from the old world and the elder portion of the new, are every year seeking homes in our broad West—a tide of migration that must speedily engross the fertile fields of Minnesota, invitingly spread open to their possession, almost 'without money and without price.' And it is written likewise on a thousand features of interest and advantage incident to our Territory: in our extensive pineries, the livelihood of hardy lumbermen, and a future chief resource for building purposes of the people of the great valley below us; in the many opportunities for manufacturing establishments offered by our magnificent water powers, and the ease with which the Mississippi enables us to procure the material, and export the products of factory labor; in our salubrious climate, insuring a healthy, hardy, and numerous population, and in the immediate advantage to our early growth and prosperity, which follows the expenditure of a quarter of a million of dollars annually by the national Government, for the benefit of the Indian tribes in our midst.

"That which is written is written—the life of a short generation will realize it. In ten years a State—in ten years more half a million of people, are not extravagant predictions. In our visions of that coming time, rise up in magnificent proportions one or more capitals of the North, Stockholms and St. Petersburghs, with many a town besides, only secondary to these in their trade, wealth and enterprise. Steam on the water and steam on the land, everywhere, fills the ear and the sight. Steamboats crowd our waters, and railroads, intersecting in every direcrion, interlink remotest points within and without our Territory. The blue waters of Lake Superior and the red-tinged floods of the Mississippi are united by iron bands, and a southeastern line connects St. Paul direct with Lake Michigan. The great New-Orleans and Minnesota Railroad pours into its depot, somewhere on the upper Minnesota River, passengers and products from the far sunny South, to receive in return, for ultimate ocean transit perhaps, furs and merchandise from the polar circle, which steamboats on the Red River of the North, or a railroad on its banks, have just brought from Selkirk, or the plains of distant Athabasca. Let none deem these visions improbable, or their foreshadowing impracticable. Man, in the present age, disdains the ancient limits to his career, and in this country, especially, all precedents of human progress, growth of States, and march of Empires, are set aside by an impetuous originality of action, which is at once both fact and precedent. Doubtless an overruling Providence, for inscrutable purposes, has decreed to the American nation this quicker transition from the wilderness of nature to the maturity of social enjoyments—this shorter probation between the bud and the green tree of empire, and it well becomes us, therefore, in our gratulations upon present prosperity, and in our speculations upon greater power and happiness in the early future, to render humble, yet fervent, thanks 'unto Him who holdeth nations in the hollow of his hand,' and shapes out the destinies of every people."

Education in Minnesota has also participated in the general rapid stride of everything else, and the common school system is ready in operation. From the last report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, addressed to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory, it appears that—

> "The first school of any description in the Territory was taught at the trading-house of the late Mr. Aitkin, at Sandy Lake, in the year 1832, by Mr. F. Ayer, now principal of a school at Belle Prairie, in Benton county. He was succeeded by Mr. E. F. Ely, now of St. Paul.
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> "In 1833 the Rev. W. T. Boutwell opened a school at Leech Lake, and in 1834 Mr. Ely taught at Fond du Lac. In 1837 a school was opened by Mr. Ayer at Lake Pokeguma.
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> "The first school in Minnesota west of the Mississippi was taught by Miss S. Poage, now Mrs. Gideon H. Pond, in 1835, at Lac-qui-Parle. The next year Rev. Samuel W. Pond taught at the Dakota village at Lake Harriet, west of St. Anthony. In 1837 a school was opened at Kaposia, and in 1840 it was moved to Red Rock. In 1842 a school was commenced at the mouth of the St. Croix.
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> "If we are not misinformed, one of the early teachers in the Indian country, and two of the pupils of those teachers, have been members of past Legislative Assemblies.
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> "Through the aid of the National Board of Popular Education, the services of Miss H. E. Bishop were secured, and in the spring of 1848, in a decayed log-hut, with bark roof, that stood on or near the site of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul, she commenced the first regular English school in Minnesota, the army school at Fort Snelling excepted. It was composed of nine children, chiefly half-breeds. Shortly after, another English school was opened at Stillwater, by a lady under the auspices of the National Education Society. During the summer of 1849, another lady from the same Board, now a teacher among the Choctaws, taught the first school at St. Anthony, in a building at present used as a stable.
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> "In 1848 a school-house was erected at Stillwater, and also at St. Paul. The building at the latter place is now used as a lawyer's office, and adjoins the First Presbyterian Church."

The increase of population being very rapid, school-houses are multiplying in every inhabited part of the Territory, and the people are giving them a liberal support. Two sections of land, in each township, are reserved by law for the support of public schools therein; and by the same act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to set apart and reserve from sale out of any of the public lands within the Territory of Minnesota, to which the Indian title has been, or may be extinguished, and not otherwise appropriated, a quantity of land not exceeding two entire townships, for the use and support of a University in said Territory, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever, to be located by legal subdivisions of not less than one entire section. This princely donation of forty-six thousand acres of land will place the University of Minnesota, if judicious selections are made, among the best endowed institutions of learning in the West.

The Legislature of the Territory passed, in 1851, an act incorporating the University of Minnesota, to be located at the Falls of St. Anthony; and on the 4th of March of that year, a

Board of Regents, consisting of 12 persons, was organized. The preparatory department of the University was opened for students on the 26th of November, 1851. It is now in a flourishing condition, and has about 100 students. The last Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota speaks favorably of its present condition and future prospects.

The exact population of Minnesota, at the present moment, cannot be fully determined, but it probably amounts to at least 10,000 souls, exclusive of 25,000 Indians, most of whom are soon to be removed. From the Report of the Adjutant-General of Minnesota, made in February, last year, there were then in the Territory 5,000 persons subject to military duty ; and the emigration thither is, as all know, extremely rapid.

The capital of Minnesota, St. Paul, which, four years ago, did not contain half a dozen houses, has become, as by magic, a thriving city of 5,000 people, containing 7 churches, 6 schools, 5 Odd Fellow and Masonic Lodges, 4 daily, 4 weekly, and 1 tri-weekly newspaper. There are also the public buildings, erected by the General Government, a market-house, and a hospital. The city contains 800 houses, and is growing rapidly.* The amount of capital invested in trade and manufacturing establishments is $1,074,500, which is a quarter of a million of dollars more than was invested last year at this time.

Internal improvements, in Minnesota, are projected on a large scale. Railroads will soon intersect it in every direction, connecting St. Paul with Lake Superior, with Lake Michigan, and with the navigable waters of the Red River of the North ; while, in all probability, many of the present generation will live to see St. Paul the eastern terminus of a great Pacific railroad, stretching from Minnesota to Puget's Sound.

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* A late Minnesota paper says :—" To our original nucleus of population, a thousand people have been added for each year of growth ! The whole census of the Territory five years ago—though the tavern registers were then copied and the dead summoned from their graves to figure on the census rolls—numbered fewer souls by several hundred than St. Paul herself, single-handed, can at this day show filling her busy streets. Her ' two dozen houses '—(nearly a half of these were whisky dens and a moiety bark-roofed log huts)—have had a myriad progeny ; for almost a hundred buildings are presented now for every one that was standing at that period ; and amidst them at the present time, we are happy to recognize the churches bidding fair to outnumber the groggeries ; which was not by any means the case at any time in 1849 !—while amongst the crowd of structures we observe one brick hotel of such ample dimensions, that within it alone the whole of original St. Paul, houses and people, might easily have been incased ; though with anything less than a sort of Chinese wall, it would be a tough job to attempt to inclose our modern five-year-old city ! We learn from a gentleman who is well informed, and whom we deem reliable authority, that upwards of fifty houses have been erected in this city since the opening of spring. He is of the opinion, gathered from the number of contracts now in hand, that during the months of June, July, and August, there will average in this city one new building per day. To the superficial observer this statement may appear incredulous, but let him take a stroll through the city and notice the new houses in course of erection, and if he does not then alter his mind, he is too prejudiced to live in this community. Judging from the past, we do not consider the prophecy too strong, or the fulfilment of it an impossibility."

The tide of emigration to Minnesota is immense, and new towns are springing up in the wilderness in every direction. A company of capitalists from Washington and St. Paul have purchased the town site of St. Peter's, on the Minnesota River, formerly known as "Rock Bend," and have completed their arrangements for the immediate erection of a first-class hotel, steam saw-mill, warehouse, and several stores, at an expense of twenty-five thousand dollars.

St. Peter's possesses many advantages over other points, among which it affords the most eligible crossing for all roads which have to cross the Minnesota River. This crossing is represented on the Government maps as the most desirable point at which railroads can cross, and must have a tendency to awaken an interest in the new town. The Government road to Fort Ridgely has been already located here.

There appears to be a general rush for the place, and it is likely soon to become a considerable town. St. Anthony, on the Mississippi, nine miles from St. Paul, is also a thriving place, and will doubtless be a large city.

We have not room to say the half that might be said of Minnesota. It will soon take its place in the Union, as a sister State, and as another shining example of American intelligence, industry, and enterprise.

Art. III.—THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.*

I PROPOSE to invite your attention to some practical considerations of a political and social character, connected with the well-being of that portion of this great confederacy in which we dwell. I am not going to speak to you in a sectional spirit, although I shall speak to you of your sectional interests. I am not going to offend the tastes or shock the sensibilities even of the most sensitive Union man—unless, indeed, that should happen from strenuously urging upon my Southern countrymen the duty and policy of burnishing their arms, and going through that athletic training, which is necessary to enable them to keep pace with their fellow-citizens of the North, in the struggle of industrial development, and in the race of civilization. The Northern man can but view my argument with complacency, for its basis is a high compliment to those great moral qualities of thrift, energy, and courage, which have transformed a cold and inhospitable climate into a landscape of waving harvest fields, splendid cities, prosperous villages and farms, and homesteads possessing every requisite to give a charm to life. To the Southern man my argument must commend itself for its truth; and truth, though often unpalatable, when sowed in the generous soil of ingenuous minds, bears flowers and fruit, and not thistles and thorns.

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* Read before the Franklin Society of Mobile, by John Forsyth, Esq., 1854.

I suppose I could have prepared for your amusement a literary repast, light, elegant, and fanciful. I might have woven for you a delicate tissue of literary embroidery. I might have bound up for you a garland of luscious poesy, plucking here and there a brilliant carnation or a modest violet from the grand parterre, which Anglo-Saxon genius has made starry with its affluent gifts. I might have taxed my imagination for tropes and figures of speech, and drawn upon my reading for those "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," with which the wit and eloquence of ancient and modern times have so enriched the written speech of man; but I prefer not to tread here the realms of fancy—I suppose the objects of this literary institution and of these lectures to be improvement rather than entertainment—and that practical thoughts, the suggestions and ponderings of each speaker's mind, will be more in keeping with them, than polished periods and rounded and musical sentences. My theme, then, shall be a homely and domestic one—the condition of this Southern section of our common country, and the relations which it bears to its kindred members of the confederacy. I propose to inquire into the relative progression of the Plantation States with the Commercial and Farming States in the career of development and civilization; whether they have kept up with or fallen behind their compeers in moral and intellectual attainments and physical improvement, in the aggregate increase of national wealth, and in all those arts of life which so largely contribute to the virtue, contentment, and happiness of mankind. At the threshold of this inquiry, we are embarrassed by the difficulties which always accompany a comparison of dissimilars. The habits of thought and of action of the Northern and Southern people are as dissimilar as are the institutions and the circumstances of climate, soil, products and employments, which are the moulds of their respective characters. To draw a comparison between people so differently circumstanced and nurtured, is like comparing a glowing sunset to a placid lake, a mountain to a valley, the ocean at rest to the ocean lashed into fury by the outpouring elements.

All these are sublime objects, but in everything except sublimity as unlike as possible. Our Republican system of government, and the great principles of liberty and of law common to all, have given to the States as a whole a political nationality and identity as broadly defined as can be found in any people on the globe. There is a "magic chord" of patriotism which binds all American hearts together, and along which vibrates the electric current wherever a citizen dwells, from ocean to ocean. As to things external, we know no sections, and local boundaries are obliterated. We are here literally a "band of brothers," and the quarrel of one is the just cause of all. Whether on the burning plantations of Louisiana, amid the frosts of New-England, on the plains of the young, hardy, and vigorous West, or the far-distant California sloping to the Pacific—wherever the rustle of the stars and stripes is heard over an American's head, his heart beats with a quicker responsive throb. As regards the outer world, we are ONE. We are in our aggregate and collective, as has been beautifully said of our federative capacity, "Distinct as the billows, but one as the sea." But our interior history presents to the eye of the observer many and most salient points of difference in personal character. Provincialism is still strongly marked, although it has been greatly modified by increasing facilities of communication; and railroads, telegraphs, and steamers are destined still further to soften the differences and add to the homogeneousness of a people spread over a whole continent, and sprung from almost every blood that has stocked the earth. That these differences should exist originally is not surprising, when we remember the origin of the American race. The hordes that poured from the north of Europe upon the vine-clad and classic plains of ancient Italy, and overturned the gigantic power of Rome, were a homogeneous people compared to the races who first settled the Western world. Every blood, religious sect, and political creed was sprinkled over the continent. Puritans and Cavaliers, Catholics and Huguenots, English, French, Dutch, Irish and Africans, Bigots and Infidels, Religious martyrs and brave-spirited adventurers—America bid fair to present a mosaic of nations, a conglomerate that might well puzzle philosophic speculations as to the genius of its national character and institutions. But happily the Anglo-Saxon blood was the fundamental stock, and ideas of religions and civil liberty were imported with it, to expand, and strengthen, and vivify in the pure, free air of this virgin world.

Taking the North and South as the representatives of the two great types of our people, I ask, what two human beings can present so many strong points of characteristic difference, as a native-born Southern countryman, an unadulterated cracker, and a country born and bred New-Englander, an unadulterated Yankee? One is slow, and the other quick—one takes a minute to rise from his seat, the other never sits at all except in pursuance of a calculation—one is not without faculties, but they seem to be all asleep—the other, with all his wits alive, with sagacity, curiosity, invention. The one content to doze away life, with as little labor as possible and all the enjoyment compassable; his log hut, wool hat, homespun suit, and corn, bread, and bacon, the limits of his desires, for domicile, vesture, and food: loving his gun and his horse, addicted to tobacco and strong drink, quick to anger, a dangerous enemy, and a fast friend. The other instinct with life, activity, and intelligence, never satisfied with present well-being, while anything better lies beyond to tempt his longings, and try his wits. He has a taste for a nice cottage—all creature comforts are dear to him—neatness, order, method, reign in his humble house, in his fields, and his barns. Like the bee and the ant, he is provident for the long winter. He has no time for shooting for a beef at the cross-roads or the grocery. With him life is too short to lose a moment; every hour has its business. He has much to do, and if he cannot find it at home, he seeks it abroad, on land or ocean, no matter where. Let thrift call, and he will follow it to the antipodes—to the North or South pole. Origin, climate, and education cause these surprising differences, and what is true of these extreme representatives of the types, is true in a modified form of the types themselves—the vein of distinction running through the social frame-work of the two people. The results are as marked as the causes which produce them are diverse and fundamental. To the superficial observer, the comparison is immediately favorable to the superior civilization of the North. Foreign and domestic criticism at once pronounces the North an hundred years ahead of the South in material wealth, well-being, and luxury. The vast commerce of the North, her ships and steamers bearing her people and our common flag to every part of the navigable globe, and returning laden with the productions, the commodities, and luxuries of every clime; her huge and splendid commercial Emporia, her merchant princes, her luxurious residences, to which the taste and genius of the whole world contribute; her vast private fortunes, her magnificent enterprises of associated labor and capital, her canals and railroads, the teeming industry of her workshops, her religious, eleemosynary, and educational institutions, her surprising developments in wealth, art, taste, and luxury—all these strike the beholder with wonder at the thrift, talent, and energy which have achieved such mighty results. But while we "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," while we freely accord the "*palmam ferat qui meruit,*" let not the Southern man, dazzled by these visions of glittering prosperity, do injustice to the institutions, the virtues, and physical progression of his native South. The splendid example set before us by our Northern brethren is worthy of our most energetic and ambitious emulation. We should arouse ourselves for the conflict of generous rivalry—conquer the natural lethargy which a free soil and a relaxing climate induce, and strip for the race, to which we are invited by a people so extraordinary in energy and movement. Let us strive to overtake them in all the general statistics of progress: let us light our lamps at those altars, whose fires of industry, forecast, and sagacity are ever burning—let us learn of them how to build up our cities; to whiten our harbors with the canvas of commerce; to adorn and beautify our rural districts with abodes of comfort and elegance; to enrich our soils by the aids which science has offered and they have received; to expend our labor in opening all the avenues of trade and prosperity; binding the mountains and the sea-board, the fruitful valleys and the shipping ports, by substantial, rapid, and economical ways of transit and communication. Let us imitate them in all these good and valuable qualities which have made them prosperous, eschewing their proneness to extravagance in moral-isms, and take that high position which is clearly marked out for us by the finger of Providence, in our climate, geographical position, our institutions, and the brave and manly character of our people.

And this leads us to an interesting inquiry—Why is it that the North has so far outstripped the South in commerce, the growth of its cities, internal development, and the arts of living? A false philosophy and a false philanthropy at once point to our slave institution, and say, "Behold the barrier to your advancement in the curse of African bondage!" The bigot who utters this cant is blind to the fact which historical experience has graven upon the tablets of time. Slavery, so far from being the cause of our retardation, is the nursing mother of the prosperity of the North. It is the productions of slave labor that furnish the pabulum of its commerce—it is sugar, cotton, and rice that freight its ships, and supply the capital and credit on which its vast foreign commerce is built. Slavery is the back-bone of the Northern commercial as it is of the British manufacturing system; and it is a question of doubt to-day, whether immediate emancipation would entail more of devastation and ruin on the States of the South, than on those of Old and New England. With two thousand miles of seacoast, we own hardly a ship, and are destitute of a commercial marine. Yet we have all the aptitude of genius and geographical position for commerce that the North has. Deprive us of our system of labor—the best organized, the most humane and efficient, that the world has ever seen—and what is to prevent us from launching our energies in the new direction of the ocean? What is to prevent us from competing with them in the manufacturing arts? We have waterfalls tumbling from a thousand hills in exhaustless motive power—our fuel for steam is superabundant. Why, then, do we depend upon our Northern brethren for every article of industrial manufacture? Why do they spin the very clothes that we wear, out of the produce of our fields? Why do we look to them for every hat, shoe, saddle, blanket, carriage, and even down to the humble horn combs, buttons, and lucifer matches, that we require? The answer is ready and simple, and is itself an eloquent vindication of the splendid success of our system of slave labor, and an eulogium on the glorious soil and climate on which a bountiful Providence has cast our happy lot. It is that our labor, almost without diversity of application, and devoted to agriculture alone, has enabled us, not only to accomplish the great civilization which we enjoy, but has enabled us, with the surplus, to bear a heavy proportion of the burdens of our common government, and yet make New-England rich by the millions we annually pay for her industry, her arts, her luxuries, the use of her ships, her railroads, her hotels, and her bracing summer climate. Why, does any one suppose we could have done all this and be solvent, without slavery? How prodigious the resources, how efficient and telling the labor, that could bear this splendid annual tribute!

Our soil and institutions, then, have made us rich and prosperous, without resorting to the multifarious pursuits and manifold avenues of wealth equally open to our people as to the Northern. The New-England man, born under a rigorous climate, and on an ungenerous soil, looks abroad upon the world for the means of subsistence, or is driven to draw hard upon his ingenuity and invention—hence the workshops in which every conceivable want of mankind, at home or abroad, is supplied. Hence he launches his boat from his stormy and ice-bound coast, and ploughs the deep in every clime in quest of gain—he harpoons the whale in the Pacific, catches cod and mackerel in the Atlantic, and here we have the germ of a commercial marine, and seamen of unrivalled skill and unequalled hardihood. With his ships, protected by beneficial navigation laws, he engrosses all of our carrying trade, at highly remunerative charges. He manages all our business for us, fiscal as well as industrious. He not only carries, but he ships our cotton, negotiates for its sale, and reaps the reward of that profitable transaction. What he cannot make himself, and we want, he imports for us from Europe, and from Asia, and from the uttermost parts of the earth, and after the article has gone through the mill of commercial manipulation, and paid all possible profits in a northern port of entry, it is sent out to us, and slavery planks down the money for it. Nay, more than this—not content with attending to so vast an amount of business for us at home and abroad, the Northern man brings his skill and his thrift, and his usefulness in our very midst, and obligingly occupies and fills the most profitable places and functions for the interchanges of our trade. Who is it that buys the bulk of your cotton, and sugar, and rice, in the Southern markets? The Northern man with Northern facilities. Do you want a civil engineer to project a road or canal? You send to the North for him. Do you want a locomotive and trains to equip your road? they come from the North. Nay, we import our very schoolmasters to teach our children—the primers and Bibles out of which they read—our divines, our editors, lawyers and doctors, and a vast deal, too, of our politics.

These facts teach us some valuable lessons, which we have been very slow to profit by. They teach us our power in this Union—a lesson I would were well conned and learned, not for aggression, but for independence and protection. I would have my countrymen fully conscious of the strength and dignity of their position—for here, under the hand of God, resides that conservatism, its root deeply imbedded in our much reviled domestic institutions, which is to ballast this confederation in the mighty voyage of its future destiny.

As our soil, climate and labor system afford the aliment of national wealth, commerce and independence, so that firm, steady, intelligent and spirited character which belong to agricultural pursuits and a dominant race, supply the strong moral stamina to check the vagaries of an unbridled democracy and the ultraisms of a social system, wherein the struggle between labor and capital has often proved too strong for the restraining hand of law. Nature and position have assigned to us the guardianship of the Constitution of our fathers; and while defending those principles of constitutional construction, which we are accustomed to regard as the bulwarks of our peculiar institutions, we are defending the casket in which reposes the liberties of all the States. And in this connection, slavery has been the conserving element of the Republic. Where now should we have been?—how far should we have transcended the landmarks of the Constitution, broken down its barriers, and let in the flood-gates of majority corruption, majority interpretation, and been subjected to the unspeakable tyranny of majority rule, but for the statesmen whom the South has stationed at the capitol of the country, to combat innovation, to confront the Vandals thundering at its gates, to kindle the beacons of warning to the public mind, and to hold up the Constitution as it is—the bond of Union, the written law of the confederation—the compact by which we are alone bound? But for these men, and the impression they have been able to make upon the government, the seventy years of Federal existence would have gone far to sweep away every vestige of State lines; the idea of State sovereignty would have lived only in history, and this government would have become an oligarchy in numbers, in which the will of the majority for the hour would have been the supreme law, unrestrained by Constitution, laws or precedents. This is a lofty trust, my Southern countrymen, and one we cannot faithfully discharge, unless we learn justly to appreciate the dignity and importance of our position in the Union. If we allow the North to master us, we cannot influence, guide, or restrain the North for the common good. We cannot teach our masters, but we may counsel with and influence our equals. It is then a sacred duty, alike due to ourselves and our common country, to assert and maintain, with unwavering firmness, the great fundamental doctrine of the rights of the separate States, and never to yield a principle or a right, born anterior to the Federal Government and baptized by the Constitution, to the terrors inspired by the gaunt spectres and conjured phantoms of Disunion. There is a spell to exorcise these convenient ghosts. It is contained in this truth—that the true friend of the Union guards the foundations upon which it alone securely rests; and he who runs before to assault the temple of our political adoration, is not more guilty of disloyalty to it, than he who refuses to defend it when assailed.

This political digression must be pardoned to the behests of my subject. I reject, *in toto*, the theory that makes politics *taboo*, except in the newspaper or the forum. I draw a broad line of distinction between politics and partyism, and while the latter should be scrupulously restricted to its own domain, the former must always claim respect and attention as the great duty and study of a people who boast of self-government. And surely the past history of this confederacy, the shocks it has encountered when rocking in the throes of political battle, the perils which loom up in menacing magnitude in the future, are well calculated to instruct every good man and patriotic citizen in the importance of the appreciation and study of those deep, broad, and conservative principles, where it can only find a safe and permanent foundation. None will deny that the corner-stone of this foundation is the *equality* of the States, and the South claims as its great and crowning gift to the well-being and integrity of the confederacy, its firm and steady maintenance of this principle.

I have said it was a false philosophy that indicated the servile institution as the cause of our lagging in the career of development. It is a false reason to conceal a grave and potent truth. Ladies and gentlemen, that truth is, that our government has been a harsh and unkind mother to the sister confederates of the South and West, while the North and East, including Virginia, have been the recipients of that enriching stream of expenditure which has for forty years flowed in almost untold millions from the public treasury. The plain and unvarnished story of the sources of revenue and of the disbursements of this government would, to an impartial auditor, be counted incredible—first, in the enormity of its injustice; and second, in the amazing apathy and patience with which it has been submitted to by a people yet untamed by the yoke of oppression. Time and space forbid even an outline etching of this picture of injustice. I must content myself with a rapid glance at a single item in this vast account, and I take that most germane to my subject—the maritime interests of the South and West. A glance at the map will exhibit the immense importance of proper military defences in the Gulf of Mexico for the protection of the vast commerce which flows through it from the great West down the Mississippi, and from the rivers that drain the cotton-growing States on its waters. The gifted Lieut. Maury has christened the Gulf of Mexico the American Mediterranean. Like its prototype in the old world, it has but one outlet, and this is afforded by the Gulf Stream, which pours through the Straits of Florida, between the Islands of Cuba and the Bahamas on one side, and the Peninsula of Florida on the other. The natural currents and trade winds have effectually barred up the exit through the channel of Yucatan into the Caribbean Sea, and thence out through the Mona passage to the ocean. These trade winds, interrupted by occasional rude and fitful northers, prevail the year round, between the parallels of 8° and 28° north, and the currents flowing in from the Caribbean to supply the waste of the Gulf Stream are so well known to navigators, that vessels not only from Galveston, and other ports of the Gulf bound to Europe, pass round to the Atlantic through the Florida Straits, but even ships for Jamaica and the Spanish Main, instead of steering eastward, find it more expeditious to take the currents and winds of the Yucatan channel, and pass to sea through the Florida Straits. These straits are one hundred and fifty miles in length, with an average breadth of about fifty miles. And along this passage a ship has to drive in the face of head winds, often for days. This narrow pass is the only outlet, then, for the commerce of the South and West, and these facts have caused the remark by military men, that the mouth of the Mississippi was really at these straits, and not at the Balize. And what has the government done for the protection of the argosies of untold value, which the grain, the pork, the oil, the minerals of the great West, and the cotton and sugar of the Gulf States of the South, annually send through this channel? I have shown that nature has locked up the Southern outlet; but man holds the key. The flag of Great Britain flies, and her guns frown along the navigator's track in that direction. She holds fortified positions in the Peninsula of Yucatan, and on the Musquito shore; in the islands of Trinidad, Barbadoes, Antigua, and Jamaica, and on the main, below the Orinoco; and away off in the ocean, the same firm hand holds the Bermudas. And if we look to the Bahamas and the hundred isles that dot the sea to the north and east of Cuba, we find that the same power holds every rock and shoal where a sea-bird can light, where a ship may find anchorage, or a turret-crowned battlement be erected. In short, Great Britain commands the single outlet to the Gulf of Mexico, as she does to the Mediterranean

in days
of sailing
ships

sea, with this difference, that while a few hours of successful sailing at the Straits of Gibraltar clears the merchant ship to the open sea, the long passage of the Florida Straits places the American navigator for days together at the mercy of her cruisers. Now common sense and tyro statesmanship teach at once that these straits should be protected by strong military defences, and a strong fleet belonging permanently to the Gulf. Gen. Jackson, when elected to the presidency, and who with a military eye had looked out from New-Orleans upon the vast trade of which the Gulf was to be the theatre, was so deeply impressed with the importance of protecting the Straits of Florida in peace, and commanding them in war, that he declared to a friend that the three objects he had most at heart were, to pay off the national debt, fortify the Dry Tortugas, and break down the United States Bank. Two of these he accomplished, but the time-hardened system of spending all the public money in the North and East was too powerful to be subdued, even by his iron will. One of the first acts of his administration was to order a survey of these islands, an order executed in 1829 by Captain Tatnall of the Navy. The report of this survey continued to lie for years among the files of rubbish in the archives of the government. It exhibited a splendid harbor in the centre of the whole group of keys and reefs, with three entrances from seaward, with water sufficient for the largest vessels, the whole forming a natural dock, walled in by the keys and flats, easy of access and egress, and capable of holding the greater part of the American Navy.

Now, what has the government done for the protection of a strait through which two-thirds of the commerce of the Union finds its only outlet? Let the history of the navy answer. The American Navy dates its real birth from 1812. In 1797, the frigates Constitution and United States, and two or three others, were built. But neither government nor people regarded them in any other light than as lawful prizes of the first British cruiser they should encounter. It is a familiar fact of our history that when the war broke out, it was the serious policy of the government to dismantle and keep them in port, out of harm's way. Pending these discussions, the Constitution stole off to sea, and in a few days fell in with, and to the universal astonishment captured, a British frigate of her own class. The American Navy was that day born in the thunders of the Constitution's guns, and the flash of this earliest achievement rolled and glittered through the new era of American prowess on the ocean. The transplanted Englishman had cast his shell. The descendants of King John's barons had added a new leaf to the grand old parchment of Magna Charta; the child had taught the parent the inauguration of "Free trade and sailors' rights," as well as of free thought and political rights. The navy was straightway taken to the popular heart. Keels of ships of the line and frigates were immediately laid down, and the government commenced that system of expenditure which has ever since been annually made. There has been expended on the navy, from the foundation of the government, two hundred millions of dollars. The disbursement of large sums of public money produces a most happy effect upon the communities enjoying it. It gives occupation and food to the needy, stimulates industry, and enlarges prosperity. How much of these vast appropriations have been expended at the South and West? Literally nothing. While onerously taxed by partial legislation, and constantly paying tribute at the federal toll-gate in duties for revenue, and at the Northern workshops in duties for protection, the vast sums collected are still expended at the North, thus cumulating the advantages already derived from partial laws. The fruits of protection and the monopoly of expenditure are both garnered at the North and East, and people are amazed at the prosperity of the North and East, and contemptuous of the slow pace of the South. From Virginia to the North, the entire advantages of government disbursements for naval purposes have been monopolized for forty years. There all the navy-yards are to be found; all the ships are built, provisioned, manned, and after a cruise, paid off. The South and West have been as alien to all the benefits of these fructifying disbursements, as if they had no voice in the councils of the nation, and no interest in them. From Norfolk, Virginia, to Passamaquoddy, in Maine, a distance of seven hundred miles, there are six well-appointed navy-yards. From Norfolk to the Sabine, a distance of two thousand miles, the first dollar has never been expended in the building of a ship for the navy. Indeed, the only ship ever moulded at the South for the navy was a beautiful corvette of war, built by the patriotic ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, and presented by them to the nation—a beautiful and chivalrous compliment from the noble matrons and fair daughters of the Palmetto State to our gallant navy. Besides this, not a belaying pin or a scupper nail has been manufactured by government order at the South or West. Pensacola is called a navy-yard, to be sure. But it is only by *complaisance*. We have never heard of repairing, much less the moulding, a ship there. Indeed, we have the authority of an experienced naval officer for saying that disabled revenue cutters have been sent hence to private ship-yards in Charleston to be calked; and if a larger vessel of the West India squadron requires repairs ever so slight, even to brushing the barnacles from her bottom, she must go from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles North to have it done. It is a truth which would be farcical, if its import were not so serious, that the West India squadron is almost a *foreign* squadron to the Gulf. Built, manned, and provisioned at the North, it is sent out here for a cruise; it drops into Pensacola to get fresh water and fresh grub, and then goes *home*, where it is paid off and dismantled until another cruise is ordered. Now of what value would such a navy be to the commerce of the Gulf in case of war? If a vessel is damaged in an action, she has to go two thousand miles to get repaired. With British cruisers within striking distance from their naval depots and magazines, and American ships fifteen hundred miles from theirs, how unequal would be the contest, and how easy to perceive that the vast commerce of the Southwestern States would be at the mercy of a British squadron blockading the Florida Straits, and that the population of the Gulf might be again driven to their cotton bags for defence!

Now why this partiality and injustice? Why is it that from Norfolk up *North*, the coast is fortified at the rate of a gun for every three hundred yards, while from Norfolk, South, going no further than the Sabine, there is but a gun for every three thousand yards? Why is it that more money has been expended in fortifying and protecting the insignificant commercial point of Norfolk than in all the Gulf ports and coasts put together? Millions have been expended on the Delaware Breakwater simply to give a harbor of refuge to ships in bad weather, while the mud bars at the Balize have been left for years to hold fast the great fleets of merchant ships necessary to the trade of that port. The city of Mobile has lately exhibited to the government that its commerce is taxed a half million a year by obstructions, removable at the cost of the annual tax; and our representative in Congress has but just informed us that he has succeeded, by hard begging, in getting one hundred thousand dollars inserted in the appropriation bill for this object, but that it is extremely uncertain whether it will pass. And he repeats the advice, which we had occasion to endorse when examining this subject, that we had better put our shoulders to the wheel, and not call on that Hercules, who seems to feel an invincible repugnance to exerting his energies in a Southern climate.

No, ladies and gentlemen, let us be just to the enterprise and capabilities of our section of the country, and remember that while the North excels us in luxury, in the *savoir vivre*, in associated industry, in energy, and in superb cities, that Northern enterprise has been powerfully stimulated by the outpourings of the overflowing treasury of the government, which, like the waters of the Nile, have enriched and densely populated the region subject to the fertilizing process. And then ask yourselves, in language which we borrow for the occasion—"Suppose that, for the next forty years, Federal legislation should be as partial to this Gulf coast, as for the last forty years it has been to that of the North—that the shores of the Gulf should be strengthened with forts, and studded with castles, at the rate of eleven thousand dollars a mile—that national dock-yards should be planted among them and the Mississippi to match those at the North—that all of our ships of war should be built and launched, equipped and repaired here—that here their crews should be provisioned and clothed; paid off and discharged; that all the public rope-walks, the timber-sheds, the workshops and ship-houses; the magnificent hospitals and naval asylums of the North shall be transplanted here; that the whole navy shall be supplied with its every want at the South, as it is now at the North; that the two hundred millions of moneys expended there upon it, should, in turn, be lavished upon it through the industry of the South; and, *nomine mutato*—let us suppose that the untold millions which have been drawn from the South, to foster and protect and reward the labor of the North, should be given back to this region as a bounty on its cotton, its corn, and its oil; suppose, we say, that the Gulf States should be left in the uninterrupted enjoyment of all these advantages for forty years to come, what would be the condition and appearance of the country? The whole land, from the Calcaser to the Sarrybel, would present one vast extent of park and lawn; a succession of field, grove, and garden, for which Ceres and her nymphs might forsake their haunts; Pan, Faunus, and the whole train of Sylvan deities, their orgies, there to dwell and make glad the heart of man. With such protection the Gulf borders would beggar description, and vie with the most gorgeous scenes of fable and romance."

The South possesses within herself all the elements of complete commercial independence and empire. She possesses a staple produced by the labor of the muscles of men, defiant of the malaria and the fever-breeding heat to the white constitution. Out of the products of her labor four millions of the population of England gain their subsistence, in tending the engines, spindles, and looms which convert them into fabrics to clothe both civilized and barbaric man. She is content to grow rich in the process of production. But what is to prevent her hill-tops from smoking with the wealth-creating furnace; her valleys from resounding with the busy hum of the cotton-spindle, mingling with the purlings of her clear blue streams? All this is at her command, and she foregoes it in the very affluence of her resources. She yields it with scarce a struggle to people harder pressed to draw upon their skill and ingenuity for the means of subsistence. And because we have not monopolized the manufacture, as we have done the production of cotton; because we have no factories for the elaboration of those tens of thousands of fabrics which enter into the wants of man; because we have no Birmingham, no Manchester, no Sheffield, no Leeds, no Lowell, no Lynn, we are accused of a want of enterprise. Enterprise is the offspring of necessity, and our opulent agriculture is the bountiful nursing-mother that has kept necessity and gaunt want far from our doors. If raw cotton could be produced at ten cents the pound in Old or New England, do you suppose that we should be taunted with the vast establishments of labor and industry which have built up the flourishing manufacturing cities which I have mentioned? So long as growing cotton is more profitable than spinning cotton, and so long as ploughing the earth is more congenial than ploughing the ocean, the Southern people must prefer the agricultural to the manufacturing and commercial life. At the same time, it is very easy to see how diversity of pursuits would aid the growth and prosperity of the South. But this is a good that will come with time. Increasing population will require a wider range of pursuits, and it is happy for us, that with the demand, the accesses to an infinite variety of occupations are open to reward the ingenuity and toil of our people.

It must be admitted that the people of the North are in advance of those of the South in public spirit and enterprise, and in all those physical achievements to which associated labor and capital are essential. The South, on the other hand, claims equality, if not precedence, in the republic of morals and intellect, in freedom from crime, in freedom from pauperism, and from that most fearful of God's judgments on man, and the immediate fruit of pauperism and crime—*insanity*. And here, a few figures may serve both to surprise and assure the doubting Southern man. They are from the United States Census, and show that—

The population of Massachusetts is	993,399
The population of Tennessee is	1,092,625
Tennessee excess of inhabitants	99,226

PAUPERISM.

Massachusetts has	5,549 paupers.
Tennessee	591 "
Excess in Massachusetts	4,958

Massachusetts, with 99,226 inhabitants less than Tennessee, has over eight times as many paupers.

INSANE.

Massachusetts	1,647
Tennessee	478
Excess of Massachusetts	1,169

Thus this State, that boasts of its moral and religious attainments, its exemption from slavery and the supposed evils attendant upon it, has three times and a half the amount of insanity that exists in Tennessee.

CHURCHES:—Massachusetts 1,435—1 to every 695 persons.

Tennessee 1,039—1 to every 517 persons.

Kentucky has a population, including her slaves, of 952,405; Connecticut, including her paupers, 375,791. Kentucky has, as you will perceive, nearly three times the population of Connecticut.

PAUPERISM.—Connecticut 1,744—or one to every 253 inhabitants. Kentucky 777.

Kentucky, with three times the population, has less than half the number of paupers, or only one to every 380 inhabitants.

INSANE—Connecticut 562, or one to every 502 inhabitants.

Kentucky 506, or not 1 to every 1,937 inhabitants.

CHURCHES.—Connecticut 719, or 1 to every 510 inhabitants.

Kentucky 1,018, or 1 to every 540 inhabitants, including her slaves.

The superior development of the North, then, has a very easy solution. The necessities of geographical position, soil, and climate demanding extraordinary enterprise and energy—that enterprise taking, naturally, the enriching direction of commerce, and having possession and control of the purse-strings of the government, while Southern people were contented with its honors—their whole system of prosperity has been swollen by the vast stream of treasure which the government coffers have poured out upon it. Before the Revolution, the export and import business of the South exceeded that of the North. It is now entirely destroyed. The great Northern cities have swallowed it up. We have indicated the reason:—the growing importance of the cotton-planting interest, monopolizing the capital and labor of the South, the effect of the partial tariffs of 1816, 1824, 1828 and 1842, and the important one of the monopoly of government expenditures at the North. But the important question with us is, What is the *remedy* for this evil? How can we break the chain of commercial thraldom that binds us to New-York? How dissolve the spell which causes every foot of railroad, and every yard of canal, built at the South and West, to extend the area of the power and influence of that city, and bind us more securely in her bonds? The immense commercial resources of the South and West are among the surprising wonders of the world. Throwing out the more than Egyptian cereal productions of the Great West, if you will look at your statistics you will find that full three-fourths of the raw material, the product of slave labor, consumed by the manufactories of the world, is furnished from the South; and that negro labor is, in fact, the basis of the commerce of the world. Various modes of remedy have been proposed, but few tried. But a better time, I hope and believe, is dawning upon us. The Southern people have not been altogether heedless pupils, and have learned something from the examples of thrift and acumen set us by our Northern brethren.

The Southwestern Commercial Convention, which has just closed its third annual session, gives token of awakening consciousness of the possible power, but real commercial dependence, of our situation. To encourage direct trade, some have proposed legislative interposition by the Southern States, in the shape of an excise tax, levied upon all foreign goods imported into any Northern port, and brought into these States for sale. Such a tax of 2½ to 5 per cent., it is contended, would force the foreign trade from the crooked channel by way of New-York, to the direct one from Europe to the Southern ports. In 1832, South Carolina passed an act, not of taxation, but of relief, by which goods imported in vessels owned in South Carolina should be exempt from State taxation upon their sale by the original importer. This act operated as a check to the unnatural and roundabout current of trade, by giving to the Charleston importing merchant an exemption from the local burdens (at the expense of the State Treasury) which those must bear who do not import in vessels owned by that State. But the principal battle is to be fought in the field of personal energy and exertion. We must learn to do for ourselves what we have so long permitted the North to do for us. We must diversify our labor. We must do something else besides growing cotton, and educate our children to other employments than planting, physic, divinity, and law. We must open to them the way of scientific and mechanic pursuits, train them to be engineers, constructors, artificers in wood and iron, to build ships and sail them, and to the counting-house, where, with the aid of liberal education and enlarged views, they may look out upon the commercial map of the world, and become merchants in the noble and lofty sense of that word. And while we are so training our sons, their fathers should be opening and laying down those highways of commerce, and building up those industrial establishments, which are to be the engines of the future glory, independence, and prosperity of their country.

If we were to search the South over, we could not find a more apt illustration of the wants and the short comings of the South than in the history and condition of the City of Mobile. Magnificently situated at the embouchure of noble rivers, draining a large part of one and a considerable portion of another rich productive State—with a back country where nature has deposited with lavish hands all the elements of commercial independence and greatnesswith the wide blue Gulf at our doors, inviting to energy, enterprise, and competition in the foreign trade of the world;—with all these advantages, what is Mobile but a commercial outpost of New-York? With barely a thousand inhabitants for each million of its exports—without one of those improvements which result from an enlarged foreign commerce—our merchants the mere agents of Northern capitalists, and intent only on the calculation how much of commissions they can obtain thence, and how long it will take to get the productions and importations of New-York into their stores—with no trade but the coasting trade, and that carried on in Northern vessels, without a ship in foreign trade owned here, with but two sea-going steamers regularly plying to this port—Mobile is but a chrysalis of commerce. She is halting, limping, and stumbling in the mazes of commercial despondence and dread doubt of her future fate. She stands trembling at the portals of a grand destiny which she has not the courage to enter, and paralyzed by the coward fear that the splendid columns and gilded domes, the sapphire pavements and rubied windows of the temple of commercial grandeur, are not for her enjoyment and realization. She is literally starving in the midst of prospective plenty, and suffering the pangs of the fabled Tantalus, with want gnawing at his vitals, while luscious banquets flitted before his eyes and eluded his eager grasp. A vast trade with Texas lies in embryo, awaiting the talismanic and life-giving touch of sagacious enterprise. Yet not a steamer and hardly a sail vessel regularly garners to our merchant storehouses the fruits of wealth that are there ripe for plucking. It is true that there is some movement here—some talk of new and important enterprises—and if sound views and right feeling would have supplied the offices of capital in opening up to Mobile new channels of commerce and wealth, doubtless this would even now be a very considerable city. But words and paper resolves are not the Genii of modern improvement. The Arabian Nights plan of building palaces in a night has gone out of vogue, while the palm of victory in the industrial race of this vast age is only to be won by the persevering energies of mind, capital, and labor—the bone and muscle of man's moral and intellectual as well as of his physical energies. The force of Priam's javelin on the buckler of Pyrrhus will not accomplish the victorious consummation of objects worthy of the highest ambition of our men of wealth, of mind, and of enterprise. It was not so that our heroic English ancestors, whose deeds are recorded in the prose epic of Richard Hakluyt, ploughed and fought their way and worked out the commercial grandeur of their country. With loyal hearts beating in their bosoms, they scored with their keels furrows around the globe, graved the channels and then paved them with their bones, through which the commerce of England was to flow out through all the world, and received the homage of barbarians at the antipodes in the name of their Virgin Queen.

I trust these thoughts and views may not be considered out of place in this hall, consecrated to literature and science. The groves of Academus are the sequences and accompaniments of material development. The edifice of civilization, built by combined labor, skill, and capital, of granite and marble, is crowned and illuminated with the deathless contributions of scholarship, genius, and art. The woodman's axe and the crack of his rifle are first heard—the *avant courriers* of civilization—then follow in succession the cultured fields, the rising town, the prosperous and commercial city—all pioneers for the benignant sisters, three, who come hand in hand, clothed in white and radiant in heavenly beauty—Knowledge, Civilization, Religion. My proposition is, that if you would build up your literary society, you must first build up your city commercially. Erudition is the cap-sheaf of civilization. It is not the gift of infant nations and half-developed regions.

In the evolution of the commercial and physical development of the Southwest, the Press has an important part to perform. How noble the influence that belongs to the conductor of a Press who sways it only for his country's good—who can measure the perilous mazes of that untrodden path, where the mere partyist never dares to enter! With undisguised freedom and boldness of pen, to please the brave, astonish the weak, and confound the guilty—to write to be believed—to utter and be trusted, and all one's writings and utterings going to the convictions of the public mind, panoplied in that moral power with which lofty intents and unquestioned integrity of purpose invest them. With no suspicion of the palm-itching hand, no slimy taint of the crouching reptile of sycophancy, no sentimental fancies to cloud the views and dwarf the stature of sound common sense, and no "bending of the crooked hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning"—to stand between one's clean breast and the undoubting confidence of his readers—to be able with one hand to wield the universal armory of truth and with the other to smite its enemies—*debellare superbos, parcere subjectos*—this is the imperial prerogative of a free and honest Press. And while the Southern editor, in view of the mighty work before him of shaping and training the public mind to the vast achievements that invite its energies, might modestly doubt his individual strength of moral pinion to bear him aloft in this upper azure—where the eagle faces the sun undimmed by the earth's atmosphere, with unblinking eye—his motto may at least be, *itur ad astra*, and he may feel conscious of the independence to conceive, and the spirit to dare, the lofty career.

Art. IV.—INFLUENCE OF THE MECHANIC ARTS ON THE HUMAN RACE.*

The Mechanic Arts, which are a subdivision of art, are themselves liable to subdivisions, which may be compared to the infinite steps of that ladder Jacob saw descending from heaven to earth. Those steps, however immense was the difference between the highest and the lowest, were indissolubly bound together by the same frame, and were equally trod by the angels. Thus does man, through the various gradations of the Mechanic Arts, proceed to comfort, happiness, and a higher state of intelligence. Hence, in assigning to every one his rank in the production, transformation, and distribution of such material objects as are suited to the satisfaction of the wants of our race, we first meet, as was said in our preceding article, the hunter, the fisherman, the shepherd, the husbandman; and, ascending into a higher region, we find the artisan, manufacturer, and engineer, whilst, turning to the sea, our eyes rest on the shipwright and sailor. To designate by their proper denominations all the artisans who are the fruitful progeny of the Mechanic Arts, would be to attempt a nomenclature almost without an end. The sons of industry count their numbers by legions; and we shall content ourselves with observing that they may be divided into three great classes:—those who produce, those who transform, and those who distribute or carry. As to the materials on which they operate, they are contained in the boundless stores of vegetable, animal, and mineral wealth to be found over the surface or in the bosom of the earth. As to the tools with which they have to work, they are the physical and intellectual powers of our race. Thus the producer, after having brought out the primary materials, lays them in the lap of him who, with the assistance of manual, mechanical, or chemical agencies, tranforms them into commodities for the market of the world, and who, in his turn, hands them over to the carrier, whose task is to investigate the best, the safest, and the most rapid means of transportation. Thus is made apparent the chain of affinity which links together those three great classes of operative industry, one single branch of which will illustrate the distinction to which we allude, and exemplify the prodigious variety and degree of physical and intellectual labor of which man is capable, in its application to one solitary material selected amidst the gorgeous profusion of those with which nature intends to stimulate our ambition.

Take, for instance, that apparently worthless and dull-looking metal, called iron. As soon as man had the ingenuity to make it subservient to his uses, to how many different occupations did it not give rise!—the perforation of the ground to the level of the ore, the erection of pumps for drainage, the contrivances of ventilation, the hoisting of the whole mining apparatus, the bellows, the blast furnaces, the forges, the cupolas, the formation of the requisite steam or water power, the construction of bridges, canals, railways, harbors, docks, cranes, &c., for transportation, and all the necessary devices to overcome the forces of inertia, gravity, and cohesion! But after the miner has extracted and sorted the ores, comes the engineer, who speeds to the smelting station, and delivers them to the iron master, who, in his sphere of operation, will, after having reduced them into cast-iron, run them into rough pigs or regular moulds, which, under the plastic application of mechanical and chemical agencies, are transformed into bar and plate iron of all sizes and shapes. The refining process still goes on, and the best iron bars are converted into steel by the cementation furnace, the forge, and the tilt hammer. We are next gratified with the production of tin plates, anchors, chain cables, files, nails, needles, wire, &c.—and many other ever-varying and fanciful or useful objects, in the hands of the founder, the cutter, the locksmith, the gratesmith, coachsmith, gunsmith, tinman, and other handicraftsmen who understand the manifold uses of this most valuable metal. Therefore, as is seen, by the joint application of the physical and intellectual labor of man, this hard and unwieldy substance can be melted into a liquid and cast into any mould or form. It can be forged into chains that will bind Prometheus on his rock; it can be drawn out into the light but firm texture of the shirt of mail that will protect the warrior's breast, or into the gossamer gilt net that will keep captive the fairest silken tresses a lady's hair can boast. It will extend into plates or sheets; it will bend like the willow; it will soften into a cushion fit for the light slumber of childhood, and assume the elasticity of a spring to ease the motion of the invalid; it will harden itself into the metallic finger with which Franklin dared the shock of heaven's thunderbolt, and sharpen itself into the keen edge of the sword with which Washington secured the liberty of his country. It is the obedient slave that waits on all our wants, our desires, and even our caprices. It fertilizes the domain of agriculture, and is equally indispensable to all the arts and sciences. It becomes as delicate as gauze, as light as air, and floats on the ocean. If in the shape of the cannon and the bomb, it serves the angry passions of man; in the shape of a medicine it contributes to his health; and is so friendly to our race, that it is to be found in our blood, and constitutes a part of the elements which enter into our composition. For all these wonders, in connection with a single material supplied by nature, we are indebted to the Mechanic Arts. But in their application, even when thus confined solely to one object, what a variety of occupations! What gradations in the calls made on the intellect and on physical labor! What a diversity of operations—many merely modifying the shape or form of matter—some changing its very texture and constitution—others consisting in multiform, capricious, and exclusively physical manipulations—some which demand the greatest and sublimest effort of the intellect—others which require none whatever. This applies to every branch of the Mechanic Arts. But, notwithstanding the diversity of their nature, they form a harmonious whole—a magnificent architectural structure, in which the vilest material is not without its utility, and is necessary to the general effect. Some of the rooms may be comparatively humble or small—more or less gilded and ornamented, and lighted up with less brilliancy—but they all belong to the same gorgeous edifice.

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* Concluded from the last number.

Let us here call attention to the fact, that one of the happiest influences of the Mechanic Arts is to compel man to the study of nature in the pursuit of the gratification of his wants, and that the study of nature leads to the knowledge of God; to the establishment of religion, and to all its beneficial consequences.

Among the effects of the Mechanic Arts we must also count the multiplication and extension of property, and, consequently, the enlargement of the basis of civilization.

Socrates is reported to have said, that "those who want the least, approach the nearest to the Gods, who want nothing." This saying does not seem to be worthy of him who was declared by the oracle of Delphi to be the wisest of mankind; for, were his sentiment correct, the savage would be the specimen of perfection among men and the nearest approach to the Deity. The Mechanic Arts have proved the falsity of this remark; for, by the progressive multiplication and gratification of the wants of man, they have led him, in the aggregate, to the enjoyment of such physical comforts as he had never attained, and to a degree of intellectual cultivation which he had never possessed. Wants stimulate the intellect into action, and it is the enlargement of the mind, not the absence of the wants, which permits us to claim congeniality with the spiritual nature of our Creator.

It is astonishing what a length of time this enlargement of the mind required, in spite of the incessant stimulus of our increasing wants! How many centuries were to elapse before man should discover the elements of power which God had laid around him in so ostensible a manner! How interesting it would be to read line by line the history of his struggles, and to follow him step by step in his voyage of discovery, through the chaos of ignorance in which he was born, to that realm of regularity and light, where we see him possessing the knowledge of geometry—comprehending the laws of equilibrium and motion, the composition, decomposition, and application of forces, some too large for physical strength, others too delicate for human touch—enlarging old agencies, and creating new ones—studying the effects of air, cold, heat, water, elasticity, pressure—the interposition of substances—resistance—adhesion—and the effects of friction in its different relations with the nature and extent of surface, and its combinations of antagonistic position or affinity with bodies of different and of the same kinds! All this knowledge is now necessary to the Mechanic Arts, originally so simple, so rude, so despised, and apparently so unconnected with the intellect. Every sort of knowledge is now embraced by them—practical and theoretical—the geometry of the hands and the geometry of the brains—the geometry of the shop—and the geometry of the academy; for it is evident that he who, in the vast field of the Mechanic Arts, should not possess both, would only hop along on one leg, and proceed much slower and less safely than a competitor in whom the same deficiency did not exist.

In illustration of the preceding remarks, we do not hesitate to mention the laws of friction, and to say, that the most learned man, speculating upon them in the closet, if he had never witnessed their effects, would not come to any conclusions of practical utility, and that all his calculations, in their application, would result in a series of blunders. A lever is a very simple thing, and yet how infinite the calculations to which its action may give rise, and how complicated its direct, or indirect, and remote effects in their relation to the things on which it may bear, and by which it may be felt! How much time, labor, and even genius have been wasted in the invention of wretched machines by individuals who imagined that levers, wheels, pulleys, and cables would work in their application to matter, exactly as it had been arranged by the speculations of theoretical learning! If we every day hear of so many failures attending the investigations of the men of science, it is because they are deficient in practical knowledge; because they have not exercised their hands as well as their brains; because, satisfied with taking a profile or front view of a machine, they have not studied its anatomy.

It requires both practice and theory to acquire a peculiar knowledge which is exceedingly valuable in the Mechanic Arts—the knowledge of those machines which will work well only on a large scale, and those which can operate only on a small one. But by what laws, and on the evidence of what facts, is this question to be solved? What are the absolute proportions beyond or within which a machine is defective? What is the exact medium? What is the true size of an excellent watch, of a perfect mill, of a ship combining all the qualifications of speed, strength, and duration? This is to be approximately determined by the experimental geometry of the handicraftsman, assisted by the theoretical geometry of the mathematician. In the accomplishment of this desired end, they are like two chemical ingredients, which are respectively inert, but which derive power from their combination.

In what system of natural philosophy, or of metaphysics, was there ever displayed more intelligence, more sagacity, and a greater amount of logical deductions and inductions, than in the invention of those machines used to wiredraw gold, and in the operations of making lace, gauze, cloth, silk, and velvet, in all the variety of texture, color, gloss, and drawings in which they are brought to market? Can one imagine anything more beautiful, more delicate, and more singular, than the many complicated processes through which those results are obtained? Shall we take a more general survey of the marvellous productions of the industry of man, to show the necessity of education among those masses who are employed in the exercise of the Mechanic Arts? It is to that want of general education, to the absence of the combination of theoretical and practical knowledge, as well as to the causes already mentioned, that much of the slow progress of the Mechanic Arts must be attributed.

Those arts, however, as we must suppose, had arrived at a certain degree of improvement at the time when we hear of the construction of the tower of Babel—the confused multiplicity of language, the dissemination of the human race, and the deluge. From Noah to the siege of Troy it is difficult to ascertain the number of centuries which elapsed: but, at that epoch of the existence of mankind, the Mechanic Arts had not done more than creep along slowly in the native slime of ignorance which covered the earth. Even when Homer composed his poems, there is no appearance that writing was known. Kings and princes prepared their own victuals, and were nothing but crowned butchers and sceptred cooks; and their wives, daughters, and sisters, no better than royal washerwomen and seamstresses. They ate with their fingers in the most unsophisticated manner; they did not know the use of such things as spoons and forks, and ignored such conveniences of cleanliness as table-cloths and napkins. "They had no chimneys—no candles—no lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never." When the King of kings wished to spend a social evening with those heroes with whose names we are so familiar, a vase was placed upon a tripod, and chipt-wood was burnt in it to give light. The ships which carried the Greeks to the far-famed walls of Troy were but uncouth specimens of nautical skill, and mariners could, in those days, hardly lose sight of land, without thinking they were doomed to destruction. Much time passed off before the dull brains of Vulcan contrived the lock and key.

The security of a bundle, the secrecy of a letter, had to depend altogether on the inextricable combination of involutions into which a rope or string was twisted ; but we know what became of the Gordian knot under the sword of Alexander. Sandals were the nearest approximation to shoes, and against the profane invasion of dust or mud the Divine ankles of Helena could not claim the protection of stockings ; warriors, whose memory is illustrious, rode their horses in the fashion well known to black urchins on our Southern plantations—without the convenient appendages of saddle and stirrups. Plutarch reports* that Gracchus caused stones to be erected along the highways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horse, because, even at that time, stirrups were unknown in the Eternal City, though an obvious invention; and Cæsar himself, the master of the world, did not know the luxury of wearing linen.

We have the proof, however, that, from the siege of Troy to the greatest of human events—that which marked the Christian Era—some of the Mechanic Arts had reached perfection, and that many had been carried to a degree of improvement of which we have not, perhaps, a full and just conception. Of what they were we can judge by their productions—and those productions we can sum up in a few words—they were such cities as Nineveh, Babylon, Rome, and others. But another deluge ensued—not cataracts of water—but of human devastation ; all the fountains of the great deep of barbarian sway were broken up, and the windows of wrath were opened ; and the rain of blood was upon the earth for ages. All the Arts were submerged ; many of the secrets of human industry were lost ; and civilization itself would have perished, if it had not taken refuge in the bosom of God's Church, which, like the ark of gopher wood, went upon the face of the deluge. Although what we possess of the remains of antiquity does not convey to us as much knowledge as we might desire of the state of the Mechanic Arts in those days, particularly in their separate branches, yet we know what they had done in the aggregate for the civilization of man and the increase of his race. Take for instance Attica, where, on the most barren and contracted of territories, measuring about 210 square miles, there lived a numerous population celebrated for its wealth, its wit, and its refinement. Allow us here to say, as a passing remark, that the history of the Mechanic Arts, from the earliest time of man's existence to the destruction of the Roman Empire, if it could be had, would be more useful and more interesting to us now, than all the other histories put together, with which our libraries are so abundantly furnished. But whatever was the state of improvement and refinement reached by the Mechanic

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* Thomas Dick on the Improvement of Society.

Arts in the best days of antiquity, there are three discoveries to which they had not led :—the invention of printing—of making gunpowder—and the knowledge of the properties of the magnetic needle, which, by the social, political, and intellectual revolutions they have produced in the world, have been some of the most powerful causes of the advancement and promotion of the Mechanic Arts.

A ray of light having begun to penetrate the Cimmerian darkness which had overspread Europe, the Mechanic Arts strove to revive, like plants, which, brought out into the open air of which they had been deprived, turn their withered heads towards the sun. But in the republic of letters, all the sharpness and vigor of cultivated intellects were, by the force of habit, still confined to the pursuit of trifles ; and the glorious task of improving the condition of the human race, by ministering to its comforts and by the diffusion of knowledge, continued to be delayed. Those who undertook it, if anybody did so knowingly, were, as has been mentioned, despised as mechanics, or ran the risk of being burnt as magicians. Witness what happened to Faust, who was one of the three men considered as the inventors of printing.

Under the reign of Louis the Eleventh, in the year 1462, Faust carried to Paris a number of Bibles which he and his parners had printed, and passed them off as manuscripts—the art of printing not being then known in France. The sum usually obtained by the scribes varied from 500 to 600 crowns, and, at first, he sold for that high price his copies of the sacred book. But as few only could afford to buy at that rate, he afterwards lowered his pretensions to sixty crowns. The astonishment was universal, and no one could understand how those manuscripts, as they were thought to be, could be sold so cheap ; but when he reduced the price to thirty crowns, in order to extend the market, all Paris was thrown into commotion. How could the modicity of the sum asked remunerate for the labor ! Besides, was there not something passing strange in the uniformity of the copies ! Was it not beyond human execution ! Evidently some supernatural agency was at work. There was magic in the beautiful distinctness, symmetry, regularity, and similarity of those exquisitely ornamented leaves. The attention of the police was awakened, and the lodgings of the suspected sorcerer were searched—when, lo !—his crimes were proved beyond a doubt. There were found in his possession too many Bibles to admit the possibility of their being copies made by human hands. It was clear that the assistance of the powers of darkness had been invoked. There was but one puzzling obstacle in the way of solving this question : How could they have dared, and how could they have been permitted to meddle with the Bible, and to lay their blasted fingers on the book of salvation ? The naked fact was there, however; it could not be denied; and what strengthened conviction was the circumstance of the red ink with which the copies were embellished, and which was said to be the very blood the magician had drawn out of his veins to seal his pact with the devil. It was therefore seriously adjudged that he was in league with the dreaded author of evil, and he was thrown into a dungeon, to abide his trial for witchcraft; and probably he would have fared no better than those who, in that age, were laboring under such accusations, if he had not, in self-defence, made known the secret of his invention. Hence the tradition of Faust and the devil, which has been so beautifully worked upon by the genius of Goethe. Such were the scenes which occurred and the feelings which prevailed, not yet four hundred years ago, in one of the most populous and most enlightened cities of Christendom. How wonderful has been, since that time, the march of the human intellect! and to what is it to be attributed, if not, in a great measure, to the Mechanic Arts, and to their progressive improvements!

As long as the spirit of liberty was extinct in Europe, the Mechanic Arts seemed to slumber in the tomb in which it had been buried. "The houses of the poor, in England," says Hollingshed, the historian, "were wattled and plastered with clay; and all the furniture and utensils were of wood! the people slept on straw pallets, with a log of wood for a pillow!" Henry the Second, of France, at the marriage of his sister with the Duke of Savoy, in 1559, wore the first silk stockings that were made in that kingdom; and a pair of black silk knit stockings was thought to be a present sufficiently royal to be offered to Queen Elizabeth, in the third year of her reign. The bridge Notre Dame over the Seine in Paris having fallen down in 1496, there was not a man in France who could undertake to rebuild it of stone. Even so late as the 12th century, very few houses were furnished with glass windows, which were not then considered as the necessary appendage of every building, but as the introduction of a very great luxury. Edward the Third sent to three Dutch clockmakers a cajoling invitation to settle in England, and to exercise in his kingdom an art with which none of his subjects were acquainted. "The progress of agriculture had been so uncommonly slow," observes Kames in his History of Man, "that, in the former part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted that even Queen Catherine herself could not command a salad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. It was in the year 1563 that knives were made in England, and pocket watches were introduced in that country only in 1577. Three years later, coaches were made known; before which time the imperial and haughty Elizabeth, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain. There was no saw-mill before 1333; paper was made no earlier than the 14th century. The art of reading made a very slow progress—so much so, that, to give it encouragement, in England, the capital punishment for murder was remitted, if the criminal could but read, which, in law language, is termed benefit of clergy. One would imagine that the art must have made a very rapid progress when so greatly favored; but there is a signal proof of the contrary; for so small an edition of the Bible as six hundred copies, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was not wholly sold off in three years." What a state of ignorance! What an intellectual apathy! What an indifference to moral improvement! And this was in the age of the chivalrous Francis the First of France, of the politic Charles the Fifth of Spain—in that age which is celebrated in history as having been the era of the revival of the Arts, and especially of Literature!

This is a proof that the illiterate condition of a country is a sure indication of the corresponding state of the Mechanic Arts. But their progress is in proportion to every fortunate change of circumstances which rouses the people out of their intellectual torpor. When the sense of former abasement gives way to the proud consciousness of the possession of dignity and prosperity, a vigorous elasticity is imparted to the mind, which is communicated to every pursuit. It so happened in Greece, after all the brilliant events which dotted her territory with those flourishing republics of which the lingering rays of glory still illuminate the pages of history. So it was with Athens, when her star culminated to its meridian under Pericles. The enlargement or contraction of the human mind, the progress, the immobility, or the retrograde march of the Arts, and the extent of freedom or servitude resulting from political institutions, are so many circumstances which act and react on one another, as it were by the ebb and flow of a magnetic current. Liberty develops the mind—the mind, as it expands, carries forward the Arts—and the Arts, by the light they diffuse, have a tendency to promote or maintain liberal institutions. In a state of enlightened prosperity, a national spirit is created, works of genius or taste are composed, useful discoveries are made in every Art and Science, the fire of emulation spreads from one breast to another, until it gathers up into a general illumination. Thus when the bloody Octavius became the clement Augustus, when, with the irresistible power of a victorious hand, he had mastered or destroyed all the elements of civil war which had desolated Rome, and when he had restored peace, industry, and all the other blessings so necessary to the welfare of society, his reign became an auspicious era for the Arts; and let it be remarked that, under Augustus, if the government was a despotism, that despotism was a hidden one, preserving the forms of liberty. When it stalked abroad under his successors, in all its naked hideousness, the Arts sickened and perished. They revived with the free republics of Italy—the free cities of Germany—the free cities of Flanders, which preserved so long their privileges and immunities in spite of the jealous enmity of the Dukes of Burgundy, and they struck deep roots among the Dutch, when those victims of oppression asserted those rights which brought them power, wealth, and fame. The splendid and enlightened despotism of Louis the Fourteenth, or at least of some of his ministers, produced, to some extent, the blessings of liberty, and paved the way to the progress of Literature and to the improvement of the Mechanic Arts, which put in motion the hitherto stagnating waters of the public mind, and spread a desire of amelioration among those classes who were soon to shiver into atoms the hereditary throne of his race.

Improvements of every kind in England were promoted by the restoration of Charles the Second, weak, foolish, and corrupt as he was, because the people were exhilarated by the impression that the wounds of the country were to be healed forever. But it is only from the day on which was accomplished that glorious revolution which put William and Mary on the throne, that the liberties of England may be said to have been firmly established, and that ample scope was given to the development of all the pursuits of industry. Ever since that time the spirit of liberty has been gaining ground, and with it the Mechanic Arts, even under the worst forms of government; and particularly since the achievement of our independence, and since the French Revolution, they have been making more progress than they ever did since the beginning of the world; so much so, that now an improvement in the Mechanic Arts is frequently a revolution throughout the world. What effect would the new production of a painting as beautiful as any of Titian's, or of a statue equal to any of the prodigies of sculpture which came out of the hands of Praxiteles, have on the happiness of mankind? But the destinies of the humblest barbarian in the most remote part of the earth may be effected in less than a few months, by a discovery made in the Mechanic Arts by a Fulton, a Morse, or some other benefactor of the human race.

The march of industry has been such that the tool of the Mechanic may be said to be now the sceptre of the world, and that the superiority of a nation over all others would be surely the result of its ascertained superiority in the Mechanic Arts. It is also a fact worthy of notice, that the Liberal and Fine Arts can arrive at the greatest degree of improvement in a country where the masses are enslaved and impoverished, but where there exists a powerful and wealthy aristocracy: whilst, wherever the Mechanic Arts thrive to a considerable degree, they are sure to gain for the people liberty and prosperity—at least some portion of it, or, at the worst, some exemption from oppression even under despotic governments. Another fact which must strike the philosophic observer is, that emulation, that great cause of exertion in man, does not exist in relation to the Fine Arts —for their productions can no longer be excelled; but it is not so with regard to those of the Mechanic Arts, in which an improvement widens into other improvements, and seemingly as insignificant as a pebble, when thrown into their deep waters, produces circles enlarging into others to which no limits are to be assigned.

Thus those who pursue the Mechanic Arts ought to feel ennobled by the consciousness of their being engaged in works of such importance, that they are capable, in their results, of modifying the face of the world according to the will of the human mind. It is particularly the United States which may be said to be the destined home of the Mechanic Arts, and the seat of that power which they will ultimately extend all over the earth. The Patent Office at Washington shows the untiring zeal and the inventive genius of their votaries; and it is as much to our excellence in the Mechanic Arts as to the beauty of our political institutions which have secured the development of those Arts, that we are indebted for all our territorial acquisitions: among which California and New Mexico may be compared to two magnificent portals which have lately opened their wide gates to the introduction of American industry, American enterprise, and American institutions over our whole continent, from the Rio Grande to the Pacific, and beyond its placid bosom, to those Eastern regions of wealth, on the threshold of which we have already set the foot which never goes back.

Napoleon the Great called the English a nation of shopkeepers. He, no doubt, thought that we were a nation of mechanics; and so exalted was his opinion of our skill and enterprise, that he once said that the day would come when we should cross the Atlantic in a sieve. We have done better; we have traversed all the seas in floating palaces not appropriated merely to the luxurious ease of a few privileged nobles, but to the humble wants of the masses throughout the world, and carrying away with them, within their hearts of oak, the seeds of liberty intermixed with the seeds of the Mechanic Arts, to be sown broadcast over the surface of the globe, and to enrich even its most sterile parts with the growth of human comforts and happiness.

Another of the blessings of the Mechanic Arts is their having, by the increase of the objects of commerce, multiplied the bonds of union among the nations, introduced new relations and removed prejudices, by almost annihilating the distance which separated them, and made peace so predominant an interest over the minor ones which are causes of division, that those nations are exposed to very few chances of collision. The construction of manufactures, railroads, canals, and other colossal works, have absorbed the funds that the carrying on of war would require, if waged by some of the great Powers of the earth, so that a hostile struggle among them would produce such a perturbation of the vital interests of mankind, that it would not be of long duration. The Mechanic Arts are the pillars which support the complicated fabric of modern society, and there is a spirit on the watch which will not easily allow the blind Sampson of war to shake them and to bury civilization under their ruins. Hence the present hesitation in the belligerent dispositions of Europe. The sword itself is made to think and reflect; it may fret in the scabbard, but before it leaps out, it is bound to consult the scythe, the plough, and the other engines of industry.

There are evils, however, to be apprehended from the excessive development of the Mechanic Arts, and from their exercising a sort of monopoly over the public mind. It is the "over-sharpening of the appetite for property, which," as it has been observed, "although a great blessing in its nature, degenerates into a great curse when it transgresses the bounds of moderation." This seldom happened when the plain necessaries of life were the objects of exchange or barter, before money had become a medium of trade. But when money became the representative of every kind of property, it inflamed the covetousness which is innate in the human heart, and a sordid spirit tainted the cultivation of the Mechanic Arts. We have said that they had paved the way to the Fine Arts, inasmuch as the researches of pleasure are apt to succeed the pursuit of the conveniences of life. But when the Mechanic Arts are permitted to create too keen a feeling of cupidity in a people, the Fine Arts degenerate. Cupidity and intellect may invent a money-making machine, but will never be productive of those sublime inspirations of the soul which are necessary to the creation of a fine statue, a beautiful painting, or an epic poem such as the Iliad, the Æneïd, or Paradise Lost. The Fine Arts scowl upon that country where there is no other criterion of the merit of labor than what it will bring in dollars and cents, and where a man, before he addicts himself to any pursuit, puts to himself this question—will it pay? In such a country, where "Mammon wins his way when seraphs might despair," the Fine Arts droop and languish, because, as the cant phrase runs, "they don't pay."

We have previously observed that, at the dawn of civilization, the Mechanic Arts had been contemptuously abandoned to the slaves. On the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that their success may lead back to slavery, and that, if one of their blessings is emancipation and the diffusion of comforts, one of their evils may be servitude and famine, resulting from their overgrowth, and from their predominating over all the other purely moral, intellectual, and speculative pursuits of mankind. To be convinced that this is to be apprehended from their undue extension, from their usurpation of too large an interest in the consideration of society, and from their overexciting the appetite for wealth, one has only to look at the state of things existing in the manufacturing districts of certain communities, where nothing is to be seen but a vast agglomeration of abject poverty, vice, and despair—the mockery of free-will having no choice of action—starvation goading feebleness into labor, and the most energetic toil of the hand and the most painful sweat of the brow hardly relieving the first necessities of life. But the problem of cheap production is solved—an impetus is given to commerce—consumption takes a wider range—the capitalist draws enormous profits from his investments—the marked progress of the Mechanic Arts is quoted exultingly in official documents—and newspaper commendations are showered upon the prodigies accomplished by the national industry. But it is forgotten that bondage has been introduced in the land—a Shylock bondage—that which claims, not the ownership of the whole structure of a man's body—God forbid!—but merely the pound of flesh nearest the heart—that bondage secured by a contract in which want is the seller, speculation the purchaser, and cupidity the drawer and recorder of the title deed—that bondage—the worst of all—by which a man becomes the slave of another without becoming his property, and in whose preservation his master takes no interest, because their ties and connections are accidental and precarious, and because that master paid nothing for the miserable human tool whom he flings aside with careless contempt or frigid indifference, when worn out and unfit for further use.

If it is true that the Mechanic Arts have civilized man by stimulating his intellect, it must be admitted that they are apt to brutalize and stultify him when every moral and intellectual consideration is sacrificed to the perfection of material products and to the multiplication of physical comforts; and if they facilitate the increase of our race, they remind us that the principle of evil is never far from the principle of good, by giving rise to all those social infirmities which are the natural consequences of an excess of population. Thus, in countries thinly peopled, it is not uncommon to see the same man engaged in various arts or operations; and, as he cannot be equally expert in every one of them, he is often obliged to draw on his wits, and to supply his want of manual skill or training by taxing his mind and straining his powers of invention; and, besides, he is not unfrequently called upon to ascertain the various relations that may exist between trades, professions, or occupations apparently dissimilar, and to find out the assistance which he may derive from that discovery. Under such circumstances the Mechanic Arts are a blessing, for they sharpen the intellect, and the labor which they impose on man is sufficiently remunerated to enable him to satisfy his wants. But, in populous countries, where the simplest art is split into parts—where, for instance, an incredible number of hands are employed in the single operation of making a needle—it is evident that this distribution of labor secures the rapidity, the cheapness, and the perfection of the production, but the wages of each operative are barely sufficient to enable him to keep up the breath of life in an emaciated and sickly bodily frame; and the mind, confining its attention to a single object, shrinks gradually into so contracted a space as to leave no room for thought or invention; and we may easily understand how a man of the most splendid intellect, who, for the sake of procuring scanty morsels of bread for himself and family, should consent for years to do nothing else than roll a pack of thread round his index, would turn out to be an idiot at the end of his probation. He who has not been thrown into contact with the operatives in manufacturing districts which are celebrated all over the world, and who has not witnessed with a sickening heart the last spark of human intellect flickering dimly in the dull sockets of their brains, has no conception of the curses entailed on the overgrowth of population and of the Mechanic Arts.

Those evils are to be obviated by proper regulations, by an enlightened legislation, and by a moral as well as an intellectual education. Not only is education to be generally diffused among the masses to correct or mitigate the evils I have described, and to help the improvements of the Mechanic Arts, but also because all political power seems to be centering in those who exercise those Arts; at least it is so with us. The great bulk of the people of the United States may be said to be composed of Mechanics and Artisans—and it must be remembered that here the people govern—and that, through the numberless channels of commerce, through the all-pervading action of the press, through the example of that democracy daily issuing from their bosom and travelling abroad, and through many other agencies, their influence is extending over the world. Hence the necessity of general education, not only for the development of industrial resources, and to facilitate the pursuits of wealth, but also for the purposes of government.

It is evident that if, in the middling and lower orders, a spirit of inquiry after knowledge were stirred up, it would lead to the introduction of many more comforts, conveniences, and improvements conducive to general health and happiness; that it would shed a new lustre on the face of society; and that perhaps in fifty years from the present time, the world would be greatly more changed for the better than it had been for centuries. Let therefore as much knowledge as possible be imparted to the great masses of mankind. Let the conquests of the intellect be exhibited to them as the noblest; let them be persuaded that the foundation of libraries is as necessary as the institution of asylums for the blind, the sick, the orphan and the destitute; let them be encouraged to form themselves into associations for mutual improvement and scientific researches. By such means their attention would be directed to intellectual improvement, and a taste would be created for the investigations and studies which it requires. An ample field still remains open for useful discoveries, and it may be explored with equal advantage by the Mechanic as well as by the man of Science. "The exertion of the ordinary powers of intellect possessed by the mass of society," observes a philosophic writer, "is sufficient for the purpose of prosecuting scientific discoveries, and the more the number of scientific observers and experimenters is increased among the inferior ranks of society, the more extensively will interesting facts and analogies be ascertained, from which new and important principles of science may be deduced." The great book of nature is accessible to peasants and mechanics as well as princes and legislators. They have only to read it, and all that is necessary is that they should be taught how to do so. All knowledge is the result of the observation of facts and of the concentration of the faculties of the human mind upon them, to draw all the inferences, deductions, and inductions of which they are susceptible, by the process of ratiocination. Hence the necessity of education to enable every man, in his sphere, however humble it may be, to make the most of every fact which may strike his attention, by submitting it to the test of intellectual analysis. The crucible of a polished mind ought to be put within the reach of every mechanic, to give him the chance of extracting from the common dross of his every-day observations the pure ore of discovery and improvement; and, indeed, so far as discovery and improvement in the Arts may depend on accident or circumstance, the chances of the educated over the ignorant artificer are a thousand to one, and are also far superior to those of the mere speculative man of science who never engaged like him in practical operations, and who therefore cannot so readily perceive what may be useless, defective, or unfit in any of the methods which the brain may devise as applicable to the use or modification of matter. To borrow a common expression, "he is in the way of good luck," and he can take every advantage of it, when it comes to him, should he possess the necessary information. It ought, therefore, to be the wish of every one who has at heart the improvement of the human race in every respect, and in connection with all the Arts—particularly the most important of all—the Art of government—to cause the stream of education to flow abundantly from the Alpine heights of society to its deepest valleys, and to make it reach all the lips that may thirst for its refreshing waters.

Thus we believe we may be allowed to say in conclusion, that one of the happiest results of the Mechanic Arts has been,—that their pursuit has become so intellectual, that they have made of the spreading of education through every class one of those necessities to which even the most despotic governments must submit, in order to keep pace with the improvements obtained in those nations where the public mind is unshackled and permitted to be enlightened. In our days, even emperors and princes vie with each other in building up palaces, not for the Sardanapalian minions of ease and luxury, but for the exhibition of the world's industry, and have erected the crystal focus of civilization, to which every mechanic from every part of the earth is invited to resort—to draw from it the flame of inspiration—and to receive, in the face of the congress of nations, amidst all the pomp, show and circumstance of royal splendor, the reward due to patient labor, to manual skill, to cultivated ingenuity, to scientific research, and to inventive genius.

Art. V.—ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

It is gratifying to see the interest now awakened throughout the Southern country on the subject of commercial intercourse between the fertile valleys of the West and the Atlantic seaboard. While Southern seaport cities are actively endeavoring to extend their foreign commerce, they are beginning to feel the necessity of establishing corresponding internal commercial systems, in order to develop the varied resources of an almost boundless interior, on which their wealth, prosperity, and future stability must chiefly depend. The rapid rise to a commanding importance of many Western cities and towns, as well as the wonderful prosperity of the whole Western country, has indicated to their sister cities of the South the advantages of direct and intimate commercial relations with them, and, indeed, given a new impetus to commercial enterprise. And this impetus will be quickened and strengthened as those cities and towns are more known in the details of their growth and importance; for the rise of some of them has been so rapid, as in a measure to forestall a correct appreciation of the true elements of their prosperity, and a just estimate of the character and stability of their progressive advancement.

St. Louis, as she is now the first in importance of Western cities, presents beyond all others a striking and impressive example of this rapid extension. It will suffice only to remark the stages of her progress *in the last twenty years.* We quote from memory, but are confident no especial discrepancy will be found between our statements and the same facts as heretofore authentically published. Her population in 1833 was about 6,000; in 1853, it was upwards of 100,000—*having doubled itself within the period designated every five years!* In 1833, the taxable property of the city, both real and personal, amounted to not more than $2,000,000; in 1853, *it was assessed at nearly* $40,000,000! Within the space of twenty years, therefore, her population has increased *seventeen* times, and her wealth *nineteen* times beyond what both were in 1833. In the latter year the tonnage of boats belonging to St. Louis was scarcely 2,000; in 1853 it exceeded 37,000! The imports of the city, then *nothing*, were in 1853, $917,000! The course of trade, which at that time exhibited a movement there of goods and produce valued at $5,000,000, now pours into the city the materials of a commerce valued at $100,000,000!!! And here let us remark—the hydrographic position of St. Louis is such, with reference to the geographical relations held by different portions of the Mississippi valley to each other, that, as by a physical law, she must ultimately become *its great distributing centre.* The natural centre of a territorial area of 700,000 square miles, teeming with mineral and agricultural resources, and capable of sustaining a population of *a hundred millions*, who may limit the predictions of her future destiny? She is at the head of the navigation of the Mississippi River for large steam vessels, and hence must be always *a point of transhipment* for the vast commerce of the Illinois, and the still more abundant treasures of the Upper Mississippi; while the noble Missouri brings to her very feet the golden harvests of its own glorious State—much of the wealth of prolific Iowa—and the varied commerce from beyond the "plains," whose originally divergent channels concentrate on Missouri's northwestern border. *Ten thousand miles* of river navigation belong peculiarly to her own waters, *with ten thousand miles of coast*—and there are *forty thousand miles* more of navigable rivers which connect with her. We will say here, too, that within the borders of the State *twelve hundred miles* of railroad have been projected and begun. It is needless at this time to speculate upon her probable future resources to be derived from the commerce of the Pacific, and of India.

Flour, tobacco, hemp, lead, and bale rope and bagging are her great staples, while she is a mart of export for all the various grains which constitute the produce of the country. The arrivals of hemp for the year 1853 were 63,450 bales; of bale rope and bagging, 58,439 coils; of lead, 441,889 pigs; of flour, 737,000 barrels; and of tobacco, about 13,000 hhds. These items will give some idea of the extent and variety of her trade.

Ten years ago there were in St. Louis but *three* manufacturing establishments, and these of insignificant pretensions; at present there are between *twenty* and *thirty*, most of them being remarkable for the unusual scale of magnitude upon which their operations are conducted. The extent of their operations, however, will be best comprehended by a statement of the number of workmen employed; about 3,000! These manufacturers are confined to no particular industrial branch. What her manufacturing interests are likely to be, especially in branches where *iron* is the material, may, perhaps, also be best understood in a knowledge of the natural resources which she possesses. The Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, among the greatest of natural curiosities, are distant from St. Louis, south, the first eighty, and the latter eighty-six miles. They each cover an area of *five hundred acres*,—the former rising *two hundred and sixty feet*, and the latter *five hundred feet* above the level of the surrounding plain. *These immense formations are solid wedges of the purest ore!* The Iron Mountain has been estimated to contain *two hundred and twelve million tons of ore above the base.* By the first of November, 1855, the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, now begun, will bring these mountains within *four hours' transit* of St. Louis. *The first* cotton factory *established west of the Mississippi is in St. Louis.* Indeed, her manufacturing interests seem starting in a race of competition for predominance with those of her commerce, and it may be a question as to which will ultimately stamp her metropolitan character.

As this city has advanced in population, in wealth, in the extension of her commerce, and in manufacturing interests, so, in a harmonious ratio of progression, have all the diversified pursuits of her busy community multiplied and prospered. The history of *individual* opulence, then, would be found equally as striking as that of the city itself. **Art** has already taken up her abode, where at no distant day she will find, perchance her favorite seat, and the spirit of educated taste goes hand in hand with the energy of humbler utility. The beautiful and the useful are there in happy and prosperous union. But our intention is to present only general outlines.

In view now of the facts stated, it is for the enterprising citizens of Charleston, in considering the benefits of commercial intercourse with the Mississippi valley, to determine how far it would be to their interests to constitute St. Louis *a definite point of connection*; and to aid and encourage, with favoring preference, all schemes and enterprises best calculated to promote this object. We cannot think, as we have heard some intelligent gentlemen of the city of Charleston affirm, ***that it is sufficient to reach simply the Mississippi—and by any route most likely to effect this soonest and in the most direct way possible.*** And, according to the same authorities, it would appear that with reference to the Ohio valley, the citizens of Charleston have for a long time favored the idea of reaching Cincinnati as such a definite point. But the Ohio valley, extensive as its magnificent regions are, is comparatively a small portion of the "Great West;" and Cincinnati can never promote very materially the welfare of the city of Charleston. A glance at a map ought to settle this question. The commerce of the West, however railroads may multiply throughout the land, must move principally along the currents of our great "inland seas."

In projecting all extensive internal commercial systems, this must be ***a leading idea.*** Though railroads should cover the country with an iron network, yet, as its immense resources are developed, they could no more transport its commerce, than the numerous veins of the body could circulate the blood, without the interposition of the larger arteries. Now Cincinnati, with respect to the great tributaries of the Ohio and Mississippi—particularly the latter—is circumscribed within comparatively narrow limits of river navigation. The Ohio itself, by a rude natural key, is locked against her commerce at Louisville; and the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois, all bounteous streams of the valley, flow with their plethoric stores to the west of her. Her trade must continue to be, as it has hitherto been, altogether of a *domestic* character; her revenues are derived from numerous but petty manufactures, adapted to the wants of her own interior; she has no sympathy with the South; and though usurping the title of "*Queen* City," her dominion will never be more than a mere principality among sovereignties, where "Commerce is king,"

With Louisville, a flourishing and beautiful city, the case is quite different. For one, we hope to see the interest heretofore directed to Cincinnati, so far as the Ohio Valley is concerned, directed to *her* as the proper point for its concentration. And furthermore, whatever rivalry may subsist between Cincinnati and Louisville, between Louisville and St. Louis there is none; and such are their respective positions, *there can be none.* In suggesting, therefore, St. Louis as the point most important to the interest of Charleston in establishing her internal commercial relations and connections, we have had no desire to run a race of rivalry against other cities, or to monopolize where there are fields of action wide enough for all. St. Louis is destined to become commercially more than Venice ever *was*—and in manufactures what Lowell *is!* She can send to Charleston *exports*, and Charleston can return to her—*Cotton.*

Art. VI.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT CHARLESTON.

FIFTH DAY.

Resolved,—That a Select Committee of five be appointed to report, at their earliest convenience, upon the importance of a uniform system for the coinage of commercial nations, to facilitate mutual interchange.

Resolved,—That a uniformity in the value of the coins of different commercial nations is deemed by this Convention to be an object of much importance, and highly desirable.

2. That the Report of Dr. Gibbon, of the mint in North Carolina, on the subject herewith reported, be printed for circulation and more general information; and that he be appointed a committee, on the part of this Convention, to communicate the said Report, with these resolutions, to the proper authorities at Washington, and to request them to take such measures as they may deem best to effect the object.

3. That the Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, and other cities of the United States, be invited to aid the measure by their support.

Whereas, the General Government is about to become the owner of the Louisville and Portland Canal, at the falls of Ohio, by purchase of the private stock in said company, with her dividends arising from the tolls thereof;

And whereas, the said canal is now wholly insufficient to conduct the commerce seeking its passage, and the present tolls are about to cease, it is important that the present Congress adopt measures to take charge of said work, and fix a rate of tolls sufficient only for its being kept in order and repairs:—

Resolved, therefore, by this Convention, that the representation in both branches of the Congress of the United States, from States here represented, be requested to use their influence in procuring an appropriation by the General Government sufficient to enlarge the Louisville and Portland Canal to a size adequate to pass the largest class steamboats, and thereby remove the obstructions at that point of the Ohio River, now so embarrassing to trade.

Resolved,—That this Convention recommend to each of the Southern States having a seaport, to adopt the most efficient measures for the protection of the slave property of each State against abduction by sea, or otherwise.

S. F. LEAKE,
On behalf of the Va. Delegation.

By Mr. Heart, of South Carolina:—

Resolved,—That in view of the present deficient and imperfect condition of the mail service in the Southern States, both in regard to their communications with other portions of the Union, and with foreign countries, a committee of one from each State represented in this Convention be raised, to ascertain the extent of the evil, and to suggest the proper remedy.

In view of the great commercial as well as scientific importance of a complete knowledge of the geological features of the Southern country, and in consideration of the very imperfect character of the surveys heretofore made, be it

Resolved,—That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is proper to urge upon the respective State Legislatures the necessity of their undertaking complete geological surveys of each of the Southern States.

Resolved,—That this Convention cordially recommend to the consideration of the people of the States represented in this Convention, agricultural exhibitions and institute fairs, as one of the prominent means of developing the industrial resources of those States.

Also a number of papers, from the further consideration of which the committee ask to be discharged.

And, upon motion, the committee was discharged.

Mr. Nelson Tift, of Georgia, presented the following report, viz.:

The sub-committee of the Committee on Resolutions, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. Tift, of Georgia, and to whom leave was given by the Committee on Resolutions to report thereon to the Convention, report:

In the opinion of your committee, the several States of the Union have practical, simple and constitutional means, by virtue of powers not delegated in the Constitution of the United States, of protecting themselves against serious violations of their constitutional or natural rights, either by Congress, or by other States of the Union; and we believe that these means will avert, in all time, that dreadful catastrophe, disunion, and teach the enemies of the Constitution, and the usurpers of the rights of States, by the potent argument of interest, as well as justice, that their schemes of wrong cannot be prosecuted with impunity.

Without entering into an argument of principles or powers which are well settled, we will proceed to illustrate by a supposed case.

Virginia passes a law, the leading provisions of which are as follows:

1st. That if Congress shall pass any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or in any territory of the United States, the Senators voting for the act, on its final passage, shall be held to represent the sovereign will of their respective States, (for acts of aggression committed by State authority within the limits of a State, the same remedy may be applied,) and that such States shall be considered as having intentionally violated their faith pledged to Virginia in the Constitution.

2d. That if any State shall violate its faith pledged to Virginia, in the Constitution of the United States, by any such act or acts, as specified in the first section, the Governor of the State shall issue a proclamation of the fact, with a notice that all articles of merchandise brought from such faithless State, after that date, and either purchased, sold, or consumed in the State of Virginia, will be subject to a tax of one hundred per cent. upon their value.

3d. That at the usual time of receiving returns of taxable property, the tax receiver, in addition to the usual oath, shall administer to tax-payers an oath, that they will render a true account, according to the best of their knowledge and belief, of all articles of merchandise brought from such faithless State, since the date of the Governor's proclamation, which they have either purchased, sold, or consumed in the State of Virginia.

4th. That such articles so returned shall pay a tax of one hundred per cent.

5th. That if any persons shall refuse to take the oath and pay the tax, they shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined in the sum of dollars, which may be remitted by subscribing the oath and paying the tax.

6th. That when the cause for enforcing the act shall be removed, or the injustice remedied, the Governor shall issue a proclamation of the fact, and the law shall thus be suspended, to be enforced again should any of the specified wrongs be committed.

To ascertain the effect of such a law, let us suppose that Congress has passed one of the acts thus denounced by Virginia, as violative of her constitutional or natural rights. The Governor issues his proclamation of the fact, and from that date, until the act of Congress shall be repealed, the law of Virginia will be in force against all the States whose senators in Congress voted for the act on its final passage. Every citizen is now notified that if he *knowingly* purchases, sells, or consumes any articles of merchandise brought into Virginia, *after the date of the Governor's proclamation*, from any such offending State, he will be compelled to make oath of the fact, in returning his property for taxation, and pay the tax fixed by the State. The effect of such a law would be, that neither the merchants nor other citizens of Virginia would purchase any merchandise from the offending States, to be sold or consumed in Virginia, consequently they would not be taxed. Her citizens would trade exclusively with States which continued faithful to the Constitution. The wealth which the trade of Virginia gives would be diverted from those who had proved enemies of her rights, and given to her friends.

We believe that this argument of interest, coupled with an exhibition of the power of the State to do herself justice, will be the strongest preservative of the Constitution, and the Union which it forms, and be the means, in the end, of preserving peace and harmony among the States.

Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, at the request of the Charleston delegation, withdrew the resolution submitted by him yesterday, relative to printing.

Mr. C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved,—That this Convention, deeply impressed with a sense of the distinguished hospitality of the citizens of Charleston, begs leave to tender to the "Calhoun Monument Fund" a contribution in aid of its erection, in token of our appreciation of the politeness and liberality displayed in our entertainment here, and as an evidence of our profound veneration for the memory of South Carolina's favorite son, now numbered amongst the illustrious dead.

The Convention then resumed the consideration of the subject pending at yesterday's adjournment, viz.: the sixth measure of the third resolution, as submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, addressed the Convention as follows, viz.:

He expressed his regret that the delegations from the several States were not so full as they were when he commenced his remarks on the preceding day, when the Convention adjourned. His object, in the remarks he offered, was, if possible, to reconcile the views of members of the Convention, on the one side, and of placing himself in a proper position before the country on the other.

When the Convention adjourned yesterday, he was remarking that this was a Commercial Convention, composed of all political parties. He confessed that he belonged to one of the two great parties into which the country was divided, and hoped he was a consistent member of it; but still he respected those who differed with him. There was ground enough for all to stand upon, and business enough for them all to act upon, on which, as Southern men, they could agree. [Applause.] He must avow, however, his regret that a proposition of this nature had been brought before this body. He respected the chairman of the General Committee (Lieut. Maury) for his many valuable contributions to science; but still he could not agree to this proposition. Why were propositions of this nature introduced into the Convention? It was known—well known—that gentlemen of both political parties were present, and in order to avoid treading on each other's toes, in respect to questions involving political considerations, he had hoped that only such propositions would have been introduced as they were likely to agree upon. He supposed that gentlemen looked to future sessions of the Convention. He supposed that they looked to the perpetuity of these Conventions so long as their existence was necessary, and how could gentlemen expect harmony of sentiment or action under a proposition of this kind? In the State of Alabama, he was satisfied that the people stood three to one against such a proposition. According to the vote of yesterday, the reverse of this might appear to be the case, but they might rely upon it, that if it was desirable to have Alabama represented in future Conventions, they could not have her under such a resolution as this. It was better, therefore, to renounce that on which, as party men. they could not agree. As a Southern and Southwestern Commercial Convention, they ought to look to the interests of the South, and to suggest and adopt only such measures as were calculated to promote those interests.

It seemed to him that there was no use in passing this resolution, even if it should be amended as thus proposed, and he would move to strike it out; and he should do so on the ground intimated by the gentleman from Virginia yesterday, that you would still leave to Congress to judge of whether these international improvements were constitutional or not. True, if Congress passed an unconstitutional law, the remedy was in the judiciary, and an appeal to the constituents of those who passed it.

He felt grieved to hear the remark of the honorable Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Jones) yesterday. When that gentleman contended that, constitutionally, there was no difference between appropriations of land or of money, the remark grated on his ear. If Alabama were compelled to swallow down all the doctrines contained in that report, they might rest assured of it that, although they might see delegates from that State in future sessions of the Convention, they would not see the representatives of the people. [Applause.]

He was here to endeavor to carry out the will of those whose representative he was. He came only to subserve their interest. He would never shrink from the obligations imposed upon him as a Southern man; but he saw a fair opportunity now of doing much for the South, if the Convention acted as it ought, and, with that view, he would entreat gentlemen to avoid those political questions on which, as party men, it was impossible they could agree. He regretted the necessity of saying this much; but he had said it in self-defence: for, humble as he was, he yet had a personality of character and a pride of principle. [Applause.]

Mr. Whittle, of Georgia, said that he too was a party man. In the district in which he resided he was known as a Whig; but when he left home, to attend this Convention, he left his political sentiment behind him, [great applause,] so far, at least, as not to obtrude it upon this Convention. They had met as gentlemen of the South, to consult with each other, and take counsel as to the best means of promoting her welfare, so that she might stand out in her true position in this republic. As a Whig, he believed in the constitutionality of these propositions, and would press them in the proper halls of legislation; but was it proper to endeavor to force them on the Convention, *nolens volens?* [Applause.] It has been said that he was a wise man who struck the iron while it was hot; but a greater man was he who struck the iron till it was hot. While the iron was hot they had allowed the North to outstrip them in this race. Southern men felt that they had within them the power of greatness, and, if they intended to strike the iron while it was hot, they would concentrate their energies on those points and subjects on which every Southern man could agree, and on which there would be no danger of a split. And was it wise to permit this great object to be defeated, by introducing subjects which were purely of a political character? He trusted not. He would appeal to them as merchants, and manufacturers, and agriculturists; he appealed to the President and Vice-Presidents, and heads of delegations and chairmen of committees; he appealed to them as practical men, aye, as Southern men, not to bring these topics before the Convention, which would not only consume time which ought to be devoted to other purposes, but would tend to the production of dissension and discord, when peace and harmony and mental action for the good of the whole South ought to prevail. [Applause.]

Lieut. M. F. Maury addressed the Convention as follows:

Harmonious action is very much to be desired upon the subjects which this Convention may recommend; and as some gentlemen are very much opposed to any recommendations concerning river and harbor improvements, Lieut. Maury said that he was disposed, in so far as he was concerned, to foster a spirit of compromise, with a view of obtaining unanimity; and he therefore would, with the leave of the Convention, withdraw the sixth resolution. He wished it understood, however, that he did not make this request in the name of the General Committee, nor in his official character as its chairman, but as a member of the Convention who introduced this subject in committee.

Loud cries of "No, no," and "Vote, vote."

Mr. Oakey, of Louisiana, said he did not come here as a suppliant to the Halls of Congress for anything. He would not be a beggar for anything from that quarter, in behalf of Louisiana. The State which he represented had done much in the way of internal improvements, and all, too, without the aid of the General Government, and he would not give his vote here, instructing the Representatives of Louisiana to ask for any appropriations for the purpose indicated.

Loud cries of "Question, question," and "Order, order."

Mr. Lyons, of Virginia, hoped that the amendment offered by Lieut. Herndon to the third proposition, and adopted yesterday, would be stricken out. It involved a very serious question, which was, whether or not we should have a navigation of the Amazon, the Government of Brazil being willing or unwilling? There was no authority for such a proposition. It was one involving a most dangerous policy, and might bring the United States into great trouble and difficulty. In his judgment, they had come here for no fillibustering purposes whatever. They came as Southern men, for the purpose of considering the best mode of promoting Southern interests, and if he understood aught of Southern interests and Southern propriety—aught of the character of the people of the South—they were the most conservative of any portion of the Union. The nature and character of their institutions were such; and yet, in a Southern Commercial Convention, gentlemen had undertaken to recommend open, outright, daring fillibustering upon a neighboring nation. He could enter into no such recommendation. He was a Southern man all over. He was a Southerner first, Southerner always, and he would live and die a Southerner. He loved her because he believed her to be the main pillar of the liberty and glory of this republic. He made no comparison between her and any other section of the Union; and because he did love her, while he desired her, in her legitimate sphere, to stand up for her own rights, and maintain them whenever they were invaded, he was also anxious that she should hold her hands off the rights of others, and enter into no fillibustering expeditions at all. [Applause.]

Lieut. Maury, in reply to the gentleman from Virginia, said, that the question of the navigation of the Amazon was one of the express objects of the Memphis Convention, of which this was only an adjourned meeting. That Convention passed resolutions concerning the Amazon, and took strong grounds. When Brazil learned that the United States had resolved to send an officer of the navy—Lieut. Herndon—to the Amazon, the journals of the government in that country styled it, as the gentleman from Virginia has done, a fillibustering enterprise—the whole country was styled there a nation of pirates. There are in Brazil two parties—the one with republican principles, the other monarchical; the latter desiring close affinities with the European powers, the former with this country. The monarchical party is in power. It is opposed to progress. A few years ago, when the correspondence of the British Minister at Rio, upon the slave trade, was published in London, and reached Brazil, the Emperor was charged by his own people with truckling to British influence, and there was such a cry raised in the country that he found it necessary to replace a minister, and to bring in a gentleman who had the confidence of the republican party. This party is in favor of the navigation of the Amazon, among other things; and he (the Lieut.) desired this Convention to show that the people here represented sympathized with liberal principles and a progressive spirit, in whatever part of the world they might exist. He wanted to let the Emperor of Brazil know that in this country there is, behind what may appear to his imperial eyes the throne, a power greater than any throne. The policy of that government had been the most illiberal, restrictive and Japanese. When Humboldt was in America, there was an order commanding that if he should touch the soil of Brazil he should be seized and made a prisoner. And when it was known in Brazil that Herndon was bound to the Amazon, ministers plenipotentiary and extraordinary were dispatched to the Spanish Republics owning on that river, to negotiate for its exclusive navigation, and expressly with the view of keeping us out. Peru fell into the trap, and negotiated a treaty by which she and Brazil alone were to participate in its navigation, for five or six years. And for the privilege of using Brazilian waters, Peru agreed to pay $20,000 annually. But no sooner was this treaty ratified, than Brazil proceeded to give to one of her own citizens the exclusive monopoly of steamboat navigation there for thirty years. Her ministers, in the face of this fact, continued their efforts to negotiate with the other riparian republics, and to offer them as a consideration for shutting us out, the same monopoly which had already been twice pledged. Understanding that vessels were being fitted out in this country, on Peruvian account, to navigate the Amazon under the Peruvian flag, according to the treaty of 1851, that monarch stationed his navy at the pass of the Amazon, to keep those vessels out by force, and caused it to be announced officially here, in the United States, notwithstanding his solemn treaty stipulations with Peru, that no foreign flag whatever would be permitted to enter the Amazon.

We are told that these Conventions produce no good. The speech of Bishop Otey upon the Amazon, at the Memphis Convention, has been translated and published by the authority of the Government of Peru. And in the decree establishing ports of entry in that republic, upon the Amazon, it is expressly stated among the reasons for the measure, that it was done on account of the interest manifested by the people of this country with regard to that subject. Bolivia and Equador have proclaimed for their navigable tributaries of the Amazon the freedom of the seas, and have invited the people of all friendly nations to come there and occupy their lands, and cultivate and mine, and gather wealth—and under these circumstances it is said we have no right to go there.

According to the best writers on the law of nations, the navigation of the straits which connect free waters, even though both banks of those straits be owned by the same power, and within cannon shot of each other, is also free. Wheaton is very clear upon this point; and I suppose, said the lieutenant, my friend from Virginia will acknowledge him as authority. The gentleman says, "No, he does not!" However that may be, Wheaton is regarded by eminent men, both in this country and in Europe, to be authority by which nations are willing to stand; and it is expressly stated by the best writers on international law, that if the Straits of Gibraltar were not more than a marine league wide—that, if both banks were owned by the same power, that power would have no right to obstruct the use of those straits by the commerce of the world, nor to afford any obstacle whatever to vessels trading between that sea and the Atlantic. The Baltic and the Black Seas are both cases in point; and with regard to our own Mississippi, it was maintained, when its mouth was owned by a foreign nation, that we not only had a right to the free use of its waters to and from the sea, but that we also had a right to a place near its mouth, for the transhipment of merchandise, for the loading and unloading and the deposit of goods—and to enforce this right money and men were placed at the disposal of the executive. But gentlemen say that this is not a parallel case—that then we, a riparian State, wanted to come down; whereas now, in the case of the Amazon, we are outsiders, and want to go up. We are claiming on the Amazon no more than what we are granting on the Mississippi. The upper States have established ports of entry there, and we want to go and trade with those ports. In our upper States on the Mississippi, we have also established ports of entry, or rather ports of delivery, with which the vessels of any friendly nation whatever may carry on a direct trade. The vessels of Brazil, or of France, or of England, entering the custom-house at New-Orleans, are free to go up with their cargoes to Nashville, or to St. Louis, or to Cincinnati, or to any other port of delivery in that magnificent water basin.

It has been intimated that it would not be courteous to Brazil were the Convention to express its views with regard to our rights upon the Amazon. This government has always claimed its right to the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Chicago, on the lakes, is a port of entry, where British vessels may come and trade direct; and, so far as we are concerned, French vessels, or the vessels of any other friendly nation with which we have commercial treaties, have guaranteed to them in our ports the rights and privileges of the most favored nation. Now, then, should the French people desire to open a trade between our lake ports and France, through the St. Lawrence, would it be discourteous to the British Government for them peaceably to assemble and to tell by resolution the people of this country who desire the navigation of the St. Lawrence, that they, the Frenchmen, desire to trade with us through that channel, and are of opinion that the law of nations and the everlasting principles of fair dealing give them the right to the free use, up and down, of that river, notwithstanding both banks belonged to Great Britain?

Our situation with regard to the upper States of the Amazon presents just such a case. Let us then encourage the people of our gallant little sister republics on that river, who are smoothing the way for us. Let us cheer them by showing them that we sympathize with them in their most noble policy, and that we mean to do all that, as good citizens, we may rightly do, to assist them in opening that river to the navigation of the world, its banks and its forests to settlement and cultivation.

And, after some discussion, participated in by Messrs. Whittle of Georgia, Oakey of Louisiana, Clapp of Mississippi, Drew of Florida, Perry of South Carolina, and Polk of Tennessee,

The previous question was called and seconded. And the question being, "Shall the main question be now put?" it was so ordered. And upon putting the question, leave was given to withdraw the sixth measure.

The question then recurring upon the third resolution, as amended,

Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, offered the following as a substitute, viz.:

Resolved,—That the Senators and Representatives in Congress, from the States represented in this Convention, be requested to urge upon Congress the importance of the following measures, viz.:

1. The reduction of duties on railroad iron.
2. The passage of an act for the improvement of the merchant service, by encouraging boys to go to sea, and for preventing desertion.
3. To send one or two small steamers up the Amazon, for the purpose of exploring the tributaries of that river, which the States owning them have declared to be free to the commerce and navigation of the whole world.

And that the Government of Brazil be requested to permit these vessels to make explorations and surveys upon the shores of the Amazon belonging to that nation.

4. To encourage the establishment of a line of male steamers between some Southern port or ports and the mouth of the Amazon, or some other port of Brazil.

5. And also to encourage the establishment of a direct mail route between some Southern port or ports and Europe.

Lieut. M. F. Maury addressed the Convention as follows:

Lieut. Maury rose merely to say that he had no desire to press these resolutions upon the Convention. He would much rather have them discussed, for he believed the principles contained in them and their preamble would receive force and strength from discussion; and he would be most happy for them to receive such discussion as he was sure gentlemen in this Convention were prepared to give them; but the session was far advanced, much business remained to be done, and debates were limited to ten minutes, which precluded the discussion which he so much desired. Therefore he would not press the resolutions at this time, but he would now give notice that, should he be honored with a place at the next Convention, he would there bring up this subject again, and maintain the doctrine that free waters make free straits.

And after discussion, participated in by Messrs. James Lyons, of Virginia, Nelson Tift, of Georgia, and Macfarland, of Virginia, upon the call of States, the vote appeared as follows, viz.:

Yeas—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas—10.

Nays—Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia—5.

The substitute was declared adopted.

Upon motion of Mr. B. F. Perry, of South Carolina, the fourth resolution was stricken out.

Upon motion of Governor Clay, of Alabama, the fifth proposition was stricken out.

The second report of the committee was then taken up.

The first resolution was amended by filling the blank with "one from each State represented in this Convention."

The first resolution, as thus amended, was then adopted.

The second resolution being under consideration,

Mr. Macfarland, of Virginia, moved to amend by striking out from "trade," in the third line, to "by," in the fifth line, which was not adopted.

After discussion, participated in by Messrs. Leake, of Virginia, Lyons, of Virginia, Macfarland, of Virginia,

The second resolution was adopted.

The third resolution being under consideration,

Mr. C. P. Gooch, of Virginia, offered the following as a substitute, viz.:

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of two members from each seaport represented in this Convention, be appointed, for the purpose of inquiring into the expediency of establishing a line of steam ships between one or more of said seaports and certain port or ports of Europe, with liberty to sit during the recess of the Convention, and to carry into prompt execution such scheme, having the above object in view, as may be agreed on.

Resolved, That the Southern delegation in the Congress of the United States be requested to urge the passage of an act authorizing the transportation of the United States mails in said steam ships, with such compensation as has been heretofore allowed to other steam lines for similar services.

Which was adopted. And the third resolution, so amended, was then adopted.

The fourth resolution being under consideration,

After discussion, participated in by Messrs. G. A. Trenholm, of South Carolina, G. S. Bryan, of South Carolina, James Lyons, of Virginia, John Cunningham, of South Carolina, T. A. Marshall, of Mississippi, Aylett, of Virginia, and Clutter, of Virginia,

Mr. Clutter, of Virginia, moved to amend by striking out the words "and equal."

Mr. James Lyons, of Virginia, moved to amend by striking out "reciprocal."

Mr. Nelson Tift, of Georgia. moved as a substitute the following, viz.:

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Government of the United States to make treaties with foreign governments, providing for the admission of tobacco and other Southern products at reduced rates of duty.

The question being taken upon Mr. Lyons' amendment, it was adopted.

The question then recurred upon the amendment of Mr. Clutter, and it was adopted.

After discussion, participated in by Messrs. T. A. Marshall, of Mississippi, Polk, of Tennessee, and Ruffin, of Georgia,

The question was taken upon the substitute offered by Mr. Tift, which was not adopted.

The question then recurring on the fourth resolution, as amended, it was adopted.

By permission, Mr. A. W. Putnam, of Tennessee, submitted a paper on Mines, Mining, and the Iron Works of Tennessee, which was ordered to be printed with the journal.

Iron Works in Tennessee.

Believing that all information relative to the development of the natural resources and wealth, the progress of manufactures and trade, in any one of the Southern States, will be appropriate and acceptable, and may be cheering and encouraging, the undersigned, as one of the delegates from the State of Tennessee, appointed by the Governor, will submit some of the information in his possession, upon some of these branches of industry.

The history of the manufacture of iron in Tennessee is a very interesting and instructive one, and would well justify an extended essay, were there not so many subjects to engage the time and attention, and so many gentlemen who can and may desire to furnish information of greater or equal interest.

Iron works were established in East Tennessee before the close of the last century, and some of them have a historical interest which ought not to be overlooked by the annalist.

At a very early day, I will state it as a somewhat curious fact, that iron was shipped from East Tennessee down four rivers, to find a market. Yes, the iron from East Tennessee was shipped down the Holston river, the Tennessee river, in their lengths, down the Ohio and down the Mississippi rivers, (say near two thousand miles,) to be sold at "the Natchez," and even at New-Orleans—a voyage of two-thirds the length of one across the Atlantic, with much more of labor, of peril, of adventure, of varied interest, and of profitable instruction. Such early and perilous adventures could only be undertaken and accomplished by such noble, gallant and hardy men as were the pioneers of our Western World. The diaries and narratives of some of these voyages, or "flat-boat trips," as they were called, and of the tedious and almost equally dangerous "land trip back through the wilderness," as were called the travels from New-Orleans and "the Natchez," through the Indian Territories of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and

Tennessee, are really among the most interesting papers to be gathered up and preserved in State Historical Societies.

There are few of these early adventurers now living.

From the "Mossy Creek Iron Works," and I believe, from another in the same section of East Tennessee, the first shipments of Tennessee iron were made. The merchants engaged in these "ventures" were such men as King and Hillsman—men of worth, men of energy, men of high character and deserved confidence and esteem in any community—call them "men of mark," for they have made their marks in and upon a new country, and their posterity should not efface or disgrace them.

Wm. Hillsman, who had retired to a few miles from Knoxville, to live in "dignified ease and easy dignity," and whom I visited some five years since, kindly furnished me with narrations of his experiences as a merchant, a river navigator, a supercargo, a salesman, and as a traveller, in the disposal of iron and other articles from East Tennessee, to the then great marts of trade and business, known as New Madrid, Walnut Hills, and "the Natchez."

Shipments of iron were made—even *nails*—to "the Natchez," but they would not sell. It was a bad speculation—they would not drive. Such trials *sharpen* men's wits, and since then the Tennesseeans have learned to be much more "pointed and smooth," instead of so rough and blunt.

The correspondence and accounts of sales in these transactions bring to notice, or keep in prominent position, one who was recognized as the prince of merchants, the king of cotton dealers, who furnished the first paper currency for Mississippi—a circulating medium actually based upon the chief, the *staple product* of the country. He made "cotton gin receipts" as ready and a safer paper money than was ever furnished by any of the banks of that State—and early Territorial and perhaps State legislation sanctioned the currency. I allude to *Abijah Hunt*, who, in perhaps an ill-advised moment and manner, departed from his accustomed sphere and business, to intermeddle with politics, and in opposition to a young and talented lawyer —afterwards Judge, Governor, Senator and citizen, George Poindexter—and lost his life in a duel upon the bar opposite Natchez.

But I leave further remarks upon this early manufacture and trade of East Tennessee, and pass to that of the middle portion of the State.

Here is a history peculiarly *our own*, and with the origin, difficulties, advancement and final triumph, and continued prosperity and expansion of which, I will not weary this Convention. Few, even of the citizens of Middle Tennessee, know how many furnaces there are, or what amount of iron they make, nor of the value thereof, or number of hands employed, and I doubt not that some will stare, and think that I exaggerate, when I assert that there are between *forty and fifty furnaces* in Middle Tennessee! There are from thirty to thirty-five on the Cumberland river, below Nashville.

There are also two extensive rolling mills on the Cumberland river, owned by Woods, Payne & Co., and Hillman, Vanleer & Co., which consume, of pig metal, for the manufacture of bar iron, 9,000 tons, which will produce 6,000 tons of rolled, charcoal refined, bar, boiler, sheet, etc., worth $100 per ton; 3,000 tons of pig used in making sugar kettles; 3,000 tons of pig used in making 2,000 tons of blooms: leaving 33,000 tons pig metal to be sold or shipped. The results may be summed up as follows:

48,000 tons of pig metal.	
9,000 tons used for the manufacture of 6,000 tons rolled, refined, bar, boiler, sheet, and other iron, at $100 per ton,	$600,000
3,000 tons pig, used in making sugar kettles, worth	200,000
3,000 do. do. do., 2,000 tons blooms, at $75 per ton, ...	150,000
33,000 tons left, to be sold in pig shape, at $38 per ton, ...	1,254,000
	$2,204,000

As to the amount of iron made at the furnaces on the Tennessee river and its tributaries, below the Mussle Shoals, I will not adventure a statement. There are twelve furnaces there—perhaps more. These are all in that direction of the State called Middle Tennessee, and, without attempting to present an estimate of the number of cords of wood, bushels of coal, provisions, machinery, wagons, teams, or implements requisite to so many and such extensive works, I will leave that to reasonable inference from the foregoing facts, and this other in conclusion, that the furnaces and mills here mentioned give employment to over 10,000 persons.

A. W. PUTNAM,
Delegate from Nashville, Tennessee.

Mr. Perkins, of Virginia, moved a re-consideration of the second resolution, which was not adopted.

The second report, as amended, was then adopted.

The third report of the Committee on Resolutions being taken up for consideration,

The first resolution was adopted.

The second resolution was adopted.

The third resolution being under consideration,

Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, moved to strike out "as published in the newspapers."

After discussion, participated in by Governor Chapman, of Alabama, Messrs. Tift, of Georgia, Coleman, of Mississippi, Whittle, of Florida, and Gen. Combs, of Kentucky,

Gen. Gadsden addressed the Convention as follows:

I do not understand the propositions before the Convention as intended to influence the Senate of the United States on the Mexican treaty, now under the consideration of that honorable body, only so far as that the territorial boundary agreed on may be made to embrace the *right of way for a railroad or thoroughfare* between the Atlantic and Pacific States of this Federation. It may be a satisfaction, however, to have explained how the resolution now submitted appears in a form so different from the one presented by the mover and referred to the committee. The gentleman from Kentucky, Gen. Combs, submitted the original to me, with the inquiry as to the probability of obtaining by treaty, from the Mexican government, a right of way for a railroad, which had now become so important to the country at large. My reply was, "Why appeal to the President to do that which has already been performed, and which is now in the province of the Senate to accord?" for it is well understood that the new boundary line with Mexico was determined and arranged in part, with a view to this important national object. The obligations devolved on the mission to Mexico, were to harmonize all the existing issues between the two governments, and particularly those which had arisen under adverse interpretations of the treaty of Guadalupe. Prominent among these stood the boundary question, which had been greatly complicated by the action of Mr. Bartlett, who superseded Col. Graham as Commissioner. The mystery which obscured his appointment, said to have been made at the instance of Mr. Seward, to the exclusion of a highly accomplished and scientific predecessor in charge of, and who had made great progress in correctly determining the boundary as defined in the treaty; the little respect he paid to those previous investigations, or to the examinations and opinions of associated astronomers and surveyors, in conformation; the readiness with which he yielded to the version of the Mexican commissioner, restricting greatly the boundary, to the exclusion or surrender of the Messilla valley, and with it the right of way or transit to the Pacific, were all calculated to awaken apprehensions that the Commissioner was influenced by an over zeal against the interests of the South and the West, which seems to have become such a passion with his patron. The treaty under consideration recovered what had been thus surrendered, and thus secures to the Union one among other favorable thoroughfares to the Pacific. The violent attacks in the public prints, and in the lobbies at Washington, of the provisions of the treaty, while under consideration by the Commissioner, remain unexplained.

To the allusion of the gentleman from Tennessee to a telegraphic dispatch of this morning, it may be observed, that there are, and can be, no secrets in the government. The treaty, with the very message of the President accompanying it to the Senate, has appeared in what are recognized as the official prints at the capital. Now, the dispatch which has reached this quarter, conveys the astounding fact that the most imposing and violent opposition to the treaty is, that it *covers the proper ground for a railway*, and acquires an *addition of territory*, which may *encourage Southern emigration and occupancy*. The question having come up, whether the Convention would recommend the ratification of a provision of the treaty which secures the object of right of way so much appreciated; or whether this body will rely on the other resolutions of the report to secure the object desired, remains with them.

The proposition for a charter for a railroad to the Pacific, from the State of Virginia, to be patronised by the other States interested, is not novel, nor without precedent. States having common interests may combine under corporations as well as individuals. The Louisville, Charleston, and Cincinnati Railroad originated in a charter from the States of South and North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and for the accomplishment of which each contributed more or less to the capital. On a more general and enlarged system of internal improvements by railways and canals, we find the States everywhere becoming copartners with individuals in these enterprises. Why may not, therefore, (without any apprehensions of political leagues,) the Southern Atlantic States co-operate with those equally interested in the central Valley of the Mississippi, on a great highway, by the route most practicable, to the Pacific?

It is but appropriate that the elder sister, and to whom we have always turned with confidence, should take the lead in this case, and grant such a charter as may invite the patronage and co-operation of neighbors equally concerned. Such a corporation, and under the grants of powers made, may treat legitimately with Mexico for a right of way, if denied us, or rejected, after being secured, as it has been by our federal head, to whom the application is more appropriate than it could be to Mexico direct. The protection of that head is general, and should not be sectional.

Gov. Jones, of Tennessee, addressed the Convention as follows:

I know that every member of this Convention is intending to reach the same point, and I submit to this Convention, and to you, sir, whether we are not treading upon hazardous and dangerous ground? We are attempting to know that which we have no right to know. We are advising upon a subject we have no right to understand. If newspapers have published this treaty, how can we tell that they have published it correctly? I have seen three or four publications which profess to be the treaty, and all of them are of a different character. The words of the gentleman from Georgia have wisdom in them. We had better not attempt to legislate upon this subject as a Convention. Whatever may be in it will be communicated to the Southern people by Southern members in good time.

We are asked here to recommend the ratification of the Gadsden treaty. Is there a man here who will undertake to say what the Gadsden treaty is?

Will you take the report of the *New-York Herald*? Will you take the report of the *Washington Union*, or the *Tribune*, or of forty other newspapers in the United States? and come here and ask the Senate of the United

States to ratify that which by every principle of honor is a secret? I do not believe that any one will suspect me of wanting in interest for the success of the Pacific Railroad. It is the only thing which brought me here; but I am not prepared to vote for the resolution, and I warn gentlemen how they attempt to meddle with that of which they can have no certain knowledge. I hope my friend from Tennessee will withdraw his amendment, and I will move to lay the resolution on the table.

The Hon. Wm. C. Dawson addressed the Convention as follows:

There is a delicacy about this whole matter, which ought to be strictly observed. It is not necessary for me to say to this Convention that with me Southern rights and Southern institutions are safe; nor is it necessary to say that those with whom is placed the power of ratification or rejection of a treaty with all the facts before them, may be supposed better able to decide than you can be; and that, under all the circumstances, nothing can be gained by your recommendation. On this question I see no necessity for agitation or excitement. All will come out in proper time. In the meantime, permit me to say that your representatives in Congress, and your senators, I have no doubt, will faithfully discharge their duties, and meet with your approbation.

Art. VII.—THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MORAL LAW.

Historical monuments of antiquity, (especially those of the early Egyptians,) and scriptural authorities of the most remote date, recognize the existence of slavery as one common feature of general society among the civilized and barbarous nations of the East.

The laws of the Hebrew reformed code make various references of objection to the customs of neighboring nations, which lead us to estimate *the reasons* of different provisions which peculiarize their enactments.

The Hebrews were not permitted to enslave their own countrymen, or race. They were ordered to take or purchase servants of wandering aborigines, savages, and idolaters.

Special laws were enacted to prevent cruel or oppressive treatment of servants, of every description, in order that their physical and moral condition might be ameliorated and react upon their original stock. There is nothing more distinct throughout the moral code than cautious protection for the persons, the property, the feelings of the poorest Hebrew or "stranger."

The most indigent were taught to understand that relief directed by the law, for them, originated from the same source as the prosperity of those who offered it—in the name and by the instructions of the Divinity.

Captives in war and poor debtors were usually bought or sold themselves as servants; such custom prevailing to preserve life, to prevent cruel practices of torture and violent death, common among savages then as now.

The Hebrews were plainly permitted to purchase prisoners from their wild or wandering neighbors; to instruct them in the arts and manners of agriculture, pastoral and civil life. An express law prohibits the *stealing* of such servants, for sale!

Another law directs that, where prisoners or slaves ran from their barbarous masters in the neighborhood, into Hebrew territory, they should not be disturbed nor given up, but allowed to settle, liable to the same regulations for moral restraint as the Hebrews were bound by.

This is the law modern abolitionists affect to consider applies to the condition of slaves leaving their masters in one State of one country, and fleeing into another State under the same constitution of general government. Whereas the precept is addressed to the whole body of the Hebrew people, without distinction of tribe, and obviously refers to servants of the stranger.

No code of laws is more particular than the Hebrew to protect slave and all other property from undue violence, even of a master, and from the covetousness of his neighbors.

The Tenth Commandment specially interdicts such feelings in relation to servants as to other recognized property.

The law objecting to the return of a runaway servant could not have been intended to protect a slave in one tribe or State of the Hebrews from his master in another Hebrew State, because *special* relief is provided for inhumanity to slaves, and because the title to such property is as distinctly admitted as to any other.

It was to protect the runaway servant of bordering savages and of strange masters, not influenced by the same moral and social institutions as the Hebrews!

We perceive great distinction between the original intention of the law and that attributed to it by our modern reformers, some of whom would encourage any license to outrage all the *principles* of mercy, justice and truth, rather than abate any portion of their "vain imaginings!"

In order to prove the ground upon which these views are offered, we refer to Hebrew history and law, as to those of other ancient nations whose authorities remain among us.

The first peculiarity which arrests attention, after the exodus, is the *compensation* directed to be made *to a servant,* for the loss of an eye or a tooth, by any hasty impulse of anger in a master.

This was a new principle, brought into action under cover of an ancient proverb.

"An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was the law of retaliation common among barbarous nations then as now, which demanded "life for life," according to the phrase used at that time. Moses employs the saying, but demonstrates very different results by his law of practice!

"If a man strike out the eye of a man-servant, or the eye of a maid-servant, *that it perish,* he shall let him or her *go free,* for the eye's sake!"

This authorized no retaliation in kind, but a payment, a loss of property obligatory upon the master, to compensate for injury by inhumanity to his own servant. A Hebrew master, therefore, was not allowed with impunity to maim his own slave—his acknowledged property—bought with his money of the stranger!

The institution of slavery was thus employed by the Moral Law to introduce more gentle treatment of servants than was customary among the neighbors of the Hebrews. Slavery was legalized under general principles of humanity and equity, which included laboring animals as well as laboring men.

The son and the daughter, the man-servant and the maid-servant, the ox and the ass, were all regarded by one common law of mercy, of justice, and of truth!

The reformed Code of the Hebrews, like the Constitution of the United States, framed by men taught to respect the principles of the former, allowed the ancient institution of slavery to remain, looking to the improved condition and intelligence of the masters for those ameliorations incidental to the moral progress of society, under proper instruction and their own experience of history.

Among the comparisons of Solomon, there is an expression which appears to authenticate the discrimination we wish to make in reference to the peculiar Hebrew expression:—

"If thine enemy hunger, give him bread to eat; if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for thou shalt *heap coals of fire upon his head,* and the master will reward thee."

The practice of heaping coals of fire upon the scalp of an enemy was the practice among savages before the days of Solomon, as in our own time.

By reference to this cruel custom, he plainly shows the advantages of a different kind of retaliation—that by the law of mercy. He also employs a similar old proverb to explain the new truth.

This is in strict accordance with the great moral precept of the Hebrew Leviticus:—

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself!"

Moses authorized some distinction between neighbors, but did not allow any differences to restrain men from the ordinary duties of good neighborhood in relation to servants or to cattle.

"If thou see the ox or the ass of him that *hateth thee,* lying under his burthen, and wouldst forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him."

"If thou meet *thine enemy's* ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again."

In these instances equal provision seems made for moral conduct towards those who dislike us and for those we dislike.

The new instructions point to reconcilements and to peace, instead of tumult, violence, and angry dissensions.

Our modern abolition antagonists persuade themselves that slavery is an immorality.

The moral laws of God sanction it under a wise system of superversion, and slave owners may compare the condition of their servants with those who dispute their possession, and would recklessly confound or suspend all laws. The morality of the Hebrew Scripture, is presented in the form and with the exactness of a natural science, and can be proven to accord in utility with other branches of similar knowledge.

That moral code was a great reformation over the deceptions and oppressions authorized *by the laws* of ancient civilized nations, as well as over the barbarous manners and customs of neighboring savages, whose practices are vividly represented by descriptions fully according with modern experience.

The moral reformation was based upon " three principles," explained to be characteristic of the Divinity, in whose name these laws were promulgated.

Truth was regarded quite as indispensable for law, as mercy and justice.

If it is true that slavery was permitted by moral law, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it was a just and a merciful institution, arranged and modified to prevent *greater* cruelty and inhumanity, and to prepare wild and savage races of men for the milder influences of a peaceful and gradual civilization.

These ancient laws evince large experience and careful comparisons, by frequent references to the practices of other nations. They defer in some points to the ancient customs of the Egyptians, among whom the Hebrews resided for several centuries; yet, with our increased information, we may discover a practical significance, even among the more ceremonial features, and in their absolute utility we can distinguish the groundwork of all modern improvement.

An acquaintance with the moral laws contributed largely to the peculiar forms of our own constitution of government, and we daily discover cause to reverence their considerate humanity and their superior wisdom.

These moral laws were given for the peculiar advantage of a Southern people, who had obtained their freedom as colonists from the government of another people, to whom they were probably allied by race. They are adapted by their liberality to the special favor of the people of the South.

Art. VIII.—COMMERCE OF MONTEVIDEO IN 1853.

Although after the September revolution, which caused the resignation of the President Don Francisco Giro, and the election of a Provisory Government, the chiefs of the various departments of the interior subjected themselves to the new administration, yet it is apparently to be attributed to that fact only, that those belonging to the opposition had no time for preparing resistance and effecting a counter-revolution. Therefore a short time after appeared an armed corps of insurgents at different places. The Provisory Government was compelled to send anew troops into the interior, the elections must be suspended, and for two months an exasperated civil war raged with alternative success. According to the last news, Colonel Flores, member of the Provisory Government, had succeeded in annihilating Lucas Morino, the principal leader of the insurrectional party. Though the great majority of the interior of the country desires peace, though the chiefs of the insurgents succeed only by force in collecting troops, yet there are very little hopes for the re-establishment of peace in the interior, unless one or the other party are entirely destroyed. However, as the daily guerrilla skirmishes lead to no result, and as the insurgents, by the very thinly spread population in the Campagne, are enabled even after a defeat to hide themselves for some time, in order to reappear after a short delay at any other point, hopes and wished-for peace will be in vain.

In the mean time the country approaches with gigantic steps to ruin, as all confidence has disappeared, and commerce and intercourse for many months have been paralyzed, the emigration of the foreign population to Buenos Ayres increases daily (for 5 months 15 to 20,000), and all prospects for a flourishing state of the Republic, of which there were during the biennial peace many traces visible, are nipped in the bud.

By the treaty of October, 1851, Brazil is obliged to guarantee with her power and influence the peace of the Republic, and therefore it is very likely that she will undertake an armed intervention, the more, as it seems to be the desire of the moderados of both parties, which are expecting the greatest advantages from it. The whole foreign population looks to it as a guarantee for their security and property. It is said that Brazil will send by land and by water a sufficient force to occupy Montevideo and all principal points in the Campagne, to restore order, to watch over the elections, and to support the new administration with money. Should this intervention take place, commerce and intercourse would be certainly re-established; the Republic, however, would lose her independence, as Brazil would surely make use of the offered opportunities. As to the rich natural resources of that country, a few years of peace would be sufficient to create again a flourishing state of the whole affairs; and if the population should increase by immigration, the foreign elements would offer a positive guarantee for a stable peace. A consolidation of the enormous debts, which amount to more than 80 millions of dollars, and which recently have increased, is, under the present circumstances, beyond all hope. The rents of the Customs were sold some months ago to a company of foreign merchants, guaranteeing to the Government a monthly revenue of $130,000. However, that contract has been by the occurrences of the present civil war annulled, and that company administers, by request of the government, the customs for account of the latter, until peace shall be regained, when the contract will revive again.

The imports were in the first six months of the past year generally large, as the political disturbances in the province of Buenos Ayres, and the blockade of that city, concentrated the entire business for the Argentine Republic in Montevideo. But after the July revolution it has been continually decreasing, with the only exception of the most necessary articles, as flour, timber, salt, wines and liquors, as there have been of the latter very small importations, and as in Buenos Ayres very high prices are paid for them.

The exports of Montevideo in 1853 were as follows:—

Destination.	DRY		SALTED		Tallow.	Wool, Bales.	Horse hairs, Bales.	Sheepskins		Jerked Beef.
	Ox and Cow-hides.	Horse-hides.	Ox and Cow-hides.	Horse-hides.				Bal.	Pieces	
United States	188,846	600	13,230	4,205	55	1,576	280	—	6,086	—
England	37,895	111,762	99,213	84,540	1,602	2,135	973	80	19,732	—
Antwerp	124 687	629	7,311	3,021	—	31	26	—	—	—
France	117,259	21,358	12,104	865	63	760	538	4	25,440	—
Genoa	146,515	33,957	31,549	10.247	132	1,526	279	35	42,120	—
Spain	70,002	230	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brazil	530	200	—	—	171	—	—	—	—	23,514
Havana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17,155
	685,725	174,031	163,407	102,878	2,023	6,028	2,096	119	93,378	40,669

Art. IX.—RESULTS OF THE BRITISH CENSUS OF 1851.

The number of people in Great Britain and the small adjacent Islands, in 1851, was 20,950,477; and the men in the army, navy, and merchant service, and East India Company's service, abroad, on the passage out, or round the coasts, belonging to Great Britain, amounted, on the same day, to 162,490. The population of Great Britain may, therefore, be set down at *twenty-one millions, one hundred and twenty one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-seven* (21,121,967).

The annexed table exhibits the distribution of the people :—

TABLE I.—*Population of Great Britain in* 1851.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
England	8,281,734	8,640,154	16,921,888
Scotland	1,375,479	1,513,263	2,888,742
Wales	499,491	506,230	1,005,721
Islands in the British Seas	66,854	76,272	143,126
Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen	162,490	..	162,490
Total	10,386,048	10,735,919	21,121,967

British subjects in foreign States are not included in the general population, as given in the preceding table, the exiles and foreign subjects in Great Britain being considered a set-off against them.

"It is difficult," says the Report, "to form any just conception of these large numbers, for men are rarely seen in large masses, and when seen, their numbers are seldom known. It is only by collecting, as in other cases of measuring, the units into masses, these masses into other masses, and thus ascending progressively to an unit comprehending all others, that the mind attains any adequate notion of such a multitude as a *million* of men. Thus, from a file of *ten* persons, which the eye takes in at one view, the mind readily conceives ten such groups, or a *hundred ;* and again ascending to ten hundred, or a *thousand ;* to ten thousand, or a *myriad ;* to ten myriads, or a *hundred thousand ;* and to ten hundred thousand, or a *million*—arrives at a conception of the *twenty-one millions* of people which Great Britain contained within its shores on the night of the 30th of March, 1851. Another way of arriving at this conception is by considering the numbers in relation to space ; as 4,840 persons might stand without crowding on the 4,840 square yards in an acre, 3,097,600 persons would cover a square mile (equal to 640 acres) ; and the twenty-one millions of people in Great Britain, allowing a square yard to each person, would therefore cover seven square miles."

"The building of the Great Exhibition in London," continues the Report, "inclosed 18 acres, and 50,000 or 60,000 persons often entered it daily ; on the 9th of October, 93,224 persons filled its floor and galleries, and could almost be surveyed by the eye at one time. Of 100,000 persons, a general notion can therefore be formed by all those who witnessed this spectacle at the Crystal Palace ; it is a greater number than were ever, at one time, in the building, but somewhat less than the greatest number (109,915) that ever entered it on one day, the 7th of October. The population then of Great Britain, including men, women, and children, exceeds 211 *hundred thousands ;* and at the rate of a hundred thousand a day, could have passed through the building in 211 days ; the English, as they were 169 *hundred thousand,* in 169 days ; the Welsh, 10 *hundred thousand,* in 10 days; the Scotch, 29 *hundred thousand*, in 29 days; the 143,126 Islanders in the British Seas, and the 162,490 soldiers, seamen, and others absent from the country when the Census was taken, in 3 days." In 1801, the population of Great Britain amounted, in round numbers, to 109 *hundred thousands*, and could have passed through a similar building in 109 days; consequently, 102 days of such a living stream represents the *increase* of the British people during the last half century.

Striking as are the foregoing illustrations of the number of inhabitants in Great Britain, another perhaps is wanting to enable the popular mind adequately to appreciate 21 *millions* of people.

It is well known that to *mass* quantity is to conceal bulk; thus it was stated the other day, that the whole of the vast yields of California and Australia, melted down to a solid mass of gold, would only fill a tolerably sized room; and so it is with numbers. A general, wishing to conceal the strength of his army, forms it into masses.

Now, if all the people of Great Britain had to pass through London in procession, four abreast, and every facility was afforded for their free and uninterrupted passage, during 12 hours daily, Sundays excepted, it would take nearly three *months* for the whole population of Great Britain to file through, at *quick* march, *four* deep. To count them singly, at the rate of one a second, would take a year and a half, assuming that the same number of hours daily were occupied, and that Sundays also were excepted.

It has been stated that, in a future publication, the ages of the population will be given, their condition, and occupations. As regards age, they will be arranged in quinquennial sections, that is, in sections advancing by periods of five years each, from children in arms to the age of ninety and upwards. The people will then be classed in sections, as husbands, wives, widowers, widows, bachelors, and spinsters; again, they will be grouped, first, according to place of residence, and subsequently, under the countries and counties in which they were born; and, finally, they will be arranged in professions or occupations, from the prince to the peasant; paupers, prisoners, lunatics, and vagrants, being severally grouped: and, as the survey will extend over thousands in more than a thousand different callings, it is evident that, as the greatest exhibitions of modern times only displayed a small part of the produce of the labors of the people, so the visitors to it only represented a fraction of the multitudinous population of these islands, which the enumerators found so variously occupied on the sea, on rivers, and on the coasts; in the valleys and on the hills; in cities, towns, villages, and solitary habitations over the face of the country.

The number of the male population of Great Britain, excluding those absent in foreign countries, was 10,223,558, and the female population 10,735,919 ; consequently the females were in excess of the males by 512,361, or as many as would have filled the Crystal Palace five times over ; how many of these were spinsters, cannot be known until the second portion of the Census is published. The proportion between the sexes in 1851 was 100 males to 105 females, or about the same as in 1801.

The *births* during the last thirteen years give a reversed proportion, viz., 105 *boys* to 100 *girls*. How much the change in the proportions, and the subsequent disparity of the numbers in the two sexes, is due to emigration, or to a difference in the degree of the dangers and diseases to which they are respectively exposed, will be discussed when the numbers of males and females living at different periods of life are compared. The disparity in the proportions of the sexes is greatest in Scotland, there being no less than 110 females to 100 males in that country.

The following table gives the population of Great Britain and the Islands of the British Seas, including the army, navy, and merchant seamen, abroad, as enumerated at each Census, from 1801 to 1851, inclusive :—

Table II.—*Population of Great Britain as enumerated at each Census, from 1801 to 1851 inclusive.*

Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1801	5,368,703	5,548,730	10,917.433
1811	6,111,261	6.312,859	12.424,120
1821	7,096,053	7,306,590	14.402,643
1831	8,133,446	8.430,692	16,564,138
1841	9,232, 18	9,581,368	18,813,786
1851	10,386,048	10,735,919	21,121,967

It will be seen by the foregoing table that the population of Great Britain has nearly doubled since the commencement of the present century, notwithstanding the great number that have annually left the country, and settled and multiplied into millions in the United States, in the colonies of North America, Australia, and South Africa. The increase in the last fifty years has been 93·47 per cent., or at the rate of 1·329 per cent. annually, the increase of each sex being about equal.

The annual *rate* of increase has varied in each decennial period ; thus in 1841–51, the population has increased, but the *rate* of increase has *declined*, chiefly from accelerated emigration.

The emigration from Great Britain and *Ireland* in the ten years 1821–31 was 274,317 ; in the ten years 1831–41 it amounted to 717,913 ; and in the ten years 1841–51 it had increased to 1,693,516.

It has been shown by Dr. Farr, in his English Life Table, that the half of a generation of men of all ages passes away in *thirty* years, and that three in every four of their number die in half a century. Taking emigration and other movements of the population into account, it is probable that of the 21,121,967 persons in Great Britain in 1851, 2,542,289 were born prior to the Census of 1801, and were enumerated on that occasion. At the present rate of mortality, a few of the present generation will be alive a century hence.

If the population of Great Britain continues to increase uniformly at the same rate that it has done from 1801 to 1851, it will double itself every 52½ years.

Law of Population.—The increase of population depends on many varying elements, but it is not intended here to discuss at any length what is termed the *Law of Population.*

The increase or decrease of a people depends upon the age of marriage, the age of parents when children are born, the numbers who marry, the fertility of the marriages, the duration of life, and the activity of the migration flowing into or out of the country. These influences act more or less upon each other. The Report here indicates the effect of a change in each element while the others remain constant.

1. "The numbers of the population bear a definite relation to the duration of life, or to the mean lifetime. Thus, if the mean lifetime of a population is 30 years, then if the births are 100,000 a year, and remain uniform, the population will be 30 times 100,000, or 3,000,000. Now, the births remaining the same, let the lifetime be gradually extended to 40 years, then the population will become 4,000,000; or if the lifetime is extended to 50 years, the population, from the extension of life alone, will rise from *three* to *five* millions. The deaths, upon this hypothesis, will be equal to the births, and the same in number when the population is *five* as when it is four or three millions. It is probable that the mean lifetime of the great body of the population did increase from the year 1801 to 1821, when the increase of population was greatest in Great Britain."

2. "The interval from the birth of one generation to the birth of their descendants of the generation following, bears also a definite relation to the numbers, which increase as the interval is shortened. Thus, if the population increases at the rate of 1·329 annually, and if the intervening time from generation to generation is 33⅓ years, it follows that the increase from generation to generation is 55 per cent., or that every 1,000 women are succeeded, at the interval of 33⅓ years, by 1,553 women; every *two* couples, male and female, by *three*. If the interval is contracted, and the increase from 1,000 to 1,553 takes place in 30 years, the annual rate of population increases, from 1·329 to 1·477 per cent.; and as we assume by hypothesis that the births and the lifetime remain the same, the population would be ultimately one-ninth part more numerous than it was under the for

mer conditions. Early marriages have the effect of shortening the interval between generations, and tend in this way to increase the population."

3. "An increase in the fertility of marriages will evidently cause an increase in the population."

4. "In ordinary times, a large proportion of the marriageable women of every country are unmarried, and the most direct action on the population is produced by their entering the married state. Thus, in the Southeastern division, comprising Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Berks, the number of women of the age of 20, and under the age of 45, amounted, at the last census, to 290,209, of whom 169,806 were wives, and 120,403 were widows or spinsters. 49,997 births were registered in the same counties during the year 1850, or ten children were born in 1850 to every 58 women living in 1851. Of the children, 46,705 were born in wedlock, 3,292 were born out of wedlock; consequently, 36 wives bore in the year *ten* children, and of 366 unmarried women of the same age (20–45), *ten* also gave birth to children. A change in the matrimonial condition of a large proportion of the 120,403 unmarried women, out of 290,209 women at the child-bearing age, would have an immediate effect on the numbers of the population; and, if continued, by increasing the rate of birth to the living through successive generations, would operate on population like a rise in the rate of interest on the increase of capital."

5. "The effect of migration on the numbers of the population is evident. It is probable that the immigration of Irish has contributed to the increase of the population in England, and it is certain that the emigration from the united kingdom contributes largely to the increase of the population of the United States. The emigrants are a self-perpetuating body in healthy climates, and they increase faster abroad than the general population at home, as they contain an excess of the population at the reproductive age; so that, if their numbers are added together, it is certain that we get, in the aggregate, a number much below the actual number of survivors. The population of Great Britain *and Ireland*, including the army, navy, and merchant seamen, was 21,272,187 in 1821, and about 27,724,849 in 1851; but in the interval, 2,685,747 persons emigrated, who, if simply added to the population of the United Kingdom, make the survivors and descendants of the races within the British Isles in 1821, now (in 1851) 30,410,595."

6. "The numbers of the population are increased by an abundance of the necessaries of life, and reduced by famines, epidemics, and public calamities, affecting the food, industry, and life of the nation. The pestilences of the middle ages—the famine, the influenza, and the cholera of modern times—are ex-

amples of one class of these agencies; the security and freedom which England has latterly enjoyed, are examples of the beneficent effect of another class of influences, not only on the happiness of the people, but also on the numbers which the country can sustain at home and can send abroad to cultivate, possess, and inherit other lands."

The extent to which all these causes affect the increase of population of Great Britain, will ultimately be known by means of a continuous series of such observations as have been commenced at the present census.

Art. X.—MANAGEMENT OF SLAVES.

[Several very interesting papers have appeared from time to time in the pages of the REVIEW upon this subject, but the views of the following are so eminently wise and practicable that we cannot refrain from giving it a place. Robert Collins, of Macon, Geo., is the author, in the columns of the *Alabama Planter.*]

HISTORY teaches the existence of slavery, from the earliest period of time.

It is at least coeval with the records of human society. It prevailed in all the greatest and most civilized nations of antiquity. The earliest glimpses of Egyptian life exhibit pictures of bondage. The oldest monuments of human labor upon her soil everlastingly perpetuate both her greatness, and the extent of that system of slavery by which such greatness was achieved.

Abraham, the father of the faithful and founder of the Jewish nation, was the purchaser and owner of hundreds of slaves. Babylon and Tyre were markets for the sale of men. The firtrees and cedars of Lebanon were cut and hewed by the *servants* of Haram, and brought to Joppa in floats by sea; thence carried to Jerusalem by the *servants* of the King of Israel. The Temple of Solomon was arrayed in all its glory by the mighty power of this system, directed by the highest wisdom.

In Attica, Laconia, and all the other prominent States of classic Greece, the slave population was greater than the free, and the same was true of Rome in her most virtuous days.

Slavery was established and sanctioned by divine authority; and ever since the decree went forth, that the descendants of Canaan should be "servants of servants," slavery has existed in a variety of forms, and in nearly all nations; until now, in the midst of the nineteenth century, we find ourselves in the possession of three and a half millions of this peculiar race, without any agency on our part.

Being thus providentially, as it were, endowed with the responsibilities, as well as advantages, which necessarily arise from this foreordained connection of the races, the management and treatment which shall best subserve the welfare and interest of both, becomes one of the most important practical inquiries that can possibly engage our attention.

In attempting an essay upon this subject, we can gather but little aid from the long historical record which we have of the institution, for although we learn that slaves were nearly always employed in labor, yet we see no account of how they were clothed or fed, or find any data of comparative results of different modes of treatment, or labor, whereby we can be guided in our search after a system comprising the greatest benefits. We must therefore rely upon the observation, experience, and practice of the present time, as the only source of useful and correct information upon the subject.

The writer has been accustomed to slavery from his earliest days, and for thirty years has been much interested in their management, both on plantations and public works, and has therefore been prompted by his own interests, as well as inclination, to try every reasonable mode of management, treatment, living and labor; and the result of a long experience has fully satisfied him, and proved beyond doubt, that the best interests of all parties are most promoted by a kind and liberal treatment on the part of the owner, and the requirement of proper discipline and strict obedience on the part of the slave. Indeed, the Creator seems to have planted in the negro an innate principle of protection against the abuse of arbitrary power; and it is the law of nature which imperatively associates the true interest of the owner with the good treatment and comfort of the slave. Hence abuses and harsh treatment carry their own antidote, as all such cases recoil upon the head of the owner. Every attempt to force the slave beyond the limits of reasonable service, by cruelty or hard treatment, so far from exacting more work, only tends to make him unprofitable, unmanageable; a vexation and a curse.

It being, therefore, so manifestly against the interest of all parties, as well as opposed to the natural feelings of humanity, and refinement, and civilization of the age, a case of cruelty or abuse of a slave by his owner is seldom known, and universally condemned.

Negro Houses.—Among the first objects that occupy the attention of the planter, in the settlement of a new place, is the selection of a propor location for his buildings. This should always be done with great care, and with an especial view to health. Good water is indispensable, and should be obtained at almost any cost, as without it there can be no permanent health. It should be obtained from wells or springs, if possible; but if that cannot be done, then proper cisterns should be constructed, and placed to receive the rain water from the buildings, by which means a constant supply of healthy water may be kept on hand.

The houses should be placed, if possible, under the shades of the native forests; but where that cannot be done, the china, or mulberry, or some quick growth, should be immediately transplanted, so as to cover the buildings, in some degree, from the rays of the sun. The buildings should be placed about two feet above the ground, so that the air can pass freely under them, and also be well ventilated with doors and windows. They should be sufficiently large, say about sixteen by twenty feet, and but one family should be put in a house; there is nothing more injurious to health or demoralizing in feeling, than crowding them together. They had much better sleep in the open air than in crowded tight houses. Each house or family should be furnished with suitable bedding and blankets, for while a proper outfit costs a few dollars in the beginning, they save twice as much in the end—they add greatly to the comfort and health of the slave, and enable him much better to perform the labor required.

Feeding of Slaves.—In former years the writer tried many ways and expedients to economize in the provision of slaves by using more of the vegetable and cheap articles of diet, and less of the more costly and substantial. But time and experience have fully proved the error of a stinted policy; for many years the following uniform mode has been adopted, with much success and satisfaction, both to the owner and to the slaves.

The allowance now given per week to each hand—men, women, boys, and girls that are old enough to go into the field to work—is five pounds of good clean bacon, and one quart of molasses, with as much good bread as they require; and in the fall or sickly season of the year, or on sickly places, the addition of one pint of strong coffee, sweetened with sugar, every morning before going to work. These provisions are given out on some designated night of each week; and for families it is put together; but to single hands it is given to each separately, and they then unite in squads or messes, and have their meat cooked for them by a woman who is detailed for that purpose, or keep it themselves, as they please. Their bread is baked daily in loaves, by a woman who is kept for that duty. Each house or family should have a garden attached for raising their own vegetables.

This mode of allowancing relieves the owner from much trouble in daily supervising their provisions, and is much more satisfactory to the slave. Under this system of treatment, a word of complaint in relation to their living is seldom heard. Some planters, however, differ on this subject, and prefer the plan of cooking and eating at one common table; and it is possible, with a small number of hands, and where the owner is willing to devote a good deal of attention to that matter, that he may save a small amount. But it will not be so satisfactory, and he will probably not gain enough to pay for the trouble. Children, of course, must be fed and attended to as their wants require: they are not likely to be neglected, as they pay a good interest upon the amount of care and expense bestowed upon them.

Negro Clothing.—The proper and usual quantity of clothes for plantation hands, is two suits of cotton for spring and summer, and two suits of woollen for winter; four pair of shoes and three hats, which, with such articles of dress as the negro merits, and the owner chooses to give, make up the year's allowance. Neatness in dress is important to the health, comfort, and pride of a negro, which should be encouraged by the owner. They should be induced to think well of themselves; and the more pride and self-respect you can instil into them the better they will behave, and the more serviceable they will be; so they should always be aided and encouraged in dressing, and their own peculiar fancies indulged to a reasonable extent.

Hours of Work.—In the winter time, and in the sickly season of the year, all hands should have breakfast before leaving their houses. This they can do and get to work by sunrise, and stop no more until twelve o'clock; then rest one hour for dinner, then work until night. In the spring and summer they should go at light, and stop at 8 o'clock for breakfast, then work until 12 o'clock, and two hours for dinner, and work from 2 o'clock till night. All hands stop on Saturday at 12 o'clock, and take the afternoon for cleaning up their houses and clothes, so as to make a neat appearance on Sunday morning.

Task Work.—The usual custom of planters is to work without tasks during the cultivation of their crop; but in gathering cotton, tasks are common, and experience has proven that whenever work is of that kind or character that it is much better to do so. If the overseer has judgment, he will get more work, and the negro will be better satisfied; he will generally make an effort to gain time to devote to his own jobs and pleasures.

Negro Crops.—It was, at one period, much the custom of planters to give to each hand a small piece of land, to cultivate on their own account, if they chose to do so; but this system has not been found to result well. It gives an excuse for trading, and encourages a traffic on their own account, and presents a temptation and opportunity, during the process of gathering, for an unscrupulous fellow to mix a little of his master's produce with his own. It is much better to give each hand, whose conduct has been such as to merit it, an equivalent in money at the end of the year; it is much less trouble, and more advantage to both parties.

Discipline.—In regard to the general management or discipline on plantations or public works, it is of great consequence to have perfect system and regularity, and a strict adherence to the rules that may be adopted for the government of the place. Each hand should know his duty, and be required to perform it; but as before intimated, the owner has nothing to gain by oppression or over-driving, but something to lose; for he cannot, by such means, extort more work. But still, if it become necessary to punish the negro for not doing his duty, or the violation of rules, it does not make him revengeful, as it would an Indian or white man, but it rather tends to win his attachment, and promote his happiness and well-being. Slaves have no respect or affection for a master who indulges them over much, or who, from fear, or false humanity, fails to assume that degree of authority necessary to promote industry and enforce good order. At the same time, proper and suitable indulgences and privileges should be granted, for the gratification and amusement of the negro; but they should always be exercised by special permission, for they are a people ever ready to practise upon the old maxim of "give an inch and take an ell."

Negroes are by nature tyrannical in their dispositions; and, if allowed, the stronger will abuse the weaker; husbands will often abuse their wives, and mothers their children, so that it becomes a prominent duty of owners and overseers to keep peace, and prevent quarrelling and disputes among them; and summary punishment should follow any violation of this rule.

Slaves are also a people that enjoy religious privileges. Many of them place much value upon it, and to every reasonable extent that advantage should be allowed them. They are never injured by preaching, but thousands become wiser and better people, and more trustworthy servants, by their attendance at church. Religious services should be provided and encouraged on every plantation. A zealous and vehement style, both in doctrine and manner, is best adapted to their temperament; they are good believers in mysteries and miracles; ready converts, and adhere with much pertinacity to their opinions when formed.

No card playing, or gambling of any description, should be allowed, under severe penalties. And the Maine Liquor Law should be rigidly enforced on every estate.

Marrying among Slaves.—Taking wives and husbands among their fellow-servants at home, should be as much encouraged as possible; and although intermarrying with those belonging to other estates should not be prohibited, yet it is always likely to lead to difficulties and troubles, and should be avoided as much as possible. They cannot live together as they ought, and are constantly liable to separation in the changing of property. It is true they usually have but little ceremony in forming these connections; and many of them look upon their obligation to each other very slightly; but in others, again, is found a degree of faithfulness, fidelity and affection, which owners admire; and hence, they always dislike to separate those manifesting such traits of character.

Sickness.—Proper and prompt attention, in cases of sickness, is a vastly important matter among slaves. Many plantations are inconvenient to medical aid, therefore owners and overseers should always understand the treatment of such common cases as usually occur on places under their charge. This is easily done, and many times a single dose of some mild and well-understood medicine, given at the beginning of a complaint, removes the cause and effects a cure at once, when delay or neglect might render it a serious case.

A bountiful supply of red pepper should be cultivated, and kept on hand and used freely, in damp sections, where sore throats are apt to prevail, and also in fall complaints. It acts by creating a glow over the whole body, without any narcotic effect; it produces general arterial excitement, and prevents, in a considerable degree, that languor and apathy of the system, which render it so susceptible to chills and fevers; it may be given in any way or form which their taste or fancy may dictate.

Art. XI.—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE CULTURE OF COTTON IN AMERICA.

Though the cotton manufacture of England was, at its origin, supplied with the raw material from the Levant, and subsequently from the West Indies and South America, the United States soon became the principal exporters of what appeared to have been an exotic to their soil, though an ordinary short staple is stated by Mr. Seabrook to have been grown in Virginia, in a limited way, at least 130 years before the Revolution. In Wilson's account of the Province of Carolina, in America, published in 1682, it is stated that "cotton of the Cyprus and Malta sort grows well, and a good plenty of the seed is sent thither." Mr. Spalding, of Sapelo Island, near Darien, in Georgia, has stated that his father was one of the first to cultivate the long staple or Sea Island cotton, in 1787, from seed received from the Bahamas. The seeds of probably the same cotton, carried into the interior and upland parts of Georgia, from the poor soil and dryer climate, and the necessary modifications of culture, produced what is known as upland cotton. The culture spread thence into the States which abut upon the Gulf of Mexico. There the rich soil and moist climate required the cultivation to be suited to it; but everything being congenial, and fresh seed introduced from Mexico, the largest known returns have been obtained.

In England, the invention of machinery, by Wyatt, Hargreaves, and Arkwright, from 1739 to 1769, and the consequent establishment of the factory system about 1785, greatly increased the demand for cotton wool. This demand could hardly have been supplied if the culture had not been so vigorously taken up by the Americans; but even they, with their deficiency of labor, would never have been able to free from its seed the quantities of cotton which they grew, if it had not been for the invention of Whitney's saw-gin, in 1793. This is justly stated to have done as much for the cultivators of America as the above inventions did for the cotton manufacturers of England; but he was not better treated in the New than his brother inventors usually are in the Old World.

But this fortunate conjunction of an extensive demand with the means of supplying it, the latter occurring among a people ready and able to take advantage of the opportunity, soon established the cotton trade of the United States on an extensive and also secure basis, because it was founded on the excellent quality of the raw material.

Mr. Macgregor, in his valuable Commercial Statistics, vol. iii., p. 452, mentions, that "among the provincial trade returns we find that among the exports of 'Charles Town,' from November, 1747, to November, 1748, were 7 bags of cotton wool, valued at £3 11s. 5d. per bag. In 1754, some cotton was exported from South Carolina. In 1770, there were shipped for Liverpool 3 bales from New-York, 4 bales from Virginia and Maryland, and 3 barrels full of cotton from North Carolina. From the official returns it appears that the first arrival of cotton wool in Liverpool, the produce of the United States, took place in 1770, and consisted of 2,000 lbs. Fourteen bags arrived during the year 1785. And the total import during the six years from 1785 to 1790 inclusive, was 1,441 bags, weighing about 150 lbs. each; but the supply was neither uniform nor extensive, the import in 1789 having exceeded that of the following year 731 bags."—(*Macgregor*, 1 c., p. 465.)

In the year 1791, 189,316 lbs. of cotton were exported from the United States; but in 1794 the quantity had increased to 1,601,700 lbs.; and by the end of the century to nearly 18,000,000 lbs. The production of cotton has continued annually to increase, and probably now amounts to about a thousand millions of pounds, or to about 2,500,000 bales; of this a quantity, which has been steadily increasing from year to year, and now amounts to about 500,000 bales, is retained for home consumption. The remainder is exported chiefly to Europe, but by far the largest proportion to this country.

As it is desirable to have the means of comparing the progress of the different cotton-growing States one with another, as well as of observing the general increase, and how the crops of particular seasons affect the commerce and manufactures of other countries, we insert the following tables. In these, the States are arranged geographically, in order afterwards to weigh the influence of physical causes in limiting or extending the powers of production. In the first table we may see that the Southern Atlantic States, though they increased their culture very rapidly, yet were very soon equalled by the Gulf States, though these began the culture at so much a later period. The author has compiled this table from *Commercial Statistics*, iii., p. 462 :

I. *Estimated Crops of Cotton in America, in lbs., from* 1790 *to* 1834, *given in Millions and Tenths.*

Years.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Arkansas.	Total estimated American Crop.
1791	—	—	1.5	.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	2· lbs.
1801	5·	4·	20·	10·	—	—	—	—	1·	—	40· “
1811	8·	7·	40·	20·	—	—	—	2·	3·	—	80· “
1821	12·	10·	50·	50·	—	20·	10·	10·	20·	—	170· “
1826	25·	10·	70·	75·	2·	45·	70·	55·	45·	·5	348·5 “
1834	10·	9·5	65·	75·	20·	85·	85·	62·	45·	·5	467·5 “

In the following table, the imports of American cotton into Great Britain, from 1834 to the present time, are given in bales. These are estimated to have weighed, on an average, 330 lbs. from 1833 to 1842 inclusive ; but the average weight, at present, is 385 lbs.* Here we see that the Atlantic States have either diminished their exports of late years, or have remained stationary ; while the Gulf States have increased theirs to an enormous extent. The same fact is thus exhibited :

Actual Average of the Eighteen Crops, from 1824 *to* 1841.

	First 6 years.	Second 6 years.	Third 6 years.
South Atlantic States	433,000 bales	522,000 bales	529,000 bales.
Gulf States	253,000 “	504,000 “	1,030,000 “

Under the head of New-Orleans, the produce of Louisiana and of Mississippi are included, as well as of some of the interior States, as of Tennessee, which is brought down the River Mississippi.

II. *Growth of Cotton in the different States of America, from* 1834 *to* 1849, *in Bales.*

Years.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	N. Orleans.	Texas.
1834–35	33,170	34,399	203,166	222,670	52,085	197,692	—	511,146	—
1835–36	29,197	32,557	231,237	270,121	79,762	236,715	6,889	474,747	—
1836–37	28,618	18,004	196,377	262,971	83,703	232,243	7,755	593,259	—
1837–38	32,000	23,719	294,334	304,210	106,171	309,807	19,875	711,681	—

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* Thus, 358 lbs. per bale for Uplands or Georgia, &c. ; 437 lbs. for New-Orleans and Alabama ; 360 lbs for Sea Island. (*Messrs. Holt's Circular.*) The planters commonly calculate 400 lbs. to a bale.

Years.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	N. Orleans.	Texas.
1838-39	22,200	11,136	210,171	205,112	75,177	251,742	16,432	568,562	—
1839-40	26,900	9,394	313,194	292,693	136,257	445,725	6,767	946,905	—
1840-41	21,800	7,865	227,400	148,947	93,552	320,701	1,085	813,595	—
1841-42	21,012	9,737	260,164	232,271	114,416	318,315	727,658		—
1842-43	15,639	9,039	351,658	299,491	161,088	481,714	1,060,246		—
1843-44	15,600	8,618	304,870	255,597	145,562	467,990	832,172		—
1844-45	25,200	12,487	426,361	295,540	188,693	517,196	929,126		—
1845-46	16,282	10,637	251,405	191,911	141,184	421,966	1,037,144		27,008
1846-47	15,819	6,061	350,200	242,789	127,832	323,462	705,979		8,317
1847-48	8,952	1,518	261,752	254,825	153,776	436,836	1,190,733		39,742
1848-49	17,550	10,041	458,117	391,372	200,186	518,706	1,093,797		38,827

In the third table, the aggregate crop and exports for the last twelve years are given, in order that we may afterwards see how these affect the exports from India in the same or following years. These are taken from the Circular, for the year 1849, of Messrs. Tetley, the eminent brokers of Mincing Lane:

III. *The Crop of Cotton Wool in the United States of America, with the Export for the last Twelve Years.*

		Export.		
Years.	Crop.	Great Britain.	France.	Continent.
1837-38	1,801,497	1,165,155	321,480	88,994
1838-39	1,360,532	798,418	242,243	34,028
1839-40	2,177,835	1,246.791	447,465	181,747
1840-41	1,634,945	858,742	348,776	105,759
1841-42	1,684,211	935.631	398.129	131,489
1842-43	2,378,875	1,469.711	346.139	194,287
1843-44	2.030.409	1,202,498	282,685	144.307
1844-45	2,394.503	1,439,306	359,357	285.093
1845-46	2,100.537	1,102,369	359,703	204,720
1846-47	1,778,651	830,909	241,486	168,827
1847-48	2,347,634	1,324,265	279,172	254,824
1848-49	2,728,596	1,537,901	368,259	321,684

The energetic planters of the Southern States of the American Union cannot but be deeply interested in a culture which gives such extensive occupation to their slave population, the more especially as it is subject to a multitude of accidents from the vicissitudes of seasons and the depredations of insects. Thus, though the crop has so greatly increased when viewed in a series of years, yet considerable fluctuations occasionally take place in the quantity produced. It has been said that a good crop, with the advantage of a mild winter, as compared with a bad season and early frosts, make a difference of from 6 to 700,000 bales. In 1838 a severe frost, occurring on the 7th of October, severely injured the crop. In 1845 the crop was nearly 2,400,000 bales, but in 1846 only about 1,800,000 bales; making a difference of 600,000 bales, all destroyed, it is said, by caterpillars. The present crop is expected to be not above 2,100,000 bales, against 2,700,000 of the previous year. These fluctuations in quantity necessarily produce great variations in price. Thus, the lowest price at Liverpool of New-Orleans cotton was—

In June, 1845	3½d. per lb.	In June, 1848	3¼d. per lb.
" 1846	4¼ "	" 1849	3⅓ "
" 1847	5¾ "	In Dec., 1849	5 "

The American planter necessarily suffers from any depreciation in the value of his produce, though he is in some measure remunerated for the smallness of a crop by the increase in price which almost necessarily ensues, when any deficiency in quantity is experienced. But still he complains, and apparently with justice, of the continued decline which has taken place in prices. Mr. Woodbury, Secretary of the United States Treasury, has shown that the average prices at the places of exportation for each period of five years has been—

1791-1795	15⅝d. per lb.	1816-1820	13d. per lb.
1796-1800	18 "	1821-1825	8 "
1801-1805	12½ "	1826-1830	5 "
1806-1810	9⅓ "	1831-1835	6 "
1811-1815	7½ "		

Since then, still lower prices have been obtained. Mr. Turner stated to the Committee of the House of Commons that he had bought ordinary Orleans cotton on one occasion as low as 3½d., and that its average price for the years from 1843 to 1846 might be considered to have been about 4d. The planter anxiously inquires whether such depression is likely to be permanent, and also whether other cultures, such as that of the sugar-cane, are not more profitable. [The reverse has been the case.—Editor.]

Art. XII.—SOME CENSUS STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ascertained and Estimated Population of the United States for each year from 1790 *to* 1860.

Years.	Aggregate.	Years.	Aggregate.	Years.	Aggregate.
1790	3,929 827	1814	8,117,710	1838	16,131,087
1791	4,049,600	1815	8,353,338	1839	16,593,630
1792	4,173,024	1816	8,595,806	1840	17,069.453
1793	4,300,210	1817	8,845,312	1841	17,600,752
1794	4,431,272	1818	9,102,060	1842	18,148,589
1795	4,566.329	1819	9,366,261	1843	18,713,479
1796	4,705,504	1820	9,638,131	1844	19,295,971
1797	4,848.919	1821	9,920,600	1845	19,896,574
1798	4,996,705	1822	10,211,348	1846	20,515.871
1799	5,148,994	1823	10,510,618	1847	21,154,444
1800	5,305,925	1824	10,818,659	1848	21.812,893
1801	5,473,507	1825	11,135,727	1849	22,491.305
1802	5,646,176	1826	11,462.088	1850	23,191,876
1803	5,824,398	1827	11,798,013	1851	23,873,717
1804	6,008,246	1828	12,143,783	1852	24,575,604
1805	6.197,897	1829	12,499,687	1853	25,298.126
1806	6,393,534	1830	12,866,020	1854	26,041,890
1807	6.595,346	1831	13,234,931	1855	26,807,521
1808	6.803.528	1832	13,614.420	1856	27,595,662
1809	7,018,282	1833	14,004,789	1857	28,406.974
1810	7,239,814	1834	14,406,3[illegible]0	1858	29,242,139
1811	7,449,960	1835	14,819,425	1859	30,101,857
1812	7,666.206	1836	15,244,344	1860	30,986,851
1813	7,888,729	1837	15,681,447		

Nativities of White Population of the United States.

States, Districts and Territories.	Born in the State.		Born out of the State, and in the United States.		Born in Foreign Countries.		Unknown.		Aggregate.
	Number.	Ratio.	Number.	Ratio.	Number.	Ratio.	Number.	Ratio.	
Alabama	234,691	55.03	183,324	42.98	7,498	1.76	1,001	0.23	426,514
Arkansas	60,996	37.61	98,950	61.01	1.468	0.90	775	0 48	162.189
California	7,696	8.40	61,866	67.51	21 629	23.60	444	0.49	91,635
Columbia, Dist. of	18.375	48.43	14,620	38.54	4 913	12.95	33	0.08	37,941
Connecticut	284,978	78.49	39,117	10.77	38 374	10.57	630	0.17	363,099
Delaware	55,591	78.11	10,326	14.51	5,243	7 37	9	0.01	71,169
Florida	19 120	40.51	25.332	53 67	2,740	5.80	11	0.02	47,203
Georgia	396,298	75.98	118,268	22 68	6,452	1 24	554	0.11	521,572
Illinois	331,089	39.13	399,733	47 25	111,860	13.22	3,352	0.40	846,034
Indiana	520,583	53 28	398,695	40.80	55,537	5 68	2,339	0.24	977,154
Iowa	41,305	21 53	129,248	67.36	21.014	10.95	314	0.16	191,891
Kentucky	580,129	76.19	148.582	19 51	31,401	4.13	1,301	0.17	761.413
Louisiana	126,917	49.67	60,641	23.74	67,308	26.34	625	0.25	255.491
Maine	514.655	88.46	35,019	6.02	31,695	5.45	444	0.07	581,813
Maryland	326,040	78.01	40,610	9.72	51,011	12.20	282	0.07	417,943
Massachusetts	679,625	68 97	139,419	14.15	163,598	16.60	2,808	0.28	985,450
Michigan	137,637	34.84	201,586	51.02	54.593	13.82	1,255	0.32	395,071
Mississippi	135,501	45 82	154,946	52.40	4,782	1.61	489	0.17	295,718
Missouri	265,304	44.81	249.223	42.11	76,570	12.93	907	0.15	592,004
New-Hampshire	258,132	81.31	44,925	14 15	14 257	4 49	142	0.05	317,456
New-Jersey	361,691	77.70	43.711	9.39	59.804	12.85	303	0.06	465,509
New-York	2.092,076	68.63	296,754	9.74	655,224	21.49	4,271	0.14	3,048.325
North Carolina	529.483	95.74	20,784	3.76	2.565	0.46	196	0 04	553,028
Ohio	1,203,490	61.56	529,208	27 07	218,099	11.15	4,253	0.22	1,955,050
Pennsylvania	1,787,310	79.15	165,966	7.35	303,195	13.42	1,779	0.08	2,258.160
Rhode Island	98 754	68.64	21.221	14.75	23,832	16.56	68	0.05	143.875
South Carolina	253,399	92 29	12,601	4.59	8,508	3.10	55	0.02	274,563
Tennessee	580,695	76.73	168 966	22.33	5,638	0.74	1,537	0.20	756.836
Texas	43,281	28.10	92,657	60.15	17,620	11.44	476	0.31	154,034
Vermont	228 489	72.91	50,894	16.24	33,688	10.75	331	0.10	313,402
Virginia	813,811	90.95	57,582	6.44	22,953	2.57	454	0.05	894.800
Wisconsin	54,312	17.82	139.166	45.66	110,471	36.25	807	0.27	304,756
Territ's. Minnesota	1,572	26.04	2,486	41.17	1,977	32 74	3	0.05	6,038
New-Mexico	58,404	94.93	761	1.24	2,151	3.49	209	0 34	61,525
Oregon	2,301	17.58	9,636	73.63	959	7 33	191	1.46	13.087
Utah	1,159	10.23	8,117	71.64	2,044	18.04	10	0.09	11.330
Total	13,104,889	67.06	4,174,940	21.35	2,240,581	11.46	32,658	0.17	19,553 086

By comparing the above table with one made up from the British Census of 1841, (the returns for 1851 embracing these particulars not having been yet received,) it will be seen that whilst for our oldest States, such as North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, only 95, 92, 90, 78 and 79 per. cent. respectively of the free population (the proportion will not be affected for the slave) were born in the States of their residence, in England there were 96 per cent.; in Ireland, 99.58; in Scotland, 93 per cent. In some of our States, such as Wisconsin, Iowa and California, the proportion runs down as low as seventeen, twenty-one, and eight per cent. Only 16 per cent. in England and 5 per cent. in Ireland resided out of their native countries! The proportion of foreign born was not more than one-tenth of one per cent. in Scotland, one-twentieth of one per cent. in Ireland, and one-fiftieth of one per cent. in England, against over eleven per cent. in the United States, thirty-six per cent. in Wisconsin, and twenty-six per cent. in Louisiana, and one-half of one per cent. in North Carolina, and three-quarters of one per cent. in Tennessee.

Nativities of Slaves.—It is almost impossible to distinguish between the native born and foreign born slaves, and no facts were collected upon this subject, except under the census schedules of mortality. From these it appears that slaves, except to some extent, Africans were generally considered of the nativity of the place of decease. As few slaves have been introduced into the country since 1808, and these chiefly into Florida, previously to 1819, under the Spanish rule, and into Louisiana, it will be necessary to look into the class over 60 years of age for the survivors of the original Africans. The whole number of slaves in 1850 over 60 years of age was 114,752. Of these, no one familiar with the South would admit that more than 8,000 or 10,000 were Africans. In Louisiana, in 1849–1850, 110 African slaves are reported to have died, out of a total of 6,083 deaths of slaves of all ages. In Virginia few or no African deaths are mentioned. The ages of deceased Africans on the schedules generally range higher than 60, often more than 70, and in South Carolina as high as 80, 90, 100 and 110.

Black and Mulatto Population of the United States.

States and Territories.	Free.		Slaves.		Slave and Free.		Rates of Mulattoes to 100 Blacks.		
	Blacks.	Mulattoes.	Blacks.	Mulattoes.	Blacks.	Mulattoes.	Total.	Free.	Slave.
Alabama	567	1,698	321,239	21,605	321,806	23,303	7.24	299.47	6.72
Arkansas	201	407	40,739	6,361	40,940	6,768	16.53	202 47	15.61
California	876	87	—	—	875	87	9.94	9.94	—
Columbia, Dist. of	6,783	3,276	2,885	802	9,668	4,078	42.18	48.29	27.80
Connecticut	5,895	1,798	—	—	5,895	1,798	30.50	30.50	—
Delaware	16,425	1,648	2,207	83	18,632	1,731	9.29	10.03	3.76
Florida	229	703	36,288	3,022	36,517	3,725	10.20	306.99	8.33
Georgia	1,403	1,528	359,013	22,669	360,416	24,197	6.71	108.91	6.31
Illinois	2,930	2,506	—	—	2,930	2,506	85.53	85.53	—
Indiana	5,941	5,321	—	—	5,941	5,321	89.56	89.56	—
Iowa	178	155	—	—	178	155	87.08	87.08	—
Kentucky	7,381	2,630	181,252	29,729	188,633	32,359	19.30	35 63	16.40
Louisiana	3,379	14,083	224,974	19,835	228,353	33,918	14.85	416 78	8.82
Maine	895	461	—	—	895	461	51.51	51.51	—
Maryland	61,109	13,614	82,479	7,889	143,588	21,503	14.97	22.28	9.56
Massachusetts	6,724	2,340	—	—	6,724	2,340	34.80	34.80	—
Michigan	1,465	1,118	—	—	1,465	1,118	76.31	76.31	—
Mississippi	295	635	290,148	19,730	290,443	20,365	7.01	215.25	6.80
Missouri	1,687	931	74,187	13,235	75,875	14,166	18.67	55.19	17.84
New-Hampshire	336	184	—	—	336	184	54.76	54 76	—
New-Jersey	20,113	3,697	232	4	20,345	3,701	18.19	18 38	1.72
New-York	40,930	8,139	—	—	40,930	8,139	19.88	19.88	—
North Carolina	10,258	17,205	271,733	16,815	281,991	34,020	12.06	167.72	6.19
Ohio	11,014	14,265	—	—	11,014	14,265	129.52	129.52	—
Pennsylvania	38,285	15,341	—	—	38,285	15,341	40.07	40.07	—
Rhode Island	2,939	731	—	—	2,939	731	24.87	24.87	—
South Carolina	4,588	4,372	372,482	12,502	377,070	16,874	4.47	95.29	3,35
Tennessee	2,646	3,776	219,103	20,356	221,749	24,132	10.88	142 71	9.29
Texas	140	257	50,458	7,703	50,598	7,960	15.73	183 15	15.26
Vermont	512	206	—	—	512	206	40 23	40.23	—
Virginia	18,857	35,476	428,229	44,299	447,086	79,775	17.84	188.13	10.34
Wisconsin	338	297	—	—	338	297	87.85	87.85	—
Territ's. Minnesota	16	23	—	—	16	23	143.75	143.75	—
Territ's. New-Mexico	6	16	—	—	6	16	266 66	266 66	—
Territ's. Oregon	45	162	—	—	45	162	360 00	360.00	—
Territ's. Utah	15	9	9	17	24	26	108.33	60.00	188 89
Total	275,400	159,095	2 957,657	246,656	3,233,057	405,751	12.54	57.56	8.34

Occupations.—In no census have the occupations of slaves been recorded. How many are employed as mechanics, how many as laborers, how many as house-servants, cannot be known; nor, more than approximately, how many on the different agricultural crops of the South. Deducting the slaves who are known to be residents of towns, and approximating for those towns that are unknown, it might be safe to say that 400,000 slaves are urban, and 2.804,313 rural, and that of the latter class at least as many slaves will be employed as domestics as there are slave properties, which would leave about 2,500,000 slaves* to be directly em-

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* These are distributed between the several great staples of the South in something like the following proportions, as near as can be judged after a careful consideration of the subject, bearing in mind that large quantities of breadstuffs are produced in addition:

Hemp	60,000	3.4 per cent.
Rice	124,000	5.0 " "
Sugar	150 000	6.0 " "
Tobacco	350,000	14.0 " "
Cotton, etc	1,815,000	72.6 " "
	2,500,000	100

ployed in agriculture, including males and females, and persons of all ages. Slaves under 10 and over 60 are seldom employed industrially.

The total number of families holding slaves by the census of 1850 was 347,525. On the average of 5.7 to a family, there are about 2,000,000 persons in the relation of slave-owners, or about one-third of the whole white population of the slave States;* in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, excluding the largest cities, one half of the whole population.

Classification of Slaveholding Families in the United States.

States.	Holders of 1 slave.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 20.	20 and under 50.	50 and under 100.	100 and under 200.	200 and under 300.	300 and under 500.	500 and under 1000.	1000 and over.	Aggregate Families holding Slaves.
Alabama..........	5,204	7,737	6,572	5,067	3,524	957	216	16	2	—	—	29,295
Arkansas.........	1,383	1,951	1,365	788	382	109	19	2	—	—	—	5,999
Colum., Dist. of...	760	539	136	39	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	1,477
Delaware.........	329	352	117	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	809
Florida...........	699	991	759	588	349	104	29	—	1	—	—	3,520
Georgia...........	6,554	11,716	7,701	6,490	5,056	764	147	22	4	2	—	38,456
Kentucky..........	9,244	13,284	9,579	5,022	1,198	53	5	—	—	—	—	38,385
Louisiana.........	4,797	6,072	4,327	2,652	1,774	728	274	36	6	4	—	20,670
Maryland...	4,825	5,331	3,327	1,822	655	72	7	—	1	—	—	16,040
Mississippi.	3,640	6,228	5,143	4,015	2,964	910	189	18	8	1	—	23,116
Missouri	5,762	6,878	4,370	1,810	345	19	—	1	—	—	—	19,185
N. Carolina.......	1,204	9,668	8,129	5,898	2,825	485	76	12	3	—	—	28,303
S. Carolina.......	3,492	6,164	6,311	4,955	3,200	990	382	69	29	2	2	25,596
Tennessee.........	7,616	10,582	8,314	4,852	2,202	276	19	2	1	—	—	33,864
Texas.............	1,935	2.640	1,585	1,121	374	82	9	1	—	—	—	7,747
Virginia.........	11,385	15,550	13,030	9,456	4,880	646	107	8	1	9	—	55,063
Total.........	68,820	105,683	80,765	54,595	29,733	6,196	1,479	187	56	18	2	347,525

When the party owns slaves in different counties or in different States, he will be entered more than once. This will disturb the calculation very little, being only the case among the larger properties, and it will account for the fact that a smaller number of such properties are reported in some of the States than are known to exist, particularly in South Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana. By the table it would seem that one-fifth of the properties are in a single slave, and nearly one-half in less than five slaves.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Gayarre's History of Louisiana. Vol. III. 1854.

The School for Politics, by Charles Gayarre. 1854.—We are indebted to the author, who is one of the most distinguished citizens of the South, and natives of Louisiana, for a copy of these interesting works. Mr. Gayarre has been always distinguished as a chaste and elegant writer, an accomplished scholar, and high-minded gentleman. He has been elevated by his native State to positions of high honor and dignity, and was at the age of thirty years elected to the Senate of the United States. Standing aloof from party intrigues, he is accustomed to act and think for himself, and dares to speak his sentiments, however they may run counter to those of the public, and, as it sometimes happens, those of his most intimate friends. His History of Louisiana is appreciated by scholars all over the Republic, and has now reached its conclusion. The volume before us is the most valuable of the series, and discusses the important matters connected with the cession of the province, and the intrigues of the West, which immediately preceded and followed that act. The "School for Politics" is a neat little volume, which, without referring to individual characters, makes up a very pretty picture of what is known as political life, and one that is not likely to be very captivating. We shall refer to the History more at length in our next issue.

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* The number includes slave-hirers, but is exclusive of those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property. The two will about balance each other, for the whole South, and leave the slave-owners as stated.

AN INTERESTING BOOK.

Na Motu; or, Reef-Rovings in the South Seas, is the title of a new work just issued from the press of PUDNEY & RUSSELL, John Street, New-York. There have been many works published recently, having for their locality the romantic regions of the South Sea. Herman Melville has gone over this fairy ground, and thrown around it a roving, dreamy interest, in his *Typee*, *Omoo*, and other works This work, with an equal degree of romantic interest to delight the novel reader, has much to instruct the general reader of history. The author gives an accurate geographical sketch of these islands, and blends information with pleasure in imparting it. With these requisites of successful authorship, Mr. Perkins brings to his task a rich fund of humor. If the reader should anticipate us in getting the book before he sees this notice, we commend him to turn to page 27, and read the humorous sketch of "*Training a Green Horn*" Indeed, the whole Chapter II., "*Having reference to Nautical Economy*," is replete with this characteristic of the writer. Mr. Perkins' style in description is graphic and picturesque. The chapter descriptive of "*The Green Hills of Hilo*" is highly illustrative of this style of descriptive writing; and the plate accompanying the chapter imparts a vivid idea of the beauty of the scenery. The book is illustrated throughout with lithographic plates, from sketches taken on the spot by the author, and the typographical execution of the work is highly creditable to the skill and good taste of the publishers. Beautifully bound in gilt, at the low price of $1.50.

The book is divided into "Parts," the IV. of which comprises a series of Appendices, which embrace a history of Polynesia, "The Island Kingdom of the North Pacific," "The French in the Pacific," and the "American Whaling Interests in the Pacific." All these topics are of the greatest interest to the American reader; and we are doing but an act of justice in recommending this work to the public.

SUBSCRIBERS to the REVIEW, whose year begins with July, will be kind enough to favor us with early remittances in cash, or orders upon merchants, payable on the sale of crops. This will save us Agents' commissions and their many annoyances. To those who will add $5 to any remittance within two or three months, a copy of the INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES, in three handsome volumes, will be sent through the mail. This is half the subscription price. If persons will not purchase the work at its actual value, we must sell on any terms, to repay the enormous sum which was expended upon it. The *Industrial Resources* have been quoted and commended in every section of the Union in the most flattering terms, and yet the Editor is forced to the expedient of selling them at less than actual cost! This is the reward that the South accords to those who labor for her! The matter in the three volumes of the *Industrial Resources* would fill ten octavo volumes of the ordinary page and type. It cannot be sold by Agents at less than $6.

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ART. I.—EDUCATION OF THE DEAF AND DUMB IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

GIBBON has very justly observed, that the degree of civilization of a nation is distinctly marked by the character of its penal laws and modes of punishment; but he might have added, that a more certain index of the degree of civilization might be found in the presence or absence of certain institutions. All nations have institutions of some kind, and these infallibly mark the character and degree of civilization.

What a striking contrast there is between the civilization of the best days of Greece and Rome, and that of the 19th century! And what are the most prominent characteristics of this civilization of ours? Are they not our educational humane institutions—our noble institutions for the maintenance and education of the deaf, dumb, the blind, the insane, and the idiotic? These infallibly denote the character of the civilization of the age. These were utterly unknown to ancient civilization. Indeed, so wide is the difference between modern and ancient civilization, in respect to the amelioration of the social and physical condition of men, that the latter hardly deserves the name. If we of the 19th century are in the highest ranks of civilization, the Greeks and Romans certainly occupied the lowest, one step lower being genuine barbarism. They certainly had not advanced far enough in civilization to have what we may call a national sentiment of humanity; for where that exists, it will always be actualized in the form of humane institutions. Nothing more distinguishes a civilized from a semi-barbarous or savage state of society, than the establishment of institutions for the amelioration of the condition of those unfortunate persons who are incapacitated for the active pursuits of life by the loss of some one or more of those faculties which are essential to a complete organization.

The ancients, it is true, had asylums; but they were very different institutions from those so called of the present day. They were not so much humane institutions, as institutions for the delay or subversion of justice. The Greek and Roman *asyla* were temples, altars, groves, and statues of the gods or of emperors, which, from custom alone, possessed the privilege of protecting slaves, debtors, and criminals who fled to them for refuge. The laws, however, did not recognize the right of all such places to the protection which was claimed; but conferred the *ασυλια*, or *jus asyli*, only upon a certain number of temples, altars, &c., such as the Theseum at Athens, which was chiefly for the protection of the ill-treated slaves, who could take refuge there, and compel their masters to sell them to some other person; the Altar of Pity—*ελέον βωμος*—supposed to have been built by Hercules; the Altar of Zeus, Αγοραῖος; the Altars of the Twelve Gods; of the Eumenides on Mars Hill; of Artemis, at Munychia. In other parts of Greece there were also *asyla*, the most celebrated of which were the Temple of Poseidon in Laconia and in Calauria, and the Temple of Athena Alea in Tegea.

Custom, however, among the ancients, seems to have been more powerful than law, for all sacred places were supposed to protect an individual to a certain extent, whatever his crime might be, even if their right to do so was not recognized by the laws of the State in which they were situated. The laws, however, while they gave no power to enter and lay hands upon the fugitive, did not forbid the application of fire and smoke, or the besieging of the fugitive, until famine drove him out. The application of fire was common, as we infer from what Hermione says to Andromache—*πῦρ σοι προσοισω*—in Euripides; andin Plautus, from the words of Theuropides to Tranius, who had fled to an altar—"*Ioni jubebo ignem et sarmenta, carnifex, circumdari.*"

In the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, these places of refuge had become so numerous in Greece and Asia Minor, as seriously to impede the administration of justice; and accordingly the Roman Senate, by a command of the Emperor, limited the *jus asyli* to only a few cities; though, according to Suetonius, he entirely abolished them. Thebes and Athens claim the honor of establishing the first asylums in Greece, and Romulus in Italy. But that of Romulus, on the side of the Capitoline Hill, was not for the protection of fugitives from Roman justice, so much as for that of foreign refugees, who thereby materially augmented the population of his infant city. Juvenal, who was fond of assailing the pedigree of the Upper Ten Thousand of his day, satirically refers all the aristocracy of Rome to this ignoble stock:

These *asyla* were long retained by Paganism, and were en-

"Et tamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas
Nomen ab infami gentem deducis asylo."

grafted even upon Christianity. The Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius decreed "that, if a slave in a province fled to the temples of the gods or to the statues of the emperors, to avoid the ill-usage of his master, the *præses* could compel the master to sell the slave; and the slave was not regarded by the law as a runaway—*fugitivus*." In the time of Justinian, the *jus asyli* was extended to Christian churches, the old law of Antoninus Pius being adapted to the times by substituting the words *ad ædem sacram*, for *ad fana deorum*. But still, Christianity had not yet made the *asylum* anything different from what it was at first. It was left for the glory of later ages to conceive and found those noble institutions for the deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and idiotic, which now are the highest ornament of humanity, and the certain evidences of the high civilization and refinement of the age. They are the noblest fruits of Christianity. Now, almost every Christian country has institutions for this unfortunate class, by which the defects of the senses are supplied by art, so that the deaf, dumb and blind are educated in all of the more useful departments of learning. Thousands of human beings who were, until the present age of the world, consigned to utter neglect, and suffered to perish in entire ignorance as the beasts, because there was not sufficient art and humanity in the world to devise relief for them, are now highly educated and made useful members of society. Though we have no reliable statistics regarding the number of the deaf, dumb and blind of former ages, yet it is probable that there were then as many of that unfortunate class as now, all of whom were consigned to hopeless neglect—to die as beings for whom there could be no relief.

That some idea may be formed of the progress of philanthropy in respect to this unfortunate class, we here present such statistics of humane institutions, both of Europe and America, as our meagre resources for such information admit. The following tabular statements we compile from various reliable sources:

Deaf and Dumb Asylums in the United States.

State.	Location.	When Established.	No. of Pupils.		Total.	Annual Expenditure.	No. of Teachers.
			M.	F.			
Alabama	Robinsons's Springs	1852	—	—	—	$5,000	—
Connecticut	Hartford	1816	116	84	200	55,632	2
Georgia	Cave Spring	—	—	—	—	8,000	2
Illinois	Jacksonville	1851	—	—	109	37,409	6
Indiana	Indianapolis	—	91	61	152	19,266	—
Kentucky	Danville	1822	—	—	70	—	—
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	—	—	—	—	—	—
Michigan	Kalamazoo	1848	—	—	—	—	—
Missouri	Fulton	1851	23	18	41	2,400	—
New-Jersey	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New-York	New-York	1818	159	119	278	47,582	15
North Carolina	Raleigh.	1848	—	—	—	—	5
Ohio	Columbus	1852	—	—	129	14,250	8
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	1820	98	65	143	40,359	9
Tennessee	Knoxville	1845	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia	Staunton	—	—	—	137	12,000	—
Wisconsin	Delavan	1851	—	—	8	300	—
Totals					1,267	287,198	—

The above are all State institutions, and are supported by appropriations of the legislatures and by the tuition fees of pupils from other States. Some of the States, as New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-Jersey, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, have a fund for the education of the deaf and dumb, but no institutions; others have provided by enactments for the establishment of institutions for the deaf and dumb, which enactments have not yet been carried into effect.

Institutions for the Insane in the States.

State.	Location.	When Established.	Number.		Total.	Annual Expenditure.
			M.	F.		
Connecicut	Hartford	1824	80	90	170	$36,349
Georgia	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	Jacksonville	1851	43	39	82	33,500
Indiana	Indianapolis	1848	215	199	414	27,000
Kentucky	Lexington	1822	—	—	—	—
"	Hopkinsville	1852	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	Jackson	—	—	—	86	7,500
Maine	Augusta	1845	—	—	157	—
Maryland	Baltimore	—	—	—	—	—
"*	"	—	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	Worcester	1833	264	268	532	44,000
"	Taunton	1846	—	—	145	—
Michigan	Flint	1848	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	Jackson	1848	—	—	—	—
Missouri	Fulton	1847	36	34	70	12,000
New-Hampshire	Concord	1840	70	73	143	12,796
New-Jersey	Trenton	1848	91	91	182	30,000
New-York	Utica	—	200	190	390	31,000
"	Blackwell's Island	—	—	—	536	—
Ohio	Columbus	1838	138	142	280	33,200
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	1836	115	100	215	54,000
Rhode Island	Providence	1844	—	—	—	4,200
South Carolina	Columbia	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	Nashville	1851	—	—	105	—
Vermont	Brattleboro'	1836	—	—	139	41,800
Virginia	Williamsburgh	—	126	86	212	29,000
"	Staunton	—	201	138	339	35,000

Institutions for the Blind in the United States.

State.	Location.	When Established.	No. of Pupils.		Total.	Amount of Expenditures.	No of Teachers.
			M.	F.			
Georgia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	Jacksonville	1853	14	11	25	$5,000	—
Indiana	Indianapolis	1848	—	—	51	8,000	—
Kentucky	Louisville	1842	—	—	50	—	—
Massachusetts	Boston	1833	—	—	—	—	—
Michigan	Kalamazoo	1848	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	Jackson	1850	—	—	—	—	—
Missouri	St. Louis	1851	—	—	14	6,000	1
New-York	New-York	1836	—	—	153	31,430	8
North Carolina	Raleigh	1848	—	—	—	—	6
Ohio	Columbus	1836	34	32	66	9,000	—
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	—	—	—	93	—	—
Tennessee	Nashville	1844	—	—	—	2,500	—
Virginia	Staunton	—	—	—	83	9,000	—
Wisconsin	Janesville	—	—	—	9	2,500	—
Totals					544	73,430	—

The States of Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, New-Jersey, Rhode Island, and Vermont, have no institutions for the blind; but all of them have a State fund for the education of the blind in other State institutions. Louisiana has an institution for the blind, in its incipiency, at Baton Rouge. It is, we believe, only partially organized. Some of the other States have institutions for the blind, provided for by laws which are not yet carried into effect. South Carolina has a private institution for the blind at Spartanburg.

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* Private institution.

In 1846, there were only *six* institutions for the instruction of the blind in the whole United States. There are now, as is shown by the preceding table, 17, including that of Baton Rouge and the Spartanburg institution of South Carolina.

Of the institutions for the blind, insane, and deaf and dumb of foreign countries we have no very reliable statistics, except of those for the deaf and dumb; for these latter there are, in

	Institutions.		Institutions.
Great Britain	16	Saxony, Hanover, and the other German States	15
France	44	German Free Cities	4
Italy	9	Belgium and Holland	8
Switzerland	10	Denmark, Norway and Sweden	4
Austria	9	Russia and Poland	2
Prussia	22		
Bavaria	10		
Wurtemberg and Baden	6	Total	159

Such is the statement, as given in the *Encyclopædia Americana* of Dr. Lieber, for the year 1846. We have no later European statistics on the subject. Some of these European institutions date earlier than the commencement of this Republic. That of Paris was founded in 1760.

According to Dr. Lieber, there were, in 1846, 53,000 deaf and dumb persons under instruction in the whole world. The number in the United States, as by the table above, at the present time, is 1,267; which would leave 51,733 deaf and dumb pupils for Europe, on the supposition that no new institutions have been founded there since 1846. The first official enumeration of the deaf and dumb ever made in England was that of 1851; but the results have not yet appeared, the returns having been destroyed by fire after they were printed. We regard it as a defect in our own census of 1850, that while a complete enumeration of all schools was required to be returned, those for the deaf, dumb, and blind, which are just as much schools as any others, were omitted altogether, or only partially returned. We are thus left comparatively in the dark in regard to one of the greatest philanthropic movements of the age.

In respect to institutions for the blind, this country is rather in advance of Europe, so far as education is concerned. The European institutions are generally asylums where totally blind *adults* may acquire and pursue some trade for a livelihood;* while in this country the education of the blind takes a wider range than that of fitting them for some trade. In our institutions, great attention is paid to mental culture, and the pupils are, many of them, even highly educated—at least as much so as other pupils of our common schools. Many of them are fitted for teaching the blind, and, of course, must be well educated themselves.

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* Dr. Francis Lieber: *Encyc. Amer.*

The capability of the blind to receive instruction was once a question; and the world are mainly indebted to the indefatigable exertions and genius of Dr. S. G. **Howe** and Mr. J. R. **Friedlander**, the founder of the Pennsylvania Institution, for having established in this country the fact of such capability. The system of instruction is now so perfected, that the blind can not only read, but acquire a knowledge of most of the sciences. Blind pupils of our American institutions put to the blush thousands of *seeing* pupils of other schools.

As to the actual number of the deaf and dumb of all countries, we shall now attempt to arrive at some conclusion, beginning with the United States. According to the census of 1850, the number of deaf and dumb in this country is as follows:

STATES.*	DEAF AND DUMB.		
	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.
Maine	265	1	—
New-Hampshire	162	—	—
Vermont	147	1	—
Massachusetts	356	2	—
Rhode Island	62	3	—
Connecticut	398	6	—
New-York	1,256	7	—
New-Jersey	184	5	—
Pennsylvania	1,130	15	—
Delaware	48	4	2
Maryland	197	38	26
District of Columbia	17	2	—
Virginia	540	13	89
North Carolina	389	7	75
South Carolina	134	2	29
Georgia	208	1	57
Florida	13	—	11
Alabama	151	1	58
Mississippi	79	1	27
Louisiana	82	3	32
Texas	49	—	10
Arkansas	80	—	4
Tennessee	334	2	41
Kentucky	507	5	51
Missouri	263	—	19
Illinois	354	2	—
Indiana	533	4	—
Ohio	905	10	—
Michigan	124	1	—
Wisconsin	69	—	—
Iowa	59	—	—
California	7	—	—
TERRITORIES.			
Minnesota	—	—	—
New-Mexico	34	—	—
Oregon	—	—	—
Utah	—	—	—
Total	9,136	136	531

The following very interesting table we take from the Report of the New-York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb for 1853:

Numbers and Proportion of Deaf Mutes in Europe and America.

Countries.	Date of Enumeration.	Deaf Mutes.			Population.	Proportion of Deaf Mutes.
		Males.	Females.	Total.		
Ireland	1851	—	—	4,151	6,553,210	1:1579
Scotland	1848	915	750	1,665	2,720,000	1:1633
France	1853	—	—	29,512	35,783,170	1:1212
Belgium	1835	963	783	1,746	3,885,507	1:2226
Limburg	1835	55	35	90	165,704	1:1841
Luxemburg	1835	37	30	67	153,801	1:2295
Holland	1833	—	—	1,250	2,500,000	1:2000
Prussia	1849	—	—	11,973	16,331,187	1:1364
Saxony	1837	665	514	1,179	1,652,114	1:1401
Bavaria	1843	—	—	2,149	4,440,327	1:2066
Hanover	1833	633	478	1,111	1,642,807	1:1479
Altenburg	1836	55	48	103	120,514	1:1170
Saxe Weimar	1834	—	—	334	238,672	1:715
Brunswick	1839	—	—	184	259,774	1:1412
Bohemia	1836	—	—	2,135	4,100,000	1:1920
Denmark	1834	337	293	630	1,225,807	1:1942
Norway	1835	598	493	1,091	1,065,825	1:977
Sweden	1840	1,061	938	1,999	3,054,726	1:1528
Switzerland, Berne	1836	1,043	912	1,955	401,707	1:206
Do., Argovie	1836	—	—	960	182,000	1:189
Do., Leman	1836	—	—	152	155,009	1:1019
Do., Vaud	1836	—	—	160	178,000	1:1112
Do., Zurich	1840	145	121	266	232,000	1:872
Sardinia	1834	2,825	1,953	4,778	3,675,327	1:769
Tuscany	1843	390	307	697	1,513,820	1:2171
Modena	1838	212	151	363	479,191	1:1320
Totals for Europe	—	—	—	70,700	92,710,190	1:1311
United States, whites	1850	5,027	4,058	9,085	19,557,271	1:2152
Do., color'd.	1850	354	278	632	3,633,803	1:5750
Lower Canada	1831	—	—	408	511,917	1:1255
General Total	—	—	—	80,825	116,413,181	1:1441

It will be seen that Baden is not included in the table, the returns from that country being contradictory. Dr. Schmalz, however, of Dresden, estimates the proportion at 1 in 1,000. The proportion of deaf mutes in Ireland, as given in the table, is less than the average of Europe, which is thought not to be compatible with the general poverty and wretchedness of that country. It appears that the number, 4,151, given in the table, was not that originally returned by the census of 1851, which made the number of deaf mutes in Ireland 4,814, or 1 in every 1,361 souls; which is about the proportion of Prussia. It appears that the number 4,151 was substituted for 4,814, at the suggestion of Dr. Wilde, who detected some errors in the census, by a sifting process which neglected to ascertain whether some deaf mutes had not been *omitted* in the original returns, taking it for granted that the number returned was too great, without demonstrating the impossibility of its being too small. The only safe mode of going behind a census return is to take the census over again. "It seems very probable," says Mr. Peet, of the New-York Deaf and Dumb Institution, in his report to the Legislature, "that deaf-dumbness is not less prevalent in Ireland than in Europe generally."

From the preceding table, showing the number and proportion of deaf mutes in Europe and America, it appears that the proportion of deaf mutes in the United States is greatly less than in Europe, and that our colored population have a still less proportion of deaf mutes than the whites. After making the most liberal allowances for all errors in the data of the calculation, it appears that there are in the United States less than 600 deaf mutes in a million, while in Europe there are nearly 800.

In respect to the proportion of the males to the females among the deaf and dumb, all enumerations, both European and American, agree in making the male sex largely in the majority. The following statement shows the proportion of male and female deaf mutes to the whole population in Europe and America:

	Males.	Females.
Europe	1:1100	1:1500
America	1:1910	1:2265

This exhibits a remarkable result, since in Europe and America the female population outnumbers the male. The same disproportion of sexes is also found among the blind, the idiotic, and the still-born, and also among those who die in infancy and childhood; whence we deduce the following law: *That the male sex everywhere is more liable to premature disease and death, and to the non-development or loss of the faculties, than the female.*

In respect to the still-born, though it must be admitted that our statistics on this subject are not sufficiently general, the number of still-born throughout the United States, for several successive censuses, should be known before we can be quite positive in regard to the above law. The number for 1850 could easily be gathered from the returns. In New-York city, in 1850, the male still-born were to the female as 100:70. We are not prepared to say with some, that the above difference between males and females is inherent in the constitution of the sexes, but prefer to ascribe it to a difference in physical training and habits. Female children are in general better clothed than male; the former are kept in the house, while the latter are allowed to run in the streets. Boys contract certain habits injurious to health, which girls do not; boys are more exposed to the weather in winter than girls. Girls in general outlive boys, for the same reason that women in general outlive men.

In the Union generally, the deaf and dumb males and females are to one another as 5:4; and among the blind, the males are to the females as 4:3. This is very properly ascribed, we think, to the greater liability of males to diseases and accidents.

It will be observed, on inspecting the tabular view which we have given of the Deaf and Dumb Asylums in the United States, that the male pupils in general greatly exceed in number the female; which ought to be the case, as the former outnumber the latter. Some allowance, however, must be made for the fact, that parents generally consider it more important to educate their male deaf mutes than the female.

All deaf mutes may be divided into two classes—*congenital* and *accidental.* In the European returns this distinction is carefully observed; and it is to be regretted that such is not the case in our own census. All that is known of this branch of our subject in this country, is derived from the statistics of our schools. From these the origin of deafness has been able to be assigned in more than three thousand cases; and the result, so far, is, that *congenital* deafness is more common than *accidental* or acquired—the former being to the latter as 1812 : 1569. The following table embodies all that is known on the subject, as regards this country:

Pupils of American Schools.

Institutions.	Born Deaf.			Become Deaf.			Unknown Cases.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hartford, to May, 1851	286	251	537	275	188	463	37	23	60
New-York. to January, 1854*	240	252	492	254	177	431	130	95	225
Ohio, to December, 1853	121	88	209	151	116	267	51	33	84
Kentucky, 1849 to 1851	31	13	44	17	15	32	7	2	9
Indiana, 1849 to 1851	65	39	104	50	32	82	8	1	9
Illinois, January, 1851	26	18	44	19	24	43	4	4	8
Tennessee, 1849	12	7	19	8	—	8	2	2	4
Sum	781	688	1,449	774	552	1,326	239	160	399
Deduct for repetitions, (members of more than one school),	10	3	13	4	4	8	1	—	1
Remains	771	665	1,436	770	548	1,818	238	160	398
Philadelphia, to January, 1840.	—	—	220	—	—	135	—	—	73
Philadelphia, January, 1842, to January, 1853	—	—	156	—	—	116	—	—	3
General Totals	—	—	1,812	—	—	1,569	—	—	474

From this table it appears the number of males in each category is nearly the same, while the females born deaf are to those of accidental deafness as 5 : 4. Of those born deaf, the males are to the females as 7 : 6. In the cases of accidental deafness, the males are to the females as 3 : 2.

In Europe, so far as researches on this subject have been made, the proportion of cases of accidental deafness, except in the German schools, is much smaller than in this country, as will be seen by the following table, compiled from the reports of European deaf and dumb institutions:

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* Excluding idiots, 16 males and 1 female, most of whom were not deaf. It is to be observed, that of the 225 unknown, 25 were classed by Dr. Akerly as accidentally deaf, but the particulars have been lost.

Country or Institution.	Congenital.	Accidental.
Ireland, (1851,)	3,484	503
Belgium, (1835,)	1,484	407
Modena, Duchy of, (1838,)	267	86
Tuscany, (1843),	432	265
Groningen, Holland, Inst., (to 1845,)	409	185
Paris, Inst., (1829 to 1836,)	171	67
Nancy, France, Inst., (1828 to 1850,)	233	67
Copenhagen, Inst., (before 1836,)	54	34
Yorkshire, Eng., Inst., (to 1835,)	75	26
St. Petersburgh, Inst., (1836,	49	12
Saxe-Altenburg, Duchy	82	21
Sum of European returns, except the German Schools	6,740	1,673
Institution of Hamburg, (to 1847,)	31	26
“ Leipsic, (to 1838,)	54	69
“ Dresden, (to 1838,)	27	11
“ Munich, (1804 to 1835,)	79	57
“ Pforzheim, (1833,)	19	43
“ Prague, (1836,)	77	88
“ Cologne, (to 1850,)	33	52
Sum of the German Schools	320	345

This table discloses the remarkable fact, that, while in Europe generally, including even Saxe-Altenburg, in the heart of Germany, the congenitally deaf mutes are full four times as numerous as the accidentally deaf mutes; on the contrary, seven of the principal German schools return 320 cases of congenital deafness to 345 accidental—a proportion of 13 : 14. This result is ascribed to the German articulation system of instruction, which excludes, as incapable of instruction, many congenitally deaf mutes.

The contrast which the deaf and dumb statistics of the United States and Europe present is very striking, says Mr. Peet, (in his late Report on the Deaf and Dumb to the Legislature of New-York :)

"With respect to the relative prevalence of accidental and congenital deafness. In Ireland, the proportion of congenital deaf mutes is about 1 in 1,700 of the population, while only 1 in 12,000 has become deaf after birth. In Belgium, the proportion of the former class of deaf mutes is 1 in 2,824; of the latter, only 1 in 10,500. And it may be stated generally, that if the average of Europe without Germany, as our tables show, be 1 deaf mute in about 1,300 souls, or 769 in a million, and of these only one-fifth became deaf after birth, then the general proportion will be one child born deaf in 1,626, or 615 in a million, and one child become deaf after birth in 6,500, or 154 in a million. In our own country, on the other-hand, the general proportion of congenital to accidental cases is only as five to four; which, taking as an approximate proportion of deaf mutes, 1 in 2,000, or 500 in a million, will give of children born deaf, 1 in every 3,600 nearly, or 278 in a million; and of children who become deaf by sickness or accident, 1 in every 4,500 nearly, or 222 in a million. In Europe generally, the chances of the birth of a deaf-mute child are more than twice as great as in the United States, or 615 in a million against 278 in a million; but the chances of the loss of hearing after birth are in Europe generally much less than in the United States—to wit, 154 in a million there, and 222 in a million here; while in Ireland this proportion is only about 80 in a million. The difference is too great and too uniform to be explained by the inaccuracy of our census; and indeed a larger allowance for that inaccuracy would only increase the contrast on the side of accidental deafness, while it would not very materially diminish it on the side of congenital deafness."

To what this difference between Europe and America, in respect to the prevalence of accidental and congenital deafness, is to be ascribed, is a difficult problem to solve. Whatever the cause may be, the fact seems indisputable, that in this country not half as many children are born deaf, in a given population, as in Europe.

Some physiologists have endeavored to discover a cause for it in the mingling of the races in America, thus creating a physical constitution less liable to defects of the senses; others have suggested the peculiar temperament of the Americans, and their improved physical condition, from being less exposed to want and a rigorous climate. To solve the problem, requires a body of medical statistics such as America at present cannot produce. Even what we have are yet unpublished; but we will venture the opinion, that the last two causes assigned above are the true ones, and more particularly the last. If we had complete statistics on the subject from tropical countries, we would probably find *that both congenital and accidental deafness decreased as we approached the equator.* The ear is the most delicate organ of the body, and the most liable to injury from climatic influences. We might cite many medical authorities, and many statistical tables, in proof of the correctness of this opinion; but the subject is one which belongs rather to medicine, and to pursue it farther here would be merging our paper in a medical discussion.

That congenital deafness is one of the frequent consequences of *intermarriage of blood relations,* of cousins with cousins, is a pretty well-established fact, and should be a warning to all. Nothing is better established in human physiology than the fact of the deterioration of offspring from such intermarriages. Congenital deafness appears from four to five times as often from marriages between cousins as from marriages between persons not related.

The effect of marriages where both parties are deaf mutes has also been carefully observed, and the result appears to be, that the loss of hearing is not necessarily transmitted; that "it is much the most common for the children of deaf-mute parents to possess the faculties of which their parents were deprived." Of more than 190 of the pupils of the New-York Institution for the Blind who have been married, only two couples have deaf-mute children. Of 150 families of deaf-mute parents, pupils of the

American Asylum, only five are known to contain deaf-mute children. The same results have been observed in other American deaf-mute asylums.

The Prussian government does not permit the marriage of two deaf mutes; so that there is no opportunity there of deciding the question of hereditary deafness.

So far as present statistics, both of Europe and America, decide, it appears "that not one in a thousand of the deaf and dumb inherit their misfortune from a parent or known ancestor." It is also a statistical fact, "that the marriage of two deaf mutes is more liable to produce deaf-mute children than the marriage of a deaf mute with a hearing person, probably in the proportion of six or seven to one; still the chance is small, except in a few remarkable families where deaf-mutism seems developed in several branches as a family trait."* The same authority states generally, "that there are congenitally deaf children in about one family in every 135, where one parent is a deaf mute; and in one in 400 or 500, where neither is so afflicted. * * * * The occurrence of deafness in families is governed by no fixed law, and we can only predict its occurrence in a given family, as nearly as we could foretell *that there would more likely be a snow-storm at a given hour in January than at a given hour in April.*"

From our deaf-mute statistics it appears that in this country a large majority of the congenitally deaf have deaf-mute brothers or sisters; and of the *families* containing deaf mutes from all causes, one in six contain more than one each. Of the families containing deaf mutes from birth, making allowance for the unknown cases, probably one-third contain more than one deaf mute each.

From a large mass of data it also appears that "in Europe, except Belgium, the proportion of deaf mutes having deaf-mute brothers and sisters is only from about one-fourth to one-sixth; while in New-England, New-York and Ohio, this proportion, including in both cases members of the same families who had not been pupils, exceed one-third; and if only the congenitally deaf be taken into account, we find in this country much more than one-half of such family cases, and nowhere in Europe, so far as the documents show, except at Prague, more than about 40 per cent. It is certainly a very remarkable fact, that while we have, on the whole, a much smaller proportion of congenital deaf mutes to the population than is observed in any country of Europe, we should have a larger proportion than any European country of cases in which more than one deaf mute is found in a family. It may be explained, in part, by supposing there are more children in American families, hence more chances of having more than one deaf-mute child; but this will certainly not account for there being a larger proportion of such cases in New-England than in New-York."

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* Mr. Peet: Report to the New-York Legislature, 1854.

As it is a matter of some interest to know what proportion of families the aggregate misfortune of having three, four, or more deaf-mute children, we annex the following table, showing the numbers of such cases in different countries and institutions.

NUMBER OF FAMILIES CONTAINING DEAF MUTES.

INSTITUTIONS OR COUNTRIES.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
New-York,	92	38	12	1	2	1	—	—	—
Hartford,	103	42	13	7	2	2	—	—	—
Ohio,	42	28	3	2	2	—	—	—	—
Philadelphia, (to 1836,)	19	7	4	2	1	—	—	—	—
Danville, Ky., (to 1836,)	12	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
Ireland,	287	127	33	8	3	1	1	—	—
Belgium,	147	54	14	4	—	1	—	—	—
Groningen,	42	12	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Prague,	14	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brunswick,	8	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paris,	16	12	5	—	1	1	1	—	—
Leipsic,	13	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Copenhagen,	29	9	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cardiganshire, Wales,	4	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Yorkshire Institution, (1837,)	17	7	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Zurich, (1828,)	19	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals,	864	355	99	29	12	6	2	—	—
London, (select cases,)	—	8	12	8	1	2	1	—	—
Germany, do.	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Case mentioned by Dr. Akerly in the United States,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Hereditary case in Kentucky,	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—

From this it will be seen that two and three deaf mutes is the most common in families where there are more than one; and that Ireland is the most afflicted country of all.

Modern deaf-mute statistics have established the fact, so constantly denied, by even the greatest of the ancient philosophers, that the deaf and dumb are naturally equal to other persons in their intellectual faculties and manifestations, and that these faculties may be developed by means of artificial language, or by natural and descriptive signs, accompanied by writing.

It is not a little strange, that the ancients, and particularly the Romans, who so much excelled the moderns in pantomime, should, nevertheless, have generally believed that the deaf and dumb were totally incapable of instruction. We are told that "a king from the borders of the Euxine, seeing a pantomime performer at Rome, begged him of Nero, to be used as an interpreter with the nations in his neighborhood at home."* From the great perfection of the pantomimic art among the Romans, it seems almost incredible that it did not suggest to them its application to the instruction of the deaf and dumb. Some of the ancient deaf mutes, in spite of the lines of Lucretius, expressing undoubtedly the popular belief, that

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* American Review, vol. 3, p. 505.

> "To instruct the deaf no art could ever reach,
> No care improve them, and no wisdom teach,"

must have profited largely from witnessing the pantomimes in the Roman theatres. Pliny mentions the deaf mute "Quintus Pedius, grandson to that Consul, Quintus Pedius, who was named in Cæsar's will co-heir with Augustus,"* as having made great proficiency in the art of painting; which shows that the Romans might have devised means of instruction for that unfortunate class, if Roman civilization had been sufficiently humane.

Aristotle and Pliny, indeed, taught that dumbness is a consequence of deafness; but, nevertheless, most of the ancient philosophers believed that dumbness was not a consequence of deafness, but a defect of the lingual and auditory nerves. Pliny believed deafness and dumbness curable, and proposes remedies.† The German schools for the deaf and dumb, as is well known, teach all of their deaf mutes to articulate, and they are the only schools that do.

The northern nations of Europe seem to have been more severe and unfeeling towards the deaf and dumb than the Romans. They not only supposed them naturally deficient in intellect, but that they were a semi-demoniacal race of beings. The earlier codes of almost every nation in Europe imposed upon them severe civil disabilities, depriving them of the rights of inheritance, and requiring a dispensation from the Pope to allow them to marry. The laws of some ancient nations required that children, as soon as discovered to be deaf and dumb, be put to death.

St. Augustine, of the 4th century, believed that deaf mutes were incapable of religious belief; for in commenting upon the passage in the New Testament, (Romans x., ch. 17,) "Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," he remarks that deafness from birth makes faith impossible, since he who is born deaf, can neither hear the word nor learn to read it. His words are: "*Quod vitium, ipsum impedit fidem; nam surdus natu litteras quibus lectis fidem concipiat, discere non potest.*"

This opinion of St. Augustine, and of others of the Christian Fathers, was generally entertained by theologians down to the middle of the last century; but still there were a few pious priests who entertained the contrary opinion, and actually prepared young deaf mutes for the first communion, and instructed them in all the doctrines of the Church by the language of signs.

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* Hist. Nat., Lib. xxv., chap. 4.

† See Celsus.

The first mention we meet with of the capacity of deaf mutes to receive instruction since the time of Augustus—when, as Pliny informs us, the orator Messole and the Emperor himself thought that Quintus Pedius could be taught painting—is in the writings of Rodolphus Agricola, of Groningen, in the 15th century. In his posthumous work, *De Inventione Dialecticæ*, he states that he had seen a deaf mute, from infancy, who could read and write. He does not state the origin of the art of instructing the deaf and dumb, but it was understood long before his time. Dactylology, or the art of spelling out words with the fingers, was well known hundreds of years before men ever thought of instructing the deaf and dumb. The Greeks practised it from a very early period, and our present manual alphabet is derived from them. Pliny mentions, in his 34th book, an ancient statue of Janus, the hands of which were sculptured in the positions representing the numbers, three hundred fifty and five, which was the number of days in Numa's lunar year. Dactylology, indeed, was known to, and practised by, the Hebrews; for we read in Proverbs, chap. vi., verse 13: "He winketh with his eyes, *he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his fingers.*" It is certain that the Greeks and Romans had modes of spelling words on their fingers, some of which have been handed down to us by Bede, who gives three distinct manual alphabets. The Romans used not only their hands and fingers, but all parts of the body. They denoted each letter of the Roman alphabet by touching some part of the body the name of which began with that letter. Thus, A would be expressed by touching the ear, *aurem.* To spell out the word *Utica*, for instance, they would touch successively *umbilicus, tibia, inguen, caput*, and *aurem.*

This mode of spelling words on the body must have been a most comical literary exercise, worthy of a place in our modern systems of gymnastics. It was making use of a true *alphabet gymnastique.*

Not long after the death of Agricola, the learned Jerome Cardon, of the University of Pavia, promulgated the principles of the art of instructing the deaf and dumb; and the first teacher of deaf mutes is said to have been Pedro de Ponce, a monk of the order of St. Benedict. He died in 1584. John Paul Bonet, also a Spaniard, published a work on the subject about forty years after the death of Ponce. It was entitled, *Reduccion de las Lettres, y Arte para enseñar, á hablar los Mudos.* It was from this work that De l'Epée, some years afterwards, derived all he knew of the art.

In England, John Bulwar was the first to introduce the art.

After him came Wallis, who taught the deaf mutes to articulate. In 1680, George Dolgarno published a treatise on the subject, of considerable merit, entitled *Didascalocophus.* About the commencement of the 18th century, the art began to attract the attention of the learned of Germany, Kerger commencing the work of instruction at Liegnitz, in Silesia. He used drawing, writing, pantomime and articulation. France commenced later than the other nations of Europe; indeed, it long opposed the progress of the art, such was the strength of prejudice.

It would be tedious to pursue this branch of our subject farther; besides, our space is limited. The following table shows the number of institutions for the deaf and dumb in Europe, in 1840.

Countries.	No. of Deaf and Dumb.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Pupils.	No. received Annually.
Portugal	2,407	1	20	—
Spain,	7,255	1	30	—
France,	20,189	28	798	159
Italy	12,618	5	147	29
Switzerland	3,976	5	80	16
Austria	16,684	6	197	39
Prussia	8,223	18	314	62
Other German States	8,283	28	410	81
Hanover	946	1	10	2
Holland and Belgium	2,164	5	249	50
Denmark	1,260	2	190	38
Sweden and Norway	2,397	1	40	8
Russia	27,834	2	111	22
United Kingdom	14,328	12	745	149
Totals	128,566	115	3,341	655

The above table is taken from the *Cyclopædia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.*

From all that we have thus far stated, it appears that we are indebted to Spain for the art of teaching the deaf and dumb to speak; but, like almost every other good thing that has sprung up in that unfortunate country, it soon fell into disuse there, while other countries availed themselves of it, and improved it. Spain now, with its 7,000 deaf mutes, has only one school for them. Spain and Spanish America, as Mr. H. P. Peet justly observes, are, of all Christian countries, those in which the least has been done for the deaf and dumb. The single existing Spanish institution, at Madrid, has had a long and doubtful struggle with indifference and neglect, and is probably the poorest school in Europe.

We would gladly extend this paper farther, but space will not permit us. For many of the statistical facts contained in it, we must acknowledge our indebtedness to the Annual Reports of Mr. Harvey P. Peet, President of the New-York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. It is greatly to be regretted that the statistics of deaf-mute education in this country are not more complete; and it is to be hoped that the marshals who take the next census will be required to be more specific in their enumerations regarding this subject.

Art. II.—THE COTTON-WORM—ITS CHARACTER, HABITS, ETC.

[THE following paper was prepared for the REVIEW by a Southern planter, who has given great attention to the subject he discusses, and has presented some views which may have interest and instruction throughout the cotton region. In any case, the Editor trusts that it will pave the way for other papers upon the same subject, to which the pages of the REVIEW are ever open.—ED.]

I have for several years past been paying some attention to the various insects which prey upon our cotton-plant, and have made some experiments upon them. I will here give you what I know on the subject of the cotton boll-worm.

This worm is sometimes called the boll-worm, the pierce-worm, and the fleer-worm; but they are only different names for the same worm. It is called the fleer-worm, because, when it attacks a square or small boll, the calyx or flower-cup turns yellow or fades and "fleers" open before it drops, without the opening of the carolla or bloom; hence it produces a mock or false opening of the bloom: the pierce-worm, because it was supposed it pierced into the bloom buds and small bolls instead of eating its way into them; and the boll-worm, because, when it gets of sufficient size, it preys principally upon the cotton bolls.

I have gathered the cotton bolls in the field with the worm in them, and have put them in glass jars and furnished them with fresh bolls as often as was necessary, until they became grown. The change it undergoes in completing a circle or generation is from the worm to the chrysalis; from the chrysalis to the fly or moth; the fly deposits the eggs; and lastly, from the egg hatches the larva or young worm; thus, the circle constituting a generation becomes completed. From my numerous experiments and frequent examinations of this insect, I had the satisfaction of seeing the worm actually metamorphose itself into the chrysalis state, have seen the moth deposit the egg, and have seen the eggs, when in a state of hatching out, and have assisted the larva or young worm in extricating itself from the egg envelope. Thus I have seen the circle completed with my naked eyes, with the exception of the pupa, moth or fly leaving the chrysalis; and am disposed to believe, that this change of bursting the chrysalis and the escape of the fly is quickly done and mostly at night, though I do not believe essentially or exclusively at night.

I gathered the worms of all sizes and ages as I found them in the cotton-field, and placed them in glass jars on my mantel-piece, with the bolls I found them in, and had the opportunity of examining and watching them just as often and as much as I thought was necessary, without any trouble or inconvenience whatever, and at leisure moments, without any loss of time from other occupations; and in my frequent examinations I had the opportunity and satisfaction of seeing all the changes with the single one exception—and this worm may be raised as easily in the house, from generation to generation, as the silk-worm, with the same care and attention.

In gathering the worm for experiment, it should be suffered to remain in the boll in which it is found as long as it is disposed, or as long as the boll furnishes a sufficiency of suitable nutrition for it. This, however, is not very material, as it will take hold of a fresh boll and eat its way into it very readily, when placed within the calyx or leaf of the boll and left unmolested. I have taken it out of the cotton bolls in the field and brought it home in a little box, and on getting home, have put it in contact with a fresh boll, and found it exhibited no hesitation in taking hold of the boll and eating its way into it quickly. In supplying it with a fresh boll, the age of the boll should correspond with the age and size of the caterpillar-worm; at least, the boll should be so tender as to be easily eaten into.

When it gets to be about fifteen or twenty days old, it is metamorphosed into the chrysalis state. As to the precise time it requires to get its growth I cannot be certain, as those I experimented on were of different ages and sizes when gathered, and I did not trouble myself to raise any from the egg, which may be readily done with a little pains and caution, in not more than twelve or fifteen, or at most twenty days, under favorable circumstances. When the worm obtains its full growth it stops feeding, becomes torpid and inactive; contracts itself, and in a few days is metamorphosed into the chrysalis, without any previous webbing. This process commences by the separation of the skin, or a slit on the back, a little below the head or neck, and by an alternate convulsive motion and rest. In about five or six minutes, or less, it works itself out, by gradually working the old skin down to, and off at its lower or smaller end. When this change takes place the chrysalis is white, but it soon assumes a lively brown color, I suppose produced by the contact of the atmosphere. I am inclined to believe that this is the only shedding of skin it undergoes during its whole worm state; at least, it is the only one I discovered in all my experiments. In this state it takes no food and has nothing peculiar about it over that of the chrysalis, of any other worm of its size, other than that it is of a livelier and a brighter brown than the army-worm.

The boll is unlike the army-worm or caterpillar in several respects. The army is a day worm, the boll is more of a night worm. The former feeds and seeks its food in day as well as night, and will migrate from place to place, from stock to stock, from limb to limb, from leaf to leaf, and even from field to field, by day, in pursuit of its food. It consumes nearly the whole of its time feeding, and feeds exclusively on the cotton leaf, except, when the cotton leaves become exhausted, and to avoid starvation, it is compelled to eat the young tender cotton bolls, the whole boll, the burr with its contents, and even the bark and the tender twigs of the cotton stocks. The boll-worm seeks its food by night only, and is truly a "cut-worm," as its habits prove. It retires to the ground to conceal itself during the day, unless it can remain concealed and be excluded completely from the light and heat of the sun, where its food is, being deeply burrowed, perhaps, into a cotton-boll, or into the tip end of the ear of green corn. When thus situated, it will feed as well by day as by night. Its food is bloom buds, the contents of cotton-bolls, or the tender ends of twigs of the cotton-plant or of other plants before they become woody, whenever it cannot obtain the cotton-boll, but never leaves of any description. It dislikes the light or heat of the sun, and never stirs from its concealed place of a bright sunny day, or even of a cloudy day, unless it is disturbed in its concealment.

The boll-worm is a large, rather short, fat, and a bright worm, when full grown, with white and red or yellow stripes. The army-worm is a long, slim worm, with white and black stripes. The general complexion of both vary somewhat among their own kind, probably owing to the color of the food they may have been feeding on. Some among the army-worm are blackish, and others green; some boll-worms are deeper red or yellow than others. The number of stripes does not vary in either; the variation is only in the different grades of color. The boll-worm coils and falls about inactive when handled; the army-worm, on the other hand, never coils, but lies stretched full length, and writhes and bounds. This is only a general description given from memory, as I have no sample before me. Their excrement, also, differs widely from each other. That of the boll-worm is soft, moist, consistent and light-colored; at first, somewhat of the color of its food, but the atmosphere soon changes it to a brown: that of the army-worm is back or dark green, dry, hard lumps, or "sybala," resembling rather coarse gunpowder grains, viewed at a short distance.

The army-worm will web or form a kind of house or cocoon, and suspend itself above ground to twigs, leaves, grass, weeds, &c., for its metamorphosis into the chrysalis state; but I have never known the boll-worm to spin an inch of web during all my experiments with it. It may possibly let itself down to the ground, or from twig to twig, by a web, as some worms do which do not web before their metamorphosis; but I have never seen the boll-worm even do this. The boll-worm returns to the ground to metamorphose itself into the chrysalis state. Were this not the case, we might find their chrysalis in the cotton-bolls, or elsewhere, above ground, which I have never succeeded in doing.

It continues in the chrysalis some eight or ten days, all things being favorable to the continuation of its metamorphosis, or the continuation of the circle of its generation. If the worm is fed well in its proper season, and attains to a full size before changing to the chrysalis, the fly or moth bursts the chrysalis, and comes out of full size; but if the worm has been starved or badly fed, or compelled, by the lateness of the season, to hasten its change before it gets its full growth, the fly comes out feeble and diminutive; as I have noticed in my observations, that the cool nights or early frost in the fall season would urge the boll-worm to change its form before it seemed to be fully grown, as well as to force the army-worm to web up before it had its full growth.

The general description of the boll-worm fly is—color, light cream; body, thick, coarse, rough, with a thick down; neck and head, short and bowed, with large eyes. The army-worm fly is a neater fly; color, rich, ferruginous and variegated; body, smaller than the boll-worm fly; more active on its wings; eyes smaller; head more projecting from the body. Each have four incumbent wings.

In a few days after the fly comes out, it commences depositing its eggs. I have seen it stated in some publications, that it is supposed that each of these flies lays or deposits hundreds and thousands of eggs. This is a mistake. None of those I had confined deposited more than twelve or fifteen eggs; and under the most favorable circumstances, I doubt very much whether any would deposit exceeding thirty eggs. I will also state here, that the flies I had confined were not fed, and I believe that they should have been, for them to have done as well as if at liberty. This possibly could have been done easily, by suspending a fresh cotton leaf, moistened by the morning dew, into the jar containing them, every day, or oftener, if necessary. I believe they require nourishment, and they obtain that nourishment by suction, not as the large, gaudy spring and summer butterflies do, mostly from flowers, but from the moisture and effluvia that emanate from the leaves and plants of succulent vegetations. I have never seen a boll-fly or an army-fly sucking at a bloom of any description whatever. Yet this supposition may be an error, as they are a night-swarming fly, and may feed only at night, and may obtain their food only from blooms at that time; but, to judge from their shape and appearance, I do not think that they obtain any nourishment from blooms. When at large or at liberty, where it may select suitable food, it certainly would live a few days longer, and would deposit some more eggs. But if each fly deposited as many eggs as some have supposed, taking into consideration that they complete about three generations during the season, it is reasonable to suppose they would become so numerous in a favorable time, that not a boll of cotton would escape their ravages throughout the whole cotton region, and they would prove a far worse plague than any that infested Egypt.

At the commencement of my experiments, I had the flies in jars singly, and discovered that they deposited no eggs. Supposing them of different sexes, and that they required association to deposit eggs, I put several together in the same jar, and then they soon commenced depositing abundantly. The male is a smaller fly than the female, and can be readily distinguished from it among those which have been well matured.

This fly seems to differ in this respect, that of depositing eggs, from the army or caterpillar-fly. I have tried a variety of ways to obtain the egg from the army or caterpillar-fly, but have completely failed. I have had a great many confined in jars at the same time, and at different times, from when they left the chrysalis until they died. I have tried them single, and have had several together in the same jar, without obtaining eggs. Neither am I satisfied that they give birth to a living progeny. On the completion of every circle or generation, the boll-worm comes out the same; the army-worm may not, but may require several small circles, as it were, to complete one great circle or generation. It is certain, when they make their appearance, or when they are prevalent, they have two circles or generations of the same kind for that season.

The boll-worm hibernates here about the cotton-fields in which it is raised, and that in the ground in the chrysalis state. One chrysalis remained in the jar on my mantel-piece during the whole winter, and the pupa did not leave the chrysalis until the last of the following May, demonstrating conclusively that it hibernates as chrysalis; and if the chrysalis was subjected to a continued frosty temperature, it is possible it might be kept perfectly sound for several years in that state. As to hibernating in the ground, there is no doubt, and it may be easily demonstrated by gathering a great many chrysalis from the ground during the winter, and preserving them until the fly comes out. I have obtained the chrysalis thus in the month of March, and obtained a similar fly or moth to those I obtained from the worm. It is reasonable to suppose that all insects which do not web before changing into the chrysalis, hibernate in the ground; and all those that web, or form something like a house or cocoon for its metamorphosis, as the army-worm or silk-worm, hibernate as egg or as chrysalis, by suspending themselves to twigs, grass, weeds, or in crevices, &c. The boll-worm, of course, goes into the ground while a worm, and there changes into the chrysalis. The boll-worm may possibly, as moth or fly, hibernate above ground, where it may keep dry in crevices, cracks of old trees, old houses, &c. I am under the impression that I have caught flies or moths after the frost of winter had commenced; and if resemblance is any proof of identity, they were identically the same kind of fly. They, like bats, of a warm winter's evening, become animated, leave their holes or hibernating places, and fly about. The supposition of their hibernating as fly or moth is a mere hypothesis, without evidence based on any positive facts. Whether they hibernate as egg or not, I have no evidence. The silk-worm hibernates as egg; but there is no complete analogy. The silk-worm webs or forms a cocoon; the boll-worm does not. The silk-worm feeds on leaves; the boll-worm never does. There is no doubt that the principal mode of hibernating, if not the exclusive one, is as chrysalis.

The boll-worm is annual; the army-worm is biennial or irregular. We have the boll-worm more or less every year; and the only reason they are not equally numerous every year is only because all seasons are not equally favorable to their production. In whatever state they may be in when the season closes, or the frost of fall sets in, in that state they must either hibernate or perish, whether it be as chrysalis, as moth, or egg. Generally, there is a hasty preparation with the immature to hibernate as chrysalis, and there is not much disposition in the pupa to leave the chrysalis after the cool nights commence in the fall: thus nearly all, if not all, become prepared to hibernate as chrysalis. When its hibernation commences, its preservation, from the month of October or November until about the following June, is dependent more on the mercy of chance than on any particular ability within itself for its preservation. Notwithstanding their dependence on mere chance for their preservation, while enduring the severities of the winter, and risking all the various accidental causes that may tend to destroy them for seven or eight months of the year while in this dormant state, there will some escape destruction, and make their appearance about the first of June as fly or moth; and in a few days afterwards, they commence depositing their eggs rather promiscuously, though not wholly destitute of an instinct. We admit that all animals have some peculiar instinct; and it is supposed by some that this moth deposits its eggs mostly, or only, on the buds of the cotton limbs; and it has been recommended to clip all the tip ends of the limbs, and destroy them, and thus destroy the eggs, as a remedy against the ravages of the insect; but I have not thought, from my observations, that they exhibited so much instinct as to make this remedy a judicious one: and if they did, the remedy might prove more injurious than the evil. I have seen those I had confined deposit eggs in the day; but it is possible, when at liberty, they may deposit their eggs mostly at night, and may then exhibit a good deal of instinct in the operation. They lay up generally in the day, and stir at night, or mostly between sunset and dark. About the first of June, the first crop of eggs is deposited, or, rather, the first crop of flies deposit their eggs; and in due time, after a certain age, about seven or eight days, they are hatched out by the influence of the atmosphere alone; and if the summer should be unfavorable to their production, they continue to be rare the whole summer, and the damage to the cotton crop is but slight.

When we have a dry summer, the dews of night are light, the atmosphere dry, the sun hot, and the vegetation generally full of dust, as well as the atmosphere. Now, when the egg hatches at such a time, the dust tends to absorb the little moisture that is around the little larva, and the heat of the sun dries it up: thus it becomes destroyed before it acquires strength enough to protect itself. I am of the opinion that the most of them perish immediately on hatching out, or in the egg, and that is the reason they are not numerous. Some will escape destruction, and grow up to maturity, even during the most unfavorable seasons; but it is because some will, either from accident or from instinct, be dropped in favorable places.

But should the summer be attended with frequent showers during the day, with heavy dews at night, and a continuous damp atmosphere, with comparatively little sunshine in the day, and the cotton-plant, as well as the atmosphere, be washed clean of dust by the frequent showers, the larva, on hatching out, and meeting this favorable condition of things, instead of perishing, grows rapidly. As this state of the atmosphere is both favorable to the hatching of the egg as well as the growth of the larva, a few flies, in the beginning of summer, may soon stock a cotton-field with a numerous supply of the worm, from the quick succession of its generation.

Knowing that they hibernate here, and supposing that many must perish by freezing in a cold winter, I concluded it reasonable that they would not be so numerous the season succeeding. The winter of 1851-2 was very cold, freezing nearly all the time, with very little rain; and the summer of 1852 was very wet, and the boll-worm was as numerous and as destructive to the cotton crop in our section as ever. It is dependent on the condition of the summer season alone whether they will be numerous or not; and probably a warm winter may be more favorable to their destruction than a cold one, as it is supposed that insects hibernating in the ground devour each other during their hibernation, and a warm winter may admit of more free action amongst them in this respect.

It is possible they live and grow, when first hatched out, on the same principle that a green twig will vegetate for a while, when cut and stuck in the moist earth or water; or on the principle that seems to be common with the young of all animals, that of growing and acquiring strength for a while from a kind of nutrition that is appropriated from within itself, before taking any nutrition from without. So it may be with the young of this fly; and though the moisture may serve actually as a nutrition, by the absorption or the suction of it, it is certain that it serves essentially as a protection against circumstances that would prove incompatible with its continued existence and growth, such as the hot sun, dry atmosphere, dust. &c.

As soon as it acquires strength to migrate, it commences feeding on the first bud, it matters not whether it is a cotton square or a limb bud; but as soon as it gets sufficiently strong to be able to pursue and select its own food, it selects nothing but the squares or bloom buds if it is among cotton-plants; and as it grows larger and stronger it attacks the bolls, and advances in this way, feeding on bolls corresponding to its own size, until it arrives at its maturity. Thus the younger the worm is after it commences seeking its food, the more destructive it is to the cotton fruit, as it attacks the squares, eats its way into them, and eats nothing but the stile or germ, and then leaves it for another. Thus it may destroy a great many squares in a very short time. Every square or small boll it eats into soon turns yellow, "flurs" open and drops; but before this takes place the worm has left it, and perhaps has attacked several others. This is one of the reasons why it is so hard to find, when hunted up. The nearer it becomes grown, or to maturity, the less injury it does to the cotton crop, as it generally eats into the larger bolls only; and, notwithstanding it may eat into one side of a grown boll, it does not always wither or rot, but continues to grow and keeps moist and green on the opposite side, thus furnishing suitable food for some time. As it is not disposed to stir much, or to leave one boll for another as long as the boll furnishes it with suitable food, unless it is disturbed, it does comparatively little damage to the cotton before i arrives to maturity. I think I have known it, in some cases, to get nearly one-fourth, or even one-third of its latter growth in one boll of cotton. Whenever it does leave a boll before devouring its contents at this stage of its existence, it is generally owing to some disturbance, or from being too much crowded by its own excrement; for the nearer it comes to maturity the more inactive it becomes, and the less disposed it is to stir. It eats nothing of the boll but the immature lint and seed, unless when eating into the boll.

Judging from analogy, I supposed it to be more than probable the worm that preys on the ends of the ears of our green corn, and the buds or tassels before they come out, was the same kind or species so destructive to the cotton, and that it would be equally as destructive to the corn crops were it not for the fact that the corn matures with the first crop or generation of the worm, and before it becomes numerous by a succession of generations. This supposition proved to be correct on a further investigation. I have obtained the worm from the ears of the green corn, and have fed it on the cotton bolls, and it would soon take on the same physical complexions and features, in every particular, of those which were obtained from the cotton. When it was first applied to the cotton bolls, it did not seem to understand very well how to eat its way into the bolls; but by cutting a little hole at first into the bolls, it soon commenced to feed on the cotton, and thrived as well as on the green corn, or as the boll-worm itself did. Corn that matures in the fall, or late in the summer, is often very seriously injured by this worm. It prefers to obtain its food from the corn rather than small cotton on sandy land, or is better protected and more secure from destruction. The shuck of the green corn protects it better from the light and the heat of the sun than small cotton on sandy land. The heat of the sun, and the obstructions of a sandy soil, unless it is always compacted by rains, to the burrowings of this insect, are reasons why the small cotton on sandy soils is hardly ever injured much by the ravages of this worm; while it finds a comfortable and safe nidus and plenty of food in the ends of the corn ears, where it prospers and does well.

As to the remedies to be used against the ravages of the boll-worm, I have nothing original to propose. I have seen a variety of plans or remedies recommended, and have tried some of them, but they are only palliatives and precautionary steps, such as farmers always or generally practise to avoid the ravages of birds, squirrels, and other enemies on their crops, where there is no expectation of extermination. However, I will give those which have been recommended, with the opinion that, should all the planters use or adopt them unitedly, and persevere in them with an equal desire to destroy the insects of the cotton-fields as they use and exhibit in destroying the grass, the damages from the boll-worm or the army-worm would not often prove serious. The following are the means recommended.

1st. To permit pigs to run at large in the cotton-fields has been recommended; and I believe this is beneficial in several respects, so much so that I suffer as many of them to run in the cotton as will, and even encourage them to do so. They do the cotton no injury, but their superficial rootings often prove beneficial, and there is no doubt they destroy a great many of all kinds of insects that infest the fields and prey on the cotton-plant. They not only destroy every straggling worm they come upon, but they destroy a great many of the flies that become the least entangled in weeds, grass, &c. The fly is very wild, but rather clumsy in flying. Many of them nestle among weeds and in the grass during the day, and in rising to fly are easily caught and destroyed by pigs, when the least entangled in weeds or grass. Pigs delight to frequent and linger about stagnant water and low wet places in a field, the very places where the moth of this worm delights to stay and deposit its eggs. The fly being wild, dislikes to be disturbed, and will not stay where it is likely to be. Every cotton-planter, where the boll-worm is common, probably has noticed that either side of the paths and roads through a cotton-field is not injured so badly by the worm as further off, notwithstanding it may be numerous and destructive in every other place. This is owing to the fly being frightened off by persons frequently passing along these roads. The daily rambles of the pigs in the field keep the moth more or less disturbed; and if there is an adjoining field where they can remain undisturbed, they will soon be more numerous there. I have a neighbor whose farm is separated only by a partition fence, who is scrupulously particular in not letting a hog of any description run in his field, and invariably when the worm is bad his cotton is the most damaged. Another advantage is, the pigs do well without much attention or feeding. In the fall, when the cotton is open, they knock out and destroy very little in their rambles through it, not near so much as one would suppose who has not noticed them in their rambles. Large hogs do not do so well as pigs, as they often injure the cotton-plant by their deep rootings, and they cannot get through the cotton so well without breaking down more or less of the limbs and stocks, owing to their size and strength, and they sometimes eat the cotton bolls too much. Another advantage in this remedy is, it requires no labor or trouble from the planter, which is a great desideratum in a wet season, when the worm is worst, as well as the grass and weeds. This is one reason why I have placed the remedy first.

2d. White plates with molasses in them, placed about in the cotton-fields on stands two or three feet above the ground, are highly valued as a preventive by some, and if they are properly attended to, they undoubtedly will ensnare and destroy a great many of all kinds of night-swarming flies. They are attracted by the reflection of the white rim of the plate, and they are caught, held, and destroyed by the viscidness of the molasses, on the least touch of it. To succeed well with this remedy, the plates should be washed clean at least every two or three days, and fresh molasses added to them. When the rim of the plates becomes dimmed by soil, it fails to attract the fly, and the molasses from evaporation becomes too viscid, or stiff, or thick, to catch them readily when striking it; and this will certainly follow, if they are not attended to. These plates may be left on their stands day and night, as long as it may be necessary to continue them, but should be covered with something before every rain, to keep the water out, and be uncovered before night. Although the remedy is attended with a good deal of trouble, labor, and some expense, I have no doubt that, should it be commenced in time and persisted in properly, it will doubly pay in the amount of cotton saved, when the worms are numerous. There are few planters who are willing to take the trouble and spare the time to attend to them properly, for the benefit they may hope to derive. The plates may be many or few, but of course the more there are placed about in the field, the more flies will be ensnared. I have tried this remedy, and can testify that when the moth is numerous a great many of all kinds may be destroyed. I have noticed that the first night after washing the plates and renewing the molasses, more flies were caught than the second or any other night until the next renewal. Some suppose that the fly is attracted by the smell of the molasses and a desire to feed on it, and is caught; but I rather think, from experience, that they are attracted by the reflection of the rim of the plate.

3d. Large blazing fires on stands in the cotton-fields is another remedy recommended to be used against this moth The light of the fire attracts them, they fly into the fire and are destroyed. Any person of ordinary observation knows that all night-swarming flies are attracted more or less by ight. Large blazing fires on stands do not succeed so well in destroying them, as moderate fires made on the ground in some rather open place, or where the cotton is not too large for it to be seen. A moderate light truly attracts them, but I believe a large blazing fire blinds and confuses them in such a way that they are as apt to fly from the fire as to it; and I believe, furthermore, that a great many, in making for the fire, are repelled by the heat before they get into it, and escape destruction. I have tried this remedy, and have remained in my cotton-field after dark, to watch the effects of the fire on these flies. I did not see as many destroyed as I expected, when I took into consideration the quantity I knew to be in the field. The most of those I saw approaching the fire seemed to be repelled or diverged off on nearing it; or they would rebound high above it, and escape destruction. On seeing this, I came to the conclusion that the heat of the large fires extended too far around, and that they felt it, and turned off before being near enough to be destroyed.

Might not a glass lantern be constructed in such a way, with wire meshes around and about it, as to entrap and destroy the most of those flies striking it? They seem to be attracted more by a candle-light than by any other, as experience has shown.

4th. Suspending three or four clean white linen or cotton flags, of about a yard square, for each acre of cotton, about three or four feet above the cotton, is another remedy, highly recommended for the destruction of the caterpillar in the cotton-fields. The object here sought is to destroy the larva instead of the fly: supposing that the moth admires light and white colors, it will alight on these white flags from fancy, be contented there, and deposit or lay its eggs on them, and when the eggs hatch, the young worm or larva finding nothing to subsist upon, and not being able to seek its food, perishes from the effects of starvation and the hot sun.

I can say nothing from personal experience for or against this remedy, as I have not tried it, and know no person who has. I have seen it recommended by a gentleman from Louisiana, with apparently a good deal of confidence; and if it is an effectual remedy, it is a valuable discovery, as it gives the planter little or no trouble after the flags are put up, (unless when they should be accidentally blown or thrown down, or require washing,) which is essential in any remedy or plan to induce farmers to adopt it.

5th. *Rotation of Crops.*—This has been known, and recommended to farmers by agriculturists, almost since time immemorial, not only as a preventive against the various insects that prey on the different kinds of productions of the soil, but as a system for the improvement of their lands, and an increase in the productions of their crops. It is a difficult matter to practise a proper system of rotation in this country, as few persons have their farms properly laid off or divided, or a sufficiency of open lands for complete rotation. But it should be adopted as much as possible, with a view to the profits derived from all three of these considerations. Insects breed and hibernate most generally where they receive their food, and to plant the same crop on the same land for many years in succession, the insects which prey on that peculiar crop will become sufficiently numerous to affect the yield of the crop materially. This is well known to the planter of the most ordinary observation. Clear or open a new ground field in the forest, some distance from any other field, and it may be planted for several years in cotton, before the insects will become sufficiently numerous to injure it much; it matters not what the seasons may be, whether wet or dry, showing conclusively the want of a stock or germ to originate the insect, or that it requires several years' cultivation to fit the soil to generate the germ of the various kinds of field insects. This is one among other reasons that virgin soils, or new ground, are so celebrated for the production of cotton.

The foregoing remedies are equally applicable against the army-worm as the boll-worm, and against all night-swarming insects, as there is nothing specific in either, but all are based on general principles.

Art. III.—ST. LOUIS, MEMPHIS, AND NEW-ORLEANS RAILROAD.*

When the Mississippi Valley Railroad, to connect the city of New-Orleans with the Falls of St. Anthony, was projected, in October, 1852, we presented the claims of three routes, south of Missouri, viz.: the Little Rock, the Memphis, and the Helena route.

The country from Missouri to Memphis, and from Missouri to Helena, had been unexplored by railroad engineers, and a merely preliminary survey had been made by the government of the United States from St. Louis to Fulton via Little Rock.

We, however, obtained information of the peculiarity of Crowley's Ridge, extending from Missouri to Helena, 150 miles, with an almost unbroken, firm and high surface on its side, above the swamp and overflowed lands with which it was surrounded. Helena was also in a nearly direct line from St. Louis to New-Orleans. The Arkansas country, on each side of Crowley's Ridge, abounded with unreclaimed swamp and overflowed lands. The Helena route was considered shortest and cheapest, and therefore preferred.

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* From *Western Journal and Civilian.*

The Memphis route, it was thought, might be established by the construction of that portion of the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad from the Mississippi to the St. Francis, 40 miles, across the swamp; and although it was considered impracticable to build a road from Old Indian Ford to Memphis, through the lakes, swamps, &c., 140 miles, on the east side of the St. Francis, yet it was then declared that "Memphis might hold out inducements to make its route preferable" to the Helena route.

In regard to the Little Rock route, it was considered that "advantages might be gained by and from Little Rock and the country along its route, to produce a great preponderance in its favor," although the Little Rock route was estimated 95 miles longer than the Memphis route. The Little Rock route has been earnestly and uniformly advocated by us; and although violently opposed by a strong political party in Arkansas, as a "visionary scheme too wild for a respectable maniac," and "worse than a man's trying to hold himself out at arm's length," this scheme has become more respectable than its adversaries, and stronger than their strength, and is progressing with reasonable speed, by the impetus given to it by its friends, combined with its own intrinsic merits.

We will now present the claims of the Memphis route, together with newly-discovered evidence in its favor, hoping soon to obtain yet further evidence of a commercial character, which will place this route on a commanding position.

The final survey of the railroad from St. Louis to the Iron Mountain reduces the distance to 80 miles from Hazel Street, on the route which is now located in every part, which is under contract, on which 350 men are now working, and $35,000 have been paid to the contractors for work done to 1st June, 1854.

The extension of the Iron Mountain road towards Arkansas reaches the Swamp District, near Indian Ford, 150 miles from St. Louis. The route of this extension was found to be far more practicable than its warmest friends anticipated, the grades being easier, and the cost averaging $10,000 per mile less than that of the portion between the Mountain and St. Louis; whereas, from the estimates of Barney's survey, it was apprehended that the relative cost would be much greater below than above the Mountain. Considering the mountainous character of the country, this line of 70 miles from the Mountain to the Ford is remarkably straight. It is the only good line that could be obtained south of the Mountain towards Arkansas, and, furthermore, is in the direction of Memphis.

The Indian Ford may be considered a fixed point in the Mississippi Valley Railroad, which ever way the road may be extended towards the South; and this point, though on the verge of the Swamp District, is destined soon to rise, and become a point of great distinction. Therefore, it may be well to designate it now with reasonable distinctness. Old Indian Ford is on the St. Francis river, near, though south of, the junction of Wayne, Butler and Stoddard Counties. It is equidistant from Cairo, Hickman, and the Arkansas line, in Grand Prairie, Dunklin County, being about 60 miles on an air line from each. It is also nearly equidistant from New-Madrid and from Point Pleasant on an air line, being about 45 miles from each; and it is just 30 miles from the Arkansas line, in Ripley County, where the best route is found along the northwestern border of the Swamp Region, in the direction of Little Rock and Fulton, in Arkansas. Three routes have already been surveyed by the Iron Mountain Company, radiating from Old Indian Ford, one to Cairo, one to the Arkansas line, in Ripley County, and one to New-Madrid; the last-mentioned extending to Point Pleasant. A great variety of other experimental surveys were made throughout the Swamp Region; and it is believed, from indications discovered in these discursive experimental surveys, that one of the most practicable routes from Old Indian Ford towards New-Orleans would be almost in a straight line in that direction; that is, on the east side of the St. Francis river, through Stoddard and Dunklin Counties to the Arkansas line, in Grand Prairie, which is also in a direct line towards Memphis.

A powerful argument in behalf of this route in Missouri might be built up, based on the reasonable presumption, that a railroad-bed, constructed along the eastern shore of the St. Francis, in Stoddard and Dunklin Counties, would be the best embankment to prevent the occasional overflow of this river in these counties; and further, that such an embankment may be essential to reclaim the swamp lands in these and the adjoining counties of New-Madrid and Pemisco, as also of a large part of the country in Arkansas, east of the St. Francis. This branch of this subject is well worthy the careful consideration of the Swamp Land Commissioners of Arkansas, as also of the above-mentioned swamp counties of Missouri.

That the probable feasibility of this route may be still more highly appreciated, and that the ignorant prejudice against building a railroad through the Swamp District may be more thoroughly advised and fairly enlightened, it is proper to state, and it should not be forgotten, that while the cost of the construction of the railroad from St. Louis to the Iron Mountain, ready for rolling stock, averages $40,000 per mile along its 80 miles, and that while the cost of construction of the railroad from the Iron Mountain to Indian Ford, ready for rolling stock, averages $30,000 per mile along its 70 miles, the cost of construction of railroads from Indian Ford through various portions of the Swamp Region, ready for rolling stock, averages in general only $18,000 per mile, being only about one-half as much as the average from St. Louis to the Indian Ford.

That the length and cost of the Missouri portion of the St. Louis, Memphis and New-Orleans Railroad may be somewhat minutely yet concisely shown, we may conclude, from the data above stated, as the distance from Indian Ford to the Arkansas line, in Grand Prairie, Dunklin County, is 60 miles on an air line; and as the average deviation from an air line may be fairly represented by one-sixth, that the length of Indian Ford and Grand Prairie line is 70 miles, and that the cost of construction of this link, ready for rolling stock, averaging $18.000 per mile, is $1,260,000; and placing the links in tabular form, we find

The length of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain link................	80 miles.
" Iron Mountain and Indian Ford link.............	70 "
" Indian Ford and Grand Prairie link.............	70 "
Total length of the Missouri portion.....................	220 "

Cost of 1st division, 80 miles, at $40.000 per mile................	$3,200,000
" 2d " 70 " 30.000 "	2,100,000
" 3d " 70 " 18,000 "	1,260,000
	$6,560,000
By adding cost of rolling stock, together with buildings and fixtures for same, at the rate of $4,000 per mile, 220 miles................	880,000
We find total cost of Missouri portion, in running order.....	$7,440,000

Touching the Arkansas portion of the St. Louis and Memphis Railroad for the route above indicated, as it may become a link of vast importance in the Mississippi Valley Railroad, and as it was originally and almost universally thought to be utterly impracticable, it is but justice to Mr. W. D. Ferguson, of Arkansas, to fix the fact that he is the man who first projected and earnestly advocated this route. One year ago from this date, at the Memphis Convention in June, 1853, in conversation with the author of this article, he presented the claims of this route, and urged them with the light of his experience on the ground, and with the warmth of his enthusiasm in the prospect. Not one word could we then hear in its favor excepting from him.

Since then but little has been said or done on this subject until the first day of March, 1854, when G. W. Underhill, of Arkansas, E. H. Porter, of Tennessee, and L. M. Kennett, of Missouri, with their associates in each of said States, formed themselves into a corporation under the general law of the State of Arkansas, by the name of *Memphis and St. Louis Railroad Company,* for the purpose of building a railroad through Arkansas from a point opposite or near Memphis, "on or near a direct line between the same and the City of St. Louis, Missouri, and running thence as nearly as said Company may deem it practicable in the direction of St. Louis, so as to reach a point on or connect with the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, or any other railroad or point thereon, in that general direction."

The charter was filed in the office of the Secretary of State of the State of Arkansas, on the 6th day of March, 1854; and on the 18th day of the same month the Board of Commissioners of said Company met and organized by the election of Ethel H. Porter, President of the Company, and J. T. Swayne, Secretary.

As the legal provision is thus obtained for building the Arkansas link of this road, we will now proceed to inquire into the probable length and cost of the same.

For the sake of avoiding circumlocution, we will designate the point on the boundary line between Missouri and Arkansas east of the St. Francis River, where this railroad will probably cross, by the name which is given to the strip of country there extending both into Missouri and Arkansas; that is, Grand Prairie, although the village of Grand Prairie is not exactly at this point.

From this point to Memphis the distance on an air line is about 60 miles, being the same distance as from this point to Indian Ford. By the reports gathered from the experimental surveys of the Iron Mountain Railroad Company, throughout various portions of the Swamp District, and from the facts stated by Mr. Ferguson, of Arkansas, the general character of the country from Indian Ford to Grand Prairie seems to be about the same as that from Grand Prairie to Memphis; and as the air line distance is also the same, therefore it is reasonable to make the same allowance for the length and cost of a practicable route from Grand Prairie to Memphis as from Indian Ford to Grand Prairie.

Calculating then on this hypothesis, the length of Grand Prairie and Memphis link is 70 miles, and the cost of construction of the same, ready for rolling stock, is $1,260,000. Calculating the cost of rolling stock, together with buildings and fixtures for same, at the rate estimated for the Missouri portion, to wit, $4,000 per mile, 70 miles, it is $280,000; making the

Total cost of the Grand Prairie and Memphis Road in running order,	$1,540,000
To which add the total cost of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Road to Grand Prairie in running order..............................	7,440,000
And we find the total cost of the road from St. Louis to Memphis....	$8,980,000

The total distance from St. Louis to Memphis by this route, according to the above estimates, is 290 miles; which, with a speed on the road of 30 miles an hour, brings St. Louis and Memphis within ten hours' distance of each other.

Having ascertained the probable length and cost of the St. Louis and Memphis Railroad, we will proceed to an examination of the Memphis and New-Orleans Road.

The distance from Memphis to New-Orleans, on an air line, is 342 miles. These two points are connected by a road in process of construction composed of three links, which are the "New-Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad," reaching from New-Orleans to Canton, the "Mississippi Central Railroad," reaching from Canton to Grenada, Miss., and the "Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad," reaching from Grenada to Memphis.

The distance from New-Orleans to Canton, air line, is		175 miles.
Do., Canton to Grenada,	"	78 "
Do., Grenada to Memphis,	"	93 "
Total distance by deviating links	"	346 "
Do., without deviating	"	342 "
Amount of deviation by the links	"	4 "
By allowing on the sum total a deviation of		44 miles,
From the air line distance of the links		346 "
The length of the practicable route from Memphis to New-Orleans is		390 miles.

In order to show the progress and prospects of this combined enterprise in Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee, we will quote a paragraph from the memorial of the Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad Company to the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad Company, dated 18th March, 1854:

"The greater portion of this route is already provided for. From New-Orleans to the Mississippi State line, the "Great Northern and Jackson Road" is nearly completed, and will soon be finished all the way to Canton, Mi. Thence the 'Mississippi Central Road' to Holly Springs, passing Grenada, Mi., is under contract, to be completed in two and a half years. From Grenada our road, 'the Mississippi and Tennessee,' completes the line to Memphis; and the means at our command warrant us in the confident expectation of its early consummation."

It will thus be seen that the southern and larger portion of the St. Louis, Memphis and New-Orleans Railroad is rapidly progressing, with brilliant prospects of entire completion long before the Memphis and St. Louis portion can be done, according to present indications.

But the presentation of these facts should stimulate the public mind with renewed activity on behalf of the St. Louis and Iron

Mountain Railroad, that, while this work is being built to the Mountain, means and spirit may be gained to drive it on to Memphis; that a respectable portion of the 2,000,000 acres of swamp land in Southeast Missouri may be applied to its construction, and thereby to their own reclamation; their net proceeds remaining a school fund vested in the stock of the Railroad Company. This is doubtless the best thing that could be done with a large portion of the swamp lands, both in Missouri and Arkansas; and it may be that half enough could be realized from these lands, in Missouri and Arkansas together, to build the road from Indian Ford to Memphis, 140 miles: the amount necessary to complete this portion being, according to the above-mentioned estimates, only $3,080,000. Means may be gained to prosecute this enterprise by arousing a spirit in Congress in behalf of a grant of lands for the Mississippi Valley Railroad, the St. Louis Convention having sent them a memorial on this subject in December, 1852, and the Memphis Convention having endorsed the memorial in June, 1853. This grant of land by Congress should be made liberal enough to meet one half the cost of building this road from St. Louis to Indian Ford, 150 miles. Then, the length of this road being the same from St. Louis to Arkansas, as the length of the North Missouri Railroad from St. Louis to Iowa, each one being by a singular coincidence just 220 miles; and as the cost of construction of the Iron Mountain Railroad is also equal to that of the North Missouri Railroad, and its value to the State also fully equal, it therefore follows that an equal amount of State credit should be granted to each. But,

The N. M. R. R. has received..................................	$2,000,000
While the Iron Mountain Railroad has received only..............	750,000
Leaving the claim of the I. M. R. R. for..........................	$1,250,000

of State credit, which it is but just and reasonable to suppose will be allowed by the Legislature, as soon as it convenes.

Let, then, this Swamp Land grant, this Mississippi Valley Railroad grant, and this grant of $1,250,000 State credit be gained, while the contractors are building the road from St. Louis to the Iron Mountain, then means and spirit enough will be realized to drive this work on with energy to Memphis.

The people of St. Louis have already acted with a noble liberality towards their railroad enterprises. They have given $2,805,000 to the Pacific Railroad, and more than $2,700,000 to the Mississippi Valley Railroad, about one-half of the last sum to the North Missouri portion, and the other half to the Iron Mountain portion; making the amount given by the city, county, and private subscriptions of St. Louis to these railroads over $5,500,000. Besides, the people of St. Louis have given liberal aid to the railroads in Illinois, and all these works are progressing in every direction. And, although the people of St. Louis have raised these means and shown this spirit, they would be ready and willing in case of an emergency to raise and show more. But for what they have already done they manifestly deserve the applause of the whole country, from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and should, at the earliest possible moment, receive generous assistance from the State and National Governments worthy of the magnanimity they have displayed.

The means of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad Company are as follows, to wit:

Subscription of the City of St. Louis	$500,000
" County of St. Louis	500,000
Other corporate and private subscriptions	500,000
	$1,500,000
To this add State credit granted	750,000
Total amount of means at command	$2,250,000
And to this add the amount of State credit, which, as above shown, may be reasonably anticipated	1,250,000
and then we realize the amount of	$3,500,000

enough to complete the road beyond the Iron Mountain. To this add the Mississippi Valley Railroad grant, and the Swamp Land grant, and thereupon the Company will soon gain means and spirit enough by their own credit, which will then be firmly established on a high and commanding position, to build up the whole line from St. Louis to Memphis with dispatch and ease.

When this is done, the railroad connection from New-Orleans to St. Louis will be complete, while at the same time the North Missouri Railroad Company, together with the Iowa and Minnesota interests, will be extending this connection to the Falls of St. Anthony, reducing the distance from New-Orleans to the Falls by railroad to the same number of miles New-Orleans is from St. Louis by the river, to wit, 1,200 miles.

Art. IV.—NATURE AND PRESENT CONDITION OF INDIAN COTTON.

Vastly important as cotton is to England and to America, it is not less so to India, though Indian cotton is but little esteemed by our manufacturers. It forms but a small part of the imports into this country, but a more conspicuous feature of those into China; the two quantities together, however, make but an insignificant portion of what is produced in the country. For it may be seen cultivated in patches in almost every part of its wide extent, in some provinces forming nearly one-fourth part of the *khureef*, or wet season crop, and necessarily an important item in the agriculturist's returns. But it is also of great importance to the manufacturing population, and to the people themselves. Its hundred millions of inhabitants are clothed in home-grown cotton, in the hot weather, and in the rains in calicoes and muslins, and in winter in an additional quantity, for their calico coats are padded with cotton. At night they lie on beds and pillows stuffed with cotton, and instead of blankets they cover themselves with quilts of calico padded with the same material. In place of doors and windows, they hang up curtains padded with cotton. Awnings and carpets, tents and tent ropes, the coverings of carriages, the housings of elephants, and the halters of horses, are all made of cotton.

Mr. Woodbury, Secretary to the United States Treasury, calculated the cotton crop of India as amounting, in the year 1834, to 185,000,000 pounds; but this is far short of the truth, unless the crop for export only is intended. For in the year 1818, 90,000,000; in 1836, 80,000,000; and in 1841, upwards of 100,000,000 pounds were exported to this country, besides considerable quantities, as 50,000,000 also in 1818 to China, and a little into Nepal and the Sikh territories. These were only the surplus of what was required for the use of the inhabitants and for the manufacture of cotton goods which were in the same years exported to different parts of Asia, and some even to Europe. Major General-Briggs,* who has paid considerable at-

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* Gen. Briggs, in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, stated that the ordinary dress of a male Hindoo consists of—

A dhoty	4 square yards.		
Doputta	8	"	
A Turban	12½	"	
Not less than	24½	"	weighing above 3½ lbs.
Add to this, the sary, or female dress,	8	"	" 1½ "
We have	32½	"	5 "

Those who do not wear the dhoty invariably wear a cotton waistband, besides a loose gown and trowsers; and he assumed 2½ lbs. to be worn by each well-clad person, which must be below the truth. To the Cotton Committee, he replied:

"1343. From your knowledge of the people of India, can you say whether the consumption of cotton amongst them is very extensive; in fact, that cotton is used by them to a much larger extent than it is amongst the population of this country for a great variety of articles?—It is used for all the purposes that hemp and flax, and hair and wool, are used in this country. The home consumption is something enormous. I exhibited at the Asiatic Society the cloth of a man's dress and a female's dress, and the weight of those two was five pounds; the average dress of each inhabitant, therefore, was two and a half pounds; and if we multiply that by the population, assuming it to be 150,000,000 over the whole of India, it will amount to 375,000,000 of pounds. But it is used for beds, pillows, cushions, awnings, canopies, and ceilings, draperies and hangings, carpets, screens, curtains, quilting and padding of every description, both for padding clothes and for saddles, for tents, tention to the subject, and is well acquainted with the habits of the natives of India, estimates that they require not less than 375,000,000 pounds for only a single dress weighing two pounds and a half, and that as much more cotton will be required for all the other purposes for which it is employed; making the annual crop amount to 750,000,000 pounds. But he adds that Dr. Wight considers that each individual in India consumes twenty pounds of cotton for those different purposes per annum, and that this "would be equivalent to about 3,000,000,000 annually used in the country." This, however, appears too high an estimate, as the number of those who use less than twenty pounds greatly preponderates over those who use so much. In N. W. India it is calculated that if a district produce only 5 lbs. for each individual, it is barely sufficient for the wants of the people; that 2 lbs. is not enough for the poorest peasant. The quantity produced must evidently be immensely large, and that which is exported bears but a small proportion to what is consumed in the country. But if so large a quantity of cotton wool is used up by the people themselves for clothing and coverings, it is evident that, in a country where spinning and weaving are all done by hand, multitudes of the natives must be employed in the cotton manufacture of India. A writer in the 'Examiner,' well acquainted with India, and who considers the population to amount to 120,000,000, estimates that allowing ten shillings for the annual worth of every person's wardrobe, it would amount to £60,000,000 of manufacture, which is equal to the highest value that has been set upon that of this country. We need not at present consider whether this is too high an estimate, nor attempt to calculate the number of acres which must annually be under cultivation to produce the immense crop of Indian cotton. But it may be admitted that the culture appears to be of sufficient importance to command the attention of the agriculturist, the more so as the different qualities of his produce can all be used up, the best for weaving and the worst for padding. Such considerations may, however, make him indifferent to the demands of foreign commerce.

We have hitherto spoken of India as a great country, growing immense quantities of raw material, and making it up into useful clothing for her teeming population; also long famous for exporting her elegant fabrics to the most civilized nations of ancient as of modern times. In the present day, however, we often hear

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ropes for tents, halters for horses, and, in fact, applied to all the purposes that hemp and wool are used for in this country. I assumed at that time, without any correct data, that it would require at least as much more annually for such purposes, which would make an amount of 750,000,000 pounds. But I find that Dr. Wight states, who has had a much better opportunity of judging than I had, that each individual in India consumes 20 pounds of cotton for those different purposes per annum, which I have estimated at 5 pounds. Now, for the limited quantity that I have stated, it would require 312,000 tons of shipping to move it; but, if Dr. Wight is right in estimating it at four times the amount, that would be equivalent to about 3,000,000,000 annually used in the country."

the country talked of only in the light of a cotton farm, whose business it should be to supply the raw material to England whenever it is required, and to take back her manufactured goods in any quantities that the makers choose to send. If we consider the disastrous consequences which ensue in England upon the occurrence of a short supply, and of an increased price, of cotton, it is not surprising that not only those who are engaged in the manufacture, but that the public, should feel interested in the field of culture being enlarged. So that the irregularities of supply, dependent as these chiefly are on vicissitudes of climate, might be neutralized; and also that the manufacturer should be more independent of the intervention of untoward political events. India, notwithstanding its enormous distance, is generally looked to as the country which, from its great extent, and apparently illimitable powers of production, is capable of counterbalancing the existing irregularities of supply and price. As the occasional deficiencies of America, and the consequent demands of England, have frequently occurred, and for a series of years, it is eagerly asked why India does not, like America, send, not only a regular, but a regularly increasing, supply of cotton. It is not doubted that it must be the wish, and would be for the benefit of the Indian farmer, to share more largely in a commerce which the American planter makes a principal object of desire, indeed nearly monopolizes. That he does not do so is ascribed by some, as we have stated, to mismanagement, and by others to the absence of a regular demand and of remunerative prices. Of the demand for cotton in general, there can be no doubt. If India, therefore, has anything to complain of in this respect, it must be owing to the nature of Indian cotton, or to the state in which it is sent to market. As the whole question may be found to hinge upon such points, we shall inquire into their truth before discussing questions of price, or of improvements in culture or cleaning, or the alleged impediments to the increased imports of Indian cotton.

It is evident that, before proceeding with the question whether India is capable of supplying more cotton for the manufactures of Europe, it is necessary to determine whether the manufacturers themselves do actually require, in large quantities, such cotton as the natives themselves use, and which India could most easily send: or whether it is some other kind or condition of cotton which is to be grown, or prepared, in India. The questions, it is clear, are very different: one dependent upon causes which have been, or may still be, in existence; the other, probably, on the proper application of knowledge and principles derived from other sources. We shall first discuss the nature and present condition of Indian cotton, and then proceed to improvements in cleaning and in culture of different kinds of cotton, and ascertain of what quality and at what prices these can be produced in India.

With regard to the quality of Indian cotton, it will readily be admitted that some of it at least must be fitted for the purposes of cotton manufacture, if we consider only the substantial appearance and well-known durability of the far-famed Indian calicoes, or the delicacy of texture of the still more celebrated muslins of Dacca, as it was and still is, or of the Chunderee of the present day. These are described by Tavernier as "so fine, that you can hardly feel them in your hand;" while they have been described more poetically as "webs of woven air," and were attempted to be depreciated by an English writer of the 17th century calling them "only the shadow of a commodity." It may happen, however, that cotton, well fitted for such purposes when spun by the delicate fingers of the Hindoo, may yet be unfit for the iron handling of machinery. As it is, the weaver of the southern provinces depends for a part of the success of his manufacture upon the softness of his climate, while the stern Mohammedan of Northwest India immures himself in underground work-shops, of which the air is artificially moistened, in order to produce the beautiful fabrics which are prized by, and still adorn, the wealthy of his land.

It is probable, however, that the cotton of different provinces of an extensive country like India may differ so much, that what is produced in one part may be fit for the purposes of the English spinner, while he may be unwilling to employ another, even though esteemed for many native manufactures. The extent and regularity of the foreign demand for Indian cotton will often depend, in a great measure, upon the proportion brought to market of that which is of the best quality to that which is indifferent; and it is very certain that the best commodity may be sent in so dirty or adulterated a state to market, as greatly to depreciate its value, and interfere with its regular employment.

Indian cotton is well known to have certain good qualities of its own. By the natives of India it is esteemed for wearing well; in this country it is valued for its color. Mr. Bazley, in reply to a question by a member of the Cotton Committee, stated that "the Indian cotton is always of a rich creamy color, and for its color it is frequently used as a mixture to improve the color of the worst or low American cotton." It is also thought well of for taking some dyes better than American cotton, and for its thread swelling in the process of bleaching; so that cloth made with it becomes more substantial in appearance. This property has long been known to the weavers of India. Thus Mr. Bebb, who was Resident at Dacca and afterwards a Director of the East India Company, stated, in 1789, that "the general distinction in quality the natives make, is, whether the thread made therefrom swells or not in the bleaching. That which is in the neighborhood of the city (Dacca) to the eastward is reckoned not to swell, if it be not used the same season that it is gathered. The thread made of cotton produced in the south-east swells in bleaching, but less than the Hindostan cotton. The thread in the country west and northwest swells much in bleaching, more especially if it be hard twisted." These facts are interesting, as showing the minute attention paid by the natives of India to the cotton employed in their calicoes and muslins. But they do not prove the fitness of Indian cotton for English machinery, because most of it has one great defect, that is, shortness of fibre, or of staple as it is called, which, though capable of being twisted between the fingers, may yet be blown away during the various processes of machine spinning.

In wishing to ascertain the fitness of Indian cotton for English manufactures, it is useless to adduce the opinions of any but of those who have seen its practical working. For brokers even, who have spent their lives in the employment, are fallible, and spinners do not pronounce a final opinion on a sample of cotton, until they have seen by experiment the quantity of yarn it produces in proportion to the waste. But on this point we have excellent evidence from the Presidents of the two Commercial bodies of Manchester, though we have to regret that it is not in favor of Indian cotton; but the truth is at all times preferable to mystification. Mr. Bazley, President of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, examined by the Committee of the House of Commons on the growth of cotton in India, and who uses only the finest kinds, as he stated, "perhaps no spinner has bought as largely as I have (cotton) at 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.:" and the author has been told that "Gardner and Bazley's is of the very highest class of yarns." With respect to the quantity of cotton imported from India, Mr. Bazley stated that it was, upon an average, about 10 to 13 per cent. of the whole quantity imported into the country, but that the Indian cotton is so inferior, that the consumers have a table arranged to enable them to see, at a glance, what price they ought to give for it relatively to the American Orleans, or to the "Boweds." Thus, the spinner of No. 20 yarn says, when the Surat cotton is at 3*d.* a pound, it is his interest to give 3½*d.* a pound for American, for that he obtains from Surat only 12 ounces of yarn, whilst from American he obtains 13½ ounces.

Surat and American Cotton, at equivalent prices.

1 lb. Surat, yielding 12 oz. yarn.	1 lb. American, 13½ oz.	1 lb. Surat, yielding 12 oz. yarn.	1 lb. American, 13½ oz.
3*d.*	3⅜*d.*	4	4½
3⅛	3½	4⅛	4⅝
3¼	3⅝	4¼	4¾
3⅜	4	4½	4⅞
3½	4⅛	4¾	5⅜
3⅝	4¼	5	6
3	4⅜		

It does not, however, appear, from this table, whether this difference of price is owing to the intrinsic inferiority of the Indian cotton, or to the dirty state in which it is usually sent to market. Both causes have, no doubt, their influence. For Mr. Bazley, in reply to questions, stated that it was found by experience, that the waste in using Surat cotton is 25 per cent., whilst from the American the loss is 12½ per cent.; that is, that from every 100 lbs. of Surat cotton which the spinner takes into his mill, he produces 75 lbs. of yarn; and that from every 100 lbs. of American cotton, he produces 87½ lbs.; also that the same machinery produces a larger quantity of yarn from the American cotton than from the Surat cotton; and when asked whether that does not arise from the smaller number of breakages, he replied—

"635. Yes; and from the American cotton requiring fewer turns from the spindle, and for the quantity of yarn coming through the rollers, less twist per inch.

"636. Are you aware whether the consumption of the Surat cotton is confined almost exclusively to the manufacture of the weft, that which runs across the piece, and not the warp, which is lengthways, in consequence of the Surat being so short in the staple?—In very coarse numbers the Surat is applied to warp purposes, but as the numbers increase, generally there is a mixture of the American with the Surat for weft."

A portion of the loss seems, however, to be made up, for Mr. Bazley further says:

"639. Is it always easy to distinguish one from the other by the color?—Yes, it is. From Surat cotton, which cost 3¼d., the yarn No. 20 is worth 5⅞d.; and from American cotton, which cost 4¼d., the yarn is worth 6½d. You see that in using the American cotton, the spinner has actually a less amount for working the cotton than he has in the case of the Indian cotton; those are numbers 30; one is Surat, and the other American—[*handing in two other specimens*]—the Surat cotton for 30 cost 3½d., and the yarn is worth 7d.; the American cotton for 30 cost 4½d., and the yarn is worth 7¾d. In that case the spinners have 3½d. for making the Surat cotton into yarn, but for making the American cotton into yarn only 3¼d."

"640. *Chairman.*] Do you suppose that the difference of a farthing is compensated, or more than compensated, by a smaller amount of loss in working up the American cotton?—Clearly by the greater turn off."

Provided that greater care was taken in cleaning the Indian cotton, it was stated that a speedy rise in price would take place in Liverpool. But mere cleaning is not sufficient, for some cotton from the neighborhood of Agra, which had been "cleaned admirably," was yet stated to be unsuited to the English market, and, like the general produce of India, inferior.

"734. What increase would be necessary of such cotton as you could buy and profitably work up, to affect the price of the American cotton?—Probably from 10 to 25 per cent. of increase.

"735. How great an improvement in the cotton would be necessary to give you an article from India that you could buy and work up? You say that you do not buy much now?—An improvement of from 10 to 25 per cent. would, I should say, vastly increase the consumption of Indian cotton. I now speak of the quality."

"745. *Mr. Bolling.*] From your knowledge of the state of trade, do you think that the import of Indian cotton into this country is likely to increase at all, as long as the native-grown cotton is adhered to?—I have seen some of the native cotton that is very little inferior to the American—the Surat; but I am satisfied that the quality of the cotton must be greatly improved before we can use it to advantage."

Mr. Aspinall Turner, President of the Commercial Association of Manchester, was next examined. He, on the contrary, has "been a large consumer of Indian cotton for many years, and indeed was not aware of any one in Manchester consuming more Indian cotton than himself." He, however, does not give a more favorable character of the Indian cotton, as fitted for general purposes. In the first place, Mr. Turner stated that there is very little refuse, technically called waste, in using American cotton, for most of it could be disposed of for "the purposes of inferior spinning;" while, of the Surat, a large portion comes which cannot be worked into inferior or coarse articles. But some of this, the author believes, can be used for wadding, and for paper-making. It is unfortunate that the word "Surat" is frequently used to signify Indian cotton generally, because the best kind of Indian cotton, which is nearly equal in quality to middling Uplands, is produced in the neighborhood of Surat, and brings a higher price than any other Indian cotton from indigenous seed.

We shall immediately adduce Mr. Turner's opinion respecting the dirty state of Indian cotton. With regard to its quality, he said, "I do not think that there will be a very great increase in the importations of Indian cotton, if the quality remains of an inferior description, as hitherto;" but "if you can improve the quality of the Indian cotton, so as to meet the American cotton in the market, it will never fall off." So Messrs. Hollinshed & Tetly, the well-known brokers of Liverpool, in their circular for 1847, inform their constituents that, "of Surat cotton it is worthy of remark, that the consumption has been greater than in any former year—a sure indication of a bad trade." Major-General Briggs, well acquainted with the subject, and warmly disposed towards India, at a General Court of the East India Company, held on the 20th February of the present year, remarked, "As to the complaint of the Manchester gentlemen that they could not get cotton from India, that was owing entirely to the fact that the cotton which they required was not such as the natives of India used."

Mr. R. W. Crawford, a Bombay merchant, took a contrary view to the great spinners of Manchester, for he stated, that "it is a question more of reduction in price at present than of improvement in quality;" and on being asked whether the spinners in Lancashire would purchase cotton for spinning in this country, such as is grown in India at present, and to the exclusion of American cotton, provided it was cheap enough, replied, "Yes, if they could buy it cheap enough for those purposes;" and also, "if the cotton were cheap enough, its quality is sufficiently good to afford material for the spinning of three-fourths of all the cotton spun in this country at the present time." "Q. 2759. For the great bulk of the trade they use the lower numbers?—Yes, the great bulk of the trade spinning under 20's." So Mr. Chapman, Manager of the Great India Peninsular Railway Company, in his "Statement of Cotton Facts," addressed to T. Bazley, Esq., as Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, states, "that cotton of good quality, for English use, is always to be had in Berar (Central India, 300 to 400 miles from Bombay, at about 1½d. per lb., ranging of late years from 1¼d. to 1⅞d. The quality of this cotton is such, that at a certain relative difference of price (averaging about 15 per cent. less for Indian than American), it can be used instead of American for more than 50 per cent. of our manufactures," that is, it will afford material for all yarns under No. 20. This is a question that can be decided only by spinners and manufacturers. The author regrets that he has been unable, notwithstanding numerous inquiries, to obtain confirmation of the correctness of this opinion, though he would rejoice to do so, as the question would then be comparatively easy, especially as the cottons of Broach and Surat, districts situate close to the sea-coast, produce cottons which are considered superior in quality to those of the far distant territories of the Nizam. The author, however, has no doubt, from facts which will be afterwards adduced, that some of the indigenous cotton of India is fitted for the purposes described, and a portion of it for even higher numbers; but he believes that the great mass of the cotton produced in India is not so fitted from the shortness of staple. But an important practical inference may be deduced from the fact of the indigenous cotton of one part of India being longer in the staple than that of another, as they are both produced by the same species of plant; for if so, it becomes an important point to determine the physical states in which such cotton is produced, and to ascertain whether the same peculiarities of soil and of climate, with suitable culture, cannot be found in other parts of India.

With regard to the dirty state in which Indian cotton is sent to market, we shall see that in the unchangeable East, things still are as they long have been. Thus, in 1803, we find it stated, "The native sort was not well cleared from seeds and extraneous matter."—(*E. I. C.'s Cotton Papers*, p. 28.) In 1810, when a large quantity of cotton had been imported by the East India Company, we find the Court of Directors writing to Bombay, "that no excuse will hereafter be admitted by us for the foulness, dirt and seeds which are suffered to remain mixed with the cotton; and it is our positive order, that the commissions be not paid to any commercial resident whose provision of cotton shall be faulty in this particular," (l. c. p. 35 and 36.) That no improvement has taken place, even up to the present time, with the great mass of Indian cotton, is clear from the evidence of Mr. Turner, who stated, "that in the spinning establishment of which I am at the head, we are in the habit of throwing upon the waste land an amount of dirt, for which we have paid £7,000 per annum, chiefly consisting of soil, sand, dirt, and various extraneous matters which have been introduced, I suppose, or have never been cleaned out of the cotton." (Q. 789.)

The author, in a paper read before the Statistical Section of the British Association at Oxford, June 28, 1847, said, "Thus, at other times, we are told that the chief impediments to an increased consumption of Indian cotton is the dirty state in which it reaches the manufacturer; this dirtiness being dependent, in the first instance, on the careless manner in which it is first collected, and then housed; or it is owing to the fraudulent additions made to it by the bunyas or wakarias, who purchase it from the ryots. Thus, it is sometimes adulterated with seed, cotton in seed, fine sand, or finely-powdered salt, scattered over it at intervals; as the dews of night are allowed to fall upon it when spread out in an open court or yard, and before the sun is up it is packed into bales. Sometimes an inferior is mixed with a superior kind of cotton, by a process technically called 'flogging.' Further injury is sustained by the daily unloading when conveyed on bullocks. These, moreover, are described as eating up the cotton 'by mouthfuls out of the bales;' also, that 'the brinjaries and cartmen themselves steal largely;' and finally, that even the boatmen, in conveying the cotton from the tender to the ships, steal a good deal of cotton, as 'canoes and small boats come alongside, under one pretence or another, and receive the bundles previously prepared and secreted.' The same thing takes place in the conveyance of cotton from Broach to Bombay, as liquor boats come alongside those conveying the cotton, and exchange some of their arrack for cotton, which is abstracted from the bales, and its weight supplied with sand, mud, or salt water."

We may now produce proofs of the above statements, and see how all this dirt gets admission into the cotton. We shall take the evidence of those chiefly who are practically engaged in the subject, and shall see how much the cultivator is in fault, and how little he is encouraged to take any pains in improving the state of this great staple. We refer not to one, but to the principal cotton districts of India; some situated near the coast, others far in the interior, but all laboring under the same reproach of sending dirty cotton to market.

The province of GUZERAT may first command our notice, as being one of the principal cotton districts of India, and having within it both Surat and Broach, the two places most celebrated for the goodness of the indigenous cotton. All parts of the district are, moreover, within a short distance of the sea-coast of the Gulf of Cambay. The produce is, moreover, conveyed only in carts and in the dry weather; it cannot, therefore, suffer from the state of the roads; while the freight from Broach to Bombay, as stated by the Bombay Cotton Committee, is as low as from London to Hull. Mr. Vaupell, who describes himself as having had several years' occupation and experience in the cotton trade (from 1818 to 1826), has published the result of his observations in the 'Transactions of the Agricultural Society of Bombay.' Mr. Vaupell says: "The cleanliness of the article depends mainly upon the attention bestowed in the gathering; but the cotton, as it comes from the gin, is beautifully clean, and if forthwith taken to the screws and packed in bales, would be all that could be desired; but it is generally either put into burkees or dokras (large gunny or cloth bags), in carts; and while so doing is adulterated with seed, cotton in seed, fine sand, or finely-powdered salt, scattered over it at intervals. Another mode of adulteration is, by having the entire area of the yard, or court, daily fresh cow-dunged about sunset in the evening; and the cotton, as it comes from the churkas, spread thereon before the ground is half dry. The dews of the night are then allowed to fall upon it; and early next morning, before the sun is up, it is packed into bales. This process, besides tinging and soiling the cotton with the wet cow-dung and earth, adds considerably to the weight of the article, while it materially injures it both in fibre and cleanliness.

"The cultivator has, generally speaking, no immediate inducement to render the produce of his fields unfit for the market, for in most cases he disposes of the cotton in seed, in the state in which it is gathered; from that moment his concern about it ceases, and it rests with the purchaser, or middleman, to prepare it for the exporter." These "agents employed between the grower and the exporter are generally Bannians, who, to the eastward of the Gulf of Cambay, are termed Wakarias. It is these people who find their interest in adulterating the cotton previous to disposing of it to the exporter." "Of late years, the quality of the produce has deteriorated considerably, more particularly in respect of cleanliness."

This view is fully confirmed in the "Letter of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Government of that Presidency," dated January 21, 1841, from which the author also quoted in the above paper.

"The baneful influence of these Wakarias, or Middlemen, is considered by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce as the principal cause which impedes the extension and improvement of the culture and trade of cotton in Western India, and which they characterize as 'the state of hopeless pecuniary bondage in which the ryots are kept from one generation to another to the Wakarias and village Bunyans.' These men make advances to the ryots to enable them to sow their cotton, and to pay their assessment, purchasing the produce always before it is gathered, more frequently before it is ripened, often before it is even sown. It is the same class of persons, the Wakarias, to whom most of the frauds enumerated above are to be attributed; and till the baneful influence of these men is supplanted, either by the gradual settlement of a superior class of agents in the districts, or by bringing those districts, by the aid of steam, within the immediate and certain reach of the European merchants, all other measures, it is feared, will fail." Again, par. 55, "With the employment of all other modes of encouragement, this the committee consider to be, after all, the great, almost the only eventually effectual, remedy for the numerous causes, whether arising from poverty, from ignorance, from negligence, or from fraud, which at present obstruct the improvement in cotton."

Merwanjee Hormusjee, who "served for several years, and with distinguished credit, as native agent for the provision of the Company's China and British Cotton investments," under Mr. Pelly, and who has since done much for the improvement of cotton, ascribes "the principal cause of the cotton of India not fetching prices equal to that of America," &c., "to the very careless manner in which it (the cotton) is gathered from the plant, and immediately after thrown into deep pits (kullees) dug for the purpose, and in which it becomes mixed up with clods of earth, imbibes the night-dues (dews), whereby its color and quality become injured." Dr. Gibson, who is so well acquainted with the habits and modes of thinking of the Natives, says, (*House of Commons' Return*, p. 60,) "They prefer the tolerably certain return received for the inferior article, to the trouble and expense required to produce cotton of superior cleanness." Dr. Johnston, Civil-Surgeon at Ahmedabad, attributes, (l. c.) among other causes, the little improvement in the gathering of cotton in Guzerat, "to the better return which the merchant in Bombay finds for the uncleaned and cheaper cotton, than he does for the cleanly-gathered and dearer article." Mr. Vibart, the Revenue-Commissioner of Bombay, (*Return*, p. 66,) writes, that "the cultivators find that as ready a sale is obtained for cotton in a dirty and adulterated state as when brought to the market in a clean and first-rate condition, while the difference of price between the two articles does not repay them for the additional time and labor."

The SOUTHERN MAHRATTA country, lying to the south, as Guzerat does to the north of Bombay, is the next district which we shall notice: it contains within it the district and town of Dharwar. From thence much of the cotton, known in the market as Coompta cotton, is obtained. The distance is about 100 miles to the port of shipment, and the expenses of conveyance were stated, by Mr. Mercer, to be 10 rupees for 784 lbs. of cotton, which cost from 40 to 50 rupees, but that they would not be more than 5 rupees if a cart-road was made all the way, that is, down the mountain-side. This road has been made, and the expenses must therefore be reduced.

Mr. Shaw, collector of Dharwar, in 1843, wrote, "That a cultivator that will clean and tend his jawarree (millet) and wheat-field, will leave his cotton plantation to take care of itself, gathering the wool at the close of the season, some of which has fallen, and been lying for days on the ground, some scarcely in a fit state to be picked; neither can he understand that it is of any kind of importance it should be otherwise, although he knows full well, were he to pursue this course with his jawarree, or wheat, that he would be a sufferer, as the persons who purchase the one consume it on the spot, whilst the cotton is bought by an indifferent agent, shipped to a distant market, and there fetches just perhaps a remunerating price."

Messrs. Mercer and Blount, two of the American planters who have contributed so much to the improvement of the cotton of India, on their return had an interview with the Commercial Association of Manchester. Mr. Blount stated that the ryots "leave all the cotton in the field until the whole is ripe, and then they make one gathering of it; they get together the fresh and the old, making no distinction between the cotton and the dirt." Mr. Mercer stated that the person who usually advanced money to the ryot was himself a poor man. "He obtained this money from the banker, and buys the cotton from the ryot in connection with a large merchant, whose business it is to screw down the middleman to the lowest figure he can. The latter has no margin to go on; and on the slightest fluctuation of price, he has recourse to the expedient of scattering in seed and putting water on the cotton, to increase the weight. The native merchant afterwards does not hesitate, if his profits do not promise to be large, to add a little sand and water also, and thinks there is nothing like having good weight when he delivers it (the cotton), and he knew many instances where the cotton had been repacked and the same system carried on."

Mr. Shaw says (l. c., p. 483), "It is, moreover, to me a mystery that a mercantile community like that existing in Bombay, should contentedly continue purchasing ill-cleaned and badly-cultivated cotton-wool at the Presidency, when an individual or company may here, on the spot, purchase cotton grown, if they please, under their own instructions, clean it, screw it, and ship it, at nearly half the price."

Before proceeding further, it is desirable to notice the quantities of cotton which are imported into, and afterwards exported from, Bombay. The Cotton Committee appointed there in 1846 give in their Report, dated March, 1847, a detailed account of the sources whence cotton is obtained, and packed and screwed into bales in the Island of Bombay previous to being re-exported. Thus—*Abstract of Statement* A:

Average Annual Imports into Bombay for thirteen years, ending with 1846.

From Guzerat	59,873,024
" Conkun (Concan)	30,763,610
" Malabar and Canara	11,684,583
" Cutch and Scinde	5,397,438
" All other quarters	110,366
Total	107,829,021

The average exports for the same years are stated by the Committee in their Report, to have amounted to 117,303,364 pounds, and that the largest export was in 1843–4, and amounted to 171,453,725 pounds; and that the smallest export was in 1834–35, and "That the first eight months of the current year, 1846–47, is proportionately much lower than any year immediately preceding it." With respect to the discrepancy between the imports and exports the Committee observe, p. 11: "In completion of these statistical records of the Cotton trade of Bombay, we beg leave to submit to government the following furthor information, which has been placed at the disposal of the Committee in the course of its inquiries:

Statement (H) showing the quantity of Cotton imported into Bombay by sea from 1834 to 1846 inclusive, to have been...	12,515,868 cwts.
Statement (I) showing the quantity sent in over the Sion Causeway from 1st May, 1839, to 31st Dec., 1846, to have been: India maunds 220,199 22a., or	161,805 cwts.
Total	12,677,673 cwts.

Or 937,896 cwts. less than the quantity which appears according to statement (A)."

The Committee also observe: "That the decline in quantity has been accompanied for seven years by a gradually increasing decline in value also." With regard to this observation, it is probable that the former is only a consequence of the latter. For the Committee afterwards refer to "the healthy action produced upon the market by the comparatively small advance in the prices paid at Liverpool in August and September last, an advance which was quite sufficient to leave considerable profit to the exporter, with some benefit to the cotton trade also."

The quantity of cotton produced in Guzerat was estimated in the year 1789 to have been about 43,000 candies (of 784 lbs.), of which from 25,000 to 30,000 bales were exported. The price at that time of Ahmood and Broach cotton is stated to have been, at Surat, in March, Rs. 95 per candy, and in April, Rs. 98, but which fell before the season closed, in May, to Rs. 88 or Rs. 90. The price at Broach was from Rs. 12 to 15 less, according as the cotton had been brought by sea or by land to Surat. (E. I. C.'s papers, p. 10.) The zillah of 'Baroche' was acquired by conquest and cession in 1802–3 and in 1817; Lieut.-Colonel Williams, who surveyed it from 1816 to 1820, writes that "kuppas (seed-cotton) has of late years become a primary object of cultivation in this collectorate, as well as in the adjoining purgunnah, in consequence of the advance in its price from Rs. 45 to about Rs. 70 per bar (960 lbs.)" "The quality of all the cotton of the collectorate is the same, but its value is affected by its being gathered and kept free from all kinds of dirt, leaves, &c.; it is divided by the Commercial Department into three classes, according to the degrees of its cleanness; and the first class, or toomel (picked), fetches 4 rupees per bar more than the third class, which is called 'rasee.'"—'*Survey*,' p. 42.

The average exports of cotton from the different ports of Guzerat to Bombay, from the year 1834 to 1846, were about 60,000,000 of pounds, but in 1840–41 amounted to upwards of 96,000,000. A candy of cotton (784 lbs.), which had been as high as Rs. 165 in 1817–18, was sold in Bombay, in 1846, as low as 67 rupees; but the average at that time was 75, and is now about 80 rupees.

The Guzerat cotton, as it is sometimes all called, is produced within the Collectorates of Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, and the contiguous native states; for instance, that which comes from Gogo is the produce of Kattywar, while some Candeish cotton is occasionally sent down by the Comdabarree Pass into the Surat Collectorate, and is from thence forwarded by sea to Bombay.

Under the head of Cutch and Scinde are included the produce of the former province, and the extensive native districts contiguous thereto, including all cotton exported from Kattywar, excepting that from Gogo.

The cotton which comes from the Conkun, or is exported from the ports under the Tanna and Rutnagerry Collectorates, such as Oomergaum, Tanapoor, Mahim, Bassein, Callian, Salsette, Caranja, Panwell, Rygur, Rajapoor, Anjunwell, Rutnagerry, Viziadroog, Malwan, and Vingorla, is the produce of the Collectorates of Candeish and of Sholapore, but to a much greater extent of the western parts of Berar, as far south as Shorapore (not Sholapore): some of this is known at Bombay as Bursee cotton.

The cotton from Canara and Malabar, exported from the various ports of the extended coast, and known as Coompta cotton at Bombay from the principal port, is the produce of the Collectorates of Belgaum and of Dharwar, commonly called the Southern Mahratta country, as well as of the most southern part of Berar; and likewise of Bellary and the neighboring districts of the Madras Presidency, to which these two Collectorates, indeed, belong.

The average exports from Canara to Bombay amounted for the thirteen years ending with 1846 to about ten millions of pounds annually, and from Malabar to somewhat less than a million annually for the same period, having been only 728 pounds in 1837–38, though much higher in other years.

"Another item of great importance in the calculation of the cost of the cotton of Western India remains now to be considered; namely, the expense of conveying it from the various districts of its production to Bombay, as the port of shipment. We find, with respect to the cost of bringing cotton to Bombay by sea, whether from the ports of Guzerat to the northward, or those of the Conkun and Canara to the southward, that the ordinary rates of freight on native craft are sufficiently low, excepting occasionally towards the close of the fair season, to preclude the possibility of any reduction of practical utility being effected under this head. Three rupees per candy of seven cwt. appears to be about the average rate throughout the season from Broach, Tunkaria Bunder and Coompta, a rate which, if we suppose every candy of cotton to be carried 250 miles by sea, will be found not to exceed three-fourths to seven-eighths of a penny per ton per mile, and not more, we understand, than would be incurred in sending the same cotton a similar distance in the United Kingdom, or say between London and Hull, when the navigation is not closed for one-third of the year, as it is in this country."

If we proceed further southward into the territories of the Madras Presidency, we find the same methods pursued. Mr. Sullivan, then (in 1840) a member of Council at Madras, observes in a Minute, that "Dr. Wight gives 70 and 90 rupees the candy of 500 lbs. as the price paid for the Bourbon and indigenous cotton of the South of India; these are the prices paid to the brokers; the prices paid to the growers do not exceed 40 or 50 rupees, about 2¼*d.* per lb., while the price realized by the exporter is from 6*d.* to 11*d.*" It is quite clear from this that what is wanted, as Dr. Wight observes, is "more competition among buyers, and somewhat higher prices to growers." The distance from Coimbatore to Cochin, the port of shipment, is 150 miles, 90 of cart-road and 60 of backwater. The expenses, according to Mr. Petrie, are 6¾ rupees for cart and boat for a bale of cotton from Coimbatore to Cochin.

Mr. Fischer, who has long been settled in the interior, and is described by the Madras Government as having extensive annual contracts with the cotton growers of the Salem and Coimbatore districts, gives it as his opinion, in a letter dated 14th May, 1841, to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, "that the general inferiority of our cotton is to be attributed mainly to the manner in which the trade in this article is at present carried on, namely, by the medium of a succession of brokers, from the dubash of the Madras agent to the village chetty, who advances to the ryot in his hour of need, whereby but the smallest per-centage of profit remains to the ryot after each of these middlemen has made his own profit; and consequently, the ryot has no sufficient inducement to bestow any other care than to reap the greatest possible quantity from his cotton-field."—(*Return*, p. 315.)

Mr. Petrie, in his evidence before the Cotton Committee in 1848, having referred first to the carelessness of the natives in gathering their cotton, and to his having succeeded in inducing them to take more pains, stated that "the up-country market is badly regulated; good articles do not always sell at their real value, and the price, even for the best cotton in the market, is but little more than it is for the worst; cotton that would be sold in England at 4½*d.* per lb., and cotton that would only bring 3*d.*, will sell there within 3 or 4 per cent. of the same value; the cultivators know this, and therefore they have no object in bestowing more care and labor."—(*Report*, p. 198.)

Mr. Finnie, one of the American planters, who had transferred his services from the Bengal Presidency to that of Madras, describes, in a letter to the latter Government, the state of the trade at Tinnivelly, the most southern cotton district, and from whence the cotton is shipped by the southern port of Tuticorin: "Here (Tinnivelly) the field is occupied by European agents, who, instead of encouraging the people to bring clean cotton, give a premium indirectly on the dirtiest trash. A contract is made, usually by the house itself, with the chetties for such a quantity of cotton of such a quality, and the very lowest sum is fixed. The chetty, finding he cannot get a price that would justify the delivery of such cotton as he has contracted for, agrees to it, well knowing that they must take such as he chooses to deliver them at the time. He knows they have their engagements to meet; they have made their arrangements; a ship is perhaps waiting; the presses are idle, and he brings in his cotton to the agent, who has merely to receive it.

"The cotton is produced by the ryot. He is always in his banker's books, as deep in proportion to his means, as his European master, and can do nothing without aid. The brokers, or cotton cleaners, or gin-house men, are the middlemen between the chetty and the ryot. The chetties, being moneyed men, make an advance to the broker. The broker is particular in classifying the seed-cotton, and pays for it according to cleanliness, and then he has much of the trash and rotten locks picked out, not to make the cotton better, but because the rubbish chokes the churka and prevents it from working. The good cotton is then separated from the seed; and the bad stuff, which had been taken away from the good, is beaten with a stone to loosen up the rotten fibre from the seed, and then it is passed through the churka. The good cotton and this bad stuff are both taken into a little room 6 × 6, which is entered by a low door about 18 inches by 2 feet, and a little hole, as a ventilator, is made through the outer wall. Two men then go in with a bundle of long smooth rods in each hand, and a cloth is tied over the mouth and nose; one man places his back so as to stop the little door completely, to prevent waste, and they both set to work to whip the cotton with their rods, to mix the *good and bad together* so thoroughly, that a very tolerable article it turned out. Even after all this bedevilling, if the people get a living price for it, they let it go as it is. But, as is usually the case, they are shaved so close, that they are driven to resort to another means of realizing a profit. They add a handful or two of seed to every bundle, and this is delivered to the chetties, and the chetties deliver it to the European agents, and the European agents save their exchange, and their object is gained. The cotton is taken by the manufacturer at a low price, because he knows not what he is buying."

Mr. Mercer has also stated, and Mr. Finnie confirms the statement, "that an inferior and dirty cotton is the more profitable article to the native trade, and even to the European merchants." The Marquis of Tweeddale, at that time Governor of Madras, observes upon this statement, "It is manifest from this, and from the inferior condition in which the cotton wool of India continues to be sent to the British market, that the interests of the dealer or broker, and the merchant, are not identical with those of the manufacturer or the Government.

"The object of the latter is to raise and bring into the market an article of such quality, and at such a cost, as may stand in permanent competition with American cotton. The merchant and agent has no object in the transaction, but his immediate profits in any one year; and if the inferior article yield him as handsome or even a better profit than a selected and better article would do at a higher price, he will doubtless take it off the grower's and native dealer's hands to any extent, and it is hopeless to look for any permanent improvement under this system."

Art. V.—THE INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES.

[The Report of the English Commissioners to the American Exhibition in New-York has, at last, been published. It embraces an extended view of the manufacturing system of the United States, written in the most liberal spirit. There are parts of the Report which will be given to the REVIEW in this and the following numbers.—ED.]

MARINE ENGINES, BEAM-ENGINES, RIVER AND LAKE STEAMERS, CALORIC ENGINES, RAILROAD WORKS, BUTTONS, PINS, CUTLERY, ETC.

THE vast resources of the United States are now being developed by the universal application of machinery, with a rapidity that is altogether unprecedented.

The principal marine steam-engine works are in New-York; but there are large establishments of a mixed character in almost every town of importance. The practice which prevails of combining various branches of manufacture in the same establishment, would also render separate descriptions of each somewhat complicated. In some cases the manufacture of locomotives is combined with that of mill-gearing, engine-tools, spinning, and other machinery. In others, marine engines, hydraulic presses, forge hammers, and large cannon are all made in the same establishments. The policy of thus mixing together the various branches arises, in addition to other causes, from the fact that the demand is not always sufficient to occupy large works in a single manufacture.

Nearly all the marine-engine works in New-York are conveniently situated on the water side, and have slips attached to their yards, where vessels may be moored. The rise and fall of the tide is generally so small as to obviate the necessity of docks. Steam-engines having their beams above the deck, are commonly used for the river and ferry boats, and they have generally a very long stroke. The following are some of the dimensions of a beam-engine of one of the New-York river steamers. Length of stroke, 12 feet; length of beam, 24 feet; depth of beam in the middle, 10 feet. The form of the beam is that of an elongated parallelogram; the outer frame or skeleton is made in one piece of wrought iron, inside of which is fitted another frame of cast iron, carrying the axis.

A steamboat running on the Ohio, from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, has a pair of direct-acting engines with 32-inch cylinders and 8 feet stroke. There is no main crank-shaft connecting the two paddle-wheels, but each engine works its own wheel independently of the other. This arrangement enables the boat to be steered with greater facility round the sharp turns encountered in the tortuous course of the river. The framework and outer bearings of the paddle-wheels are supported by suspension-rods, which are, as it were, slung over beams, and framework strongly constructed and fitted in the centre of the vessel. The main deck is 280 feet long, and 58 feet wide. The paddles are 38 feet in diameter, having 24 floats, 12 feet wide by 28 inches in depth. For shallow rivers, flat-bottomed steamers, propelled by a paddle-wheel at the stern, are commonly used. Two are being built of iron in New-York, drawing only two and a half feet of water, which are intended for the passage across the Isthmus of Panama by the Nicaragua route.

A marine-engine establishment at Buffalo is principally occupied in making engines for screw steamers intended for lake and river navigation. The propellers of those intended to run in shallow waters are made with four, and sometimes six blades each, and revolve with rather less than half their diameter immersed in the water. The blades are made of wrought iron, and bolted on to a cast-iron boss, fitted on the propeller-shaft, so that a blade broken or damaged by coming in contact with "snags," or other obstructions, may be easily replaced. Some of the dimensions of the machinery in a lake boat, used for carrying cargo, are as follows:—The propeller is 16 feet in diameter, with a pitch of 17 feet 3 inches, making 60 revolutions per minute; the cylinders are 36 inches in diameter, with a 10-feet stroke, and the speed attained averages about eleven miles per hour. The vessel has an upper deck for the accommodation of about sixty passengers. Small high-pressure steam-engines, for flour-mills, agricultural implements, and other machinery, are made in the same establishment.

Ericsson's caloric-engines have lately undergone repair and alteration in New-York, with the view of making the heated air act alternately upon each side of the piston, similarly to steam in an ordinary engine. The bottom of the cylinder is made of wrought iron, and arched. The upper part, in which the piston works, is of cast iron, and is connected to the lower part by bolts. It was this lower portion which proved defective in strength in the late experiments.

The iron castings in some of the establishments are very good, and cylinders from 8 to 14 feet in diameter are well bored, with a finishing feed of cut of about three-eighths of an inch per revolution, which is at a width of cut at least three times as great as that ordinarily given in English works.

At Pittsburgh a large casting for a hydraulic press was lately cooled by the following method:—Water was introduced into the interior of a core by a pipe, which extends to the bottom, and fills it previous to casting, provision being made for the escape of the air by making the core fluted.

When the metal was poured into the mould, it immediately heated the water, which was then drawn off by an escape-pipe at the top of the core, a supply of cold water continually running in at the bottom.

Heat was thus gradually taken from the mass, and the whole cooled uniformly. This casting was 10 inches thick, and weighed 7 tons. It took from three to four days in cooling.

Major Wade, of Pittsburgh, has made many experiments on the tensile strength of this iron. He found that it required a force of 45,000 pounds to tear asunder a bar an inch square. Some of the results of his experiments have been published by the United States Government, in the *Ordnance Manual.*

The process of "pickling castings," as it is called, is performed in the following manner:

The castings are placed on two wooden stages, covered with lead, each being 20 feet by 12 feet wide, and supported by two rollers, about 18 inches from the floor. The trough containing the pickle (which consists of 2½ parts of water to 1 of acid) is of the same length as the stages, which are inclined towards it, to enable it to receive the drainings. The diluted acid is poured over the castings by hand, from a long ladle; and when they are dry, the operation is repeated as often as necessary. The stages are then inclined in the opposite direction, and cleansed from the coating of acid and sand by a powerful stream of water directed upon them from a hose-pipe.

In this country, when the process of pickling is adopted for light castings, it is usual to immerse them in the liquid. The American method was probably adopted in consequence of the high price commanded by manual labor.

The leading and trailing wheels of locomotives and railway carriage wheels are commonly hollow cast-iron disc wheels.

The process of annealing adopted in a large manufactory in Philadelphia is as follows:

The wheels are taken from the moulds, as soon after they are cast as they can bear moving, without changing their form, and before they have become strained while cooling. In this state they are put into a circular furnace or chamber, which has been previously heated to a temperature about as high as that of the wheels when taken from the mould. As soon as they are deposited in this furnace or chamber, the opening through which they are passed is covered, and the temperature of the furnace and its contents is gradually raised to a point a little below that at which fusion commences. All the avenues to and from the interior of the furnace are then closed, and the whole mass is left to cool gradually, as the heat permeates through the exterior wall, which is composed of fire-brick, four and a half inches thick, inclosed in a circular case of sheet iron one-eighth inch thick.

By this process the wheel is raised to one temperature throughout before it begins to cool in the furnace, and, as the heat can only pass off through the medium of the wall, all parts of each wheel cool and contract simultaneously. The time required to cool a furnace full of wheels in this manner is about four days; and in this manner wheels of any form, and of almost any proportions, can be made with a solid nave.

The manufacture of these wheels was commenced in 1847, and in 1850, 15 tons weight were cast per day. The foundry and works as now completed are calculated to turn out 40 tons per day.

In another establishment the wheels while hot are lifted from the mould, and the centre part is placed in a hole communicating by means of a flue with a high chimney, and the edge is packed round with sand. A draught is thus created, which cools the mass of iron near the centre of the wheel, and in some measure prevents it from contracting unequally during the operation.

At a foundry in Worcester, the wheels when cast were taken hot from the moulds, and immersed in a pit of white sand, where they are left to cool gradually. In order to obtain the best chill, it is considered necessary to use cold blast iron made with charcoal.

There is a large demand for railroad spikes in the United States. On nearly all the railroads the rails are laid on transverse wooden sleepers, and are simply fastened down by large iron spikes with projecting heads, except at the junction of two rails, where the ordinary chair is employed.

In a manufactory at Pittsburgh, there is a machine which makes these spikes, each weighing ½ lb., at the rate of 50 per minute. They are packed in kegs, each containing 300. Seven men only are employed on the works, and they manufacture 5 tons of spikes per day.

In another establishment at Pittsburgh, 250 men are employed in manufacturing bar iron, rods, sheets, and nails. The iron is manufactured both with anthracite coal and charcoal.

They have 51 machines for making cut nails; many of them are self-acting in the feeding for the smaller sizes; the strip of iron is inserted in a tube, which is made to revolve alternately half round each way. They make 2,000 kegs of such nails per week, each weighing 100 lbs., and containing sizes from fourpenny up to tenpenny nails.

There is in the same factory a rivet-making machine, which makes rivets weighing seven to the pound, at the rate of 80 per minute. Its main shaft carries two cams, one a side cam which gives the motion for cutting off and holding the iron between the dies, the other a direct cam for forming the head of the rivet.

The cams for the nail-machines are made of chilled cast iron, and that part of the lever which acts against the cam is faced with a plate of bell-metal. Several large grinding-stones are used, having mouldings on their peripheries for restoring the dies when worn.

It is usual in this country to soften the dies by annealing previous to restoring their shape, and again hardening them subsequently. The shape may be thus more perfectly restored, but at a greater cost; and the operation of softening and re-hardening deteriorates the quality of the steel.

The manufacture of cast steel is not carried on to any great extent in the United States. Some works have been started in Pittsburgh, which have hitherto met with great difficulties, but they are now more successful.

Workmen were obtained from Sheffield, but they are said to be intractable, and fail to give satisfaction to their employers. There are two converting and nine melting furnaces, producing upwards of 2,000 lbs. per day. The steel sells at 17½ cents per pound (8¾*d.*).

The engine-tools employed in the different works are generally similar to those which were used in this country some years ago, being much lighter, and less accurate in their construction than those now in use, and turning out less work in consequence. The proportion of slide to hand lathes is greater than in the generality of English workshops. Planing and drilling machines are commonly used; but there are comparatively very few horizontal or vertical shaping-machines, and a considerable amount of hand labor is therefore expended on work which could be performed by machines much more economically.

The foundries are, for the most part, large and well arranged, and are furnished with good powerful cranes. Great anxiety is now manifested by many manufacturers to have engine-tools of a better description than those in use; and before long there will, no doubt, be great improvement in this respect.

The energetic character of the American people is nowhere more strikingly displayed than in the young manufacturing settlements that are so rapidly springing up in the Northern States.

A retired valley and its stream of water become in a few months the seat of manufactures; and the dam and water-wheel are the means of giving employment to busy thousands, where before nothing more than a solitary farm-house was to be found. Such, in a few words, is the history of Waterbury, and all the Naugatuck settlements of Holyoke, Chicopee, Lowell, and Laurence.

Waterbury is situated in the Naugatuck valley, about 24 miles north of New-Haven. It contains many manufacturing establishments, carried on principally by joint-stock companies. Besides other firms, there are 28 companies of which the greater number are employed in the manufacture of rolled and sheet brass, copper wire, buttons, German silver, pins, cutlery, hooks-and-eyes. The others are employed in manufacturing hosiery, felt, cloth, webbing, covered buttons, umbrella trimmings, leather, &c., &c.

Great facilities are afforded in many of the States for the formation of manufacturing companies. The liabilities of partners not actively engaged in the management are limited to the proportion of the capital subscribed by each, and its amount is published in the official statements of the company. In the case of the introduction of a new invention, or a new manufacture, the principle of limited liability produces most beneficial results. Persons who, from their connections or occupations, are likely to be interested in, or profit by, the new invention or manufacture, readily associate together and subscribe capital to give the new proposal a fair trial, when they are assured that their risk will not extend beyond the amount which they may choose to contribute.

The cost of obtaining an act of incorporation is very trifling; in one case where the capital of the company amounted to $600,000 (£120,000), the total cost of obtaining an incorporation was 50 cents (2*s.* 1*d.*).

Upwards of 200 men are employed by one of the companies in the manufacture of buttons, hinges, daguerreotype plates and frames.

The round-shaped button is formed by two punches, one working inside the other, each being driven by a separate eccentric, and the inside punch having the longer stroke. By this arrangement the disc is forced through the die, and drops into a box, thus saving the labor of picking out, which is necessary where a single punch and solid die are used. The spindle of the polishing lathe, in which the bottom is fixed whilst being burnished, makes 10,000 revolutions per minute.

The lathe in which the oval frames, used as settings for daguerreotypes, are turned, has an oval chuck, and a stationary cutting-tool fixed to the slide rest, for "truing out" the previously punched oval. Two milling-tools are used, one for forming the bevelled edge, the other for ornamenting the face of the oval frame. The milling-tool, as it revolves, is allowed to swivel so as to accommodate itself to the oval. When the bevelled edge has been formed, the first milling-tool is removed and another substituted while the work revolves. One workman is able to turn, and ornament by milling, two gross of frames per day.

No description of the machinery used in pin-making can be given, as the process of "papering" is all that is permitted to be seen.

The pins are all papered by machinery: they are placed in a shallow feeding-dish in an inclined position, so as to allow them to descend gradually as they are shaken by a quick vibratory motion. They fall from the spout of the feeding-dish upon the centre of an inclined shallow trough, about 18 inches long, through which runs lengthwise a slit sufficiently wide to admit the shank of a pin, and yet suspend it by its head. It being a matter of chance, when the pin falls from the spout, whether it will drop into the slit or slide down the trough, a sufficient number are allowed to descend to insure the filling of the slit by those which happen to fall favorably.

The superfluous pins slide down into a box, from which they are again lifted from time to time to the upper feeding-dish. The descending line of suspended pins is conducted by the slit (which is covered at its lower end) to a sliding-frame, which is worked by the woman who attends the machine.

The frame carries a dozen grooves, and in each of these a pin is deposited as it passes under the slit: the pins are thus arranged in a row, with their points all turned the same way. The sheet of paper for receiving them is placed by the attendant on a grooved table, and deep folds are pressed into it at equal distances, and into the cross ridges thus formed, a row of pins is pushed by the carrying-frame at every thrust forward.

Under no circumstances whatever are strangers allowed to enter the rooms in which the pin-making machines are at work. The workmen employed are obliged to enter into a bond, and find two sureties, that they will not disclose anything relative to the machinery. The company prefer keeping their mode of operation a secret in this way to taking out a patent.

Three different descriptions of machines are employed in making hooks-and-eyes,—the wire being let in on one side of the machine, and a completed hook or eye dropped out on the other. The machines appear to make them at the rate of about 100 per minute. About 80 hands are employed, who are said to make 1,200 packs of pins, each containing 3,360 pins, and 2,500 gross of hooks-and-eyes, per day.

The cutlery and file works are conducted on a limited scale. Many beautifully finished knives were exhibited in the New-York Exhibition, and were said to command a higher price than those of a similar class imported from this country.

The artisans are employed principally on piece-work. In the cutlery department one workman will earn $70 (about £14) per month, while the earnings of others occupied on precisely the same kind of work only amounted to $30 (£6) per month.

Thus it will be seen that each workman does the best he can for himself, irrespective of others, and reaps the reward due to his superior skill and industry.

Art. VI.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT CHARLESTON.

SIXTH AND LAST DAY.

At 9 A. M., the hour to which the Convention had adjourned, the Hon. Wm. C. Dawson, President, took the Chair.

The Rev. Mr. Breck, of Georgia, opened the session with prayer.

The journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The President stated that resolutions would now be in order.

Mr. J. H. Furman, of Georgia, offered the following resolution, viz.:

Resolved, That this Convention cordially recommends to the patronage of Southern men the "Southern Quarterly Review;" a new periodical, "The Self-Instructor," published in Charleston, S. C.; De Bow's Review, published in New-Orleans; the "Southern Eclectic," published in Augusta, Ga.; the "Southern Literary Messenger," published in Richmond, Va.; and all other periodicals devoted to the interests of the South and South-west.

Mr. C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, moved to amend by adding, "and such other periodicals as are strictly devoted to the objects contemplated by this Convention."

The question being upon the amendment, it was adopted; and the resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

Mr. B. F. Perry, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That the "Southern Quarterly Review," published in the city of Charleston, by a native Virginian, and edited by one of the most distinguished literary gentlemen of the South, being the only periodical of that character printed and published in the Southern States, and having always defended the institutions and interests of the South, is entitled to the patronage of the Southern people, and this Convention earnestly recommends it to their favorable consideration.

Gov. Leake, of Virginia, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be unanimously tendered to the authorities and citizens of Charleston, and State of South Carolina, for the considerate kindness and elegant hospitality with which its members have been entertained during its sessions.

Gov. Leake, of Virginia, offered the following resolution, which was, upon his motion, laid on the table, viz.:

Resolved, That the State of Virginia invite the Southern Convention to hold their next annual session in the city of Norfolk, Va., at such time as may best suit their convenience.

Mr. Ashbury Hull, of Georgia, offered the following resolution, which, upon his motion, was laid on the table, viz.:

Whereas, the objects and aims of the Southern Agricultural Convention coincide with those of the Southern and South-western Convention; and whereas, also, the annual assemblage of each, in an independent organization, is attended with some inconvenience; therefore,

Resolved, That the Southern Agricultural Convention be, and it is hereby respectfully invited, upon such plan as may seem to that body most expedient, to unite with this Convention as one body, in the promotion of Southern and South-western agriculture and commerce.

The orders of the day were then resumed, being the fourth resolution of the third report.

Mr. Nelson Tift, of Georgia, offered the following as a substitute, viz.:

"That one or more railroads, connecting our railroads in the Atlantic and Gulf States with the Pacific Ocean, would promote every interest in the country, and make the United States the receiver and distributor of the commerce of the world; that every movement of our railroads westward is a step towards the accomplishment of this object; and that in the opinion of this Convention, private enterprise, aided by such legislative means as the several States may furnish, and by such grants of alternate sections of land as Congress may grant consistently with the interest of all the States in the public lands, are the most safe and certain means of accomplishing the objects proposed."

Gov. Jones, of Tennessee, addressed the Convention as follows:

He suggested whether it would not be better to ask the President of the United States to open negotiations with the Government of Mexico, to secure a route for this road, and in case of the failure of that, to adopt such a resolution. His reason was this: such a course would do no harm, and would give the South both chances. If a route was secured by the government, it would be more sacred than any that might be secured by a corporation. It was admitted on all hands that a corporation had a right to make a contract with any government; but what right had they to suppose that a contract, thus made, would be respected for a single year, if it suited the purpose of the government, with which it was made to rescind it? Governments had already repudiated contracts again and again. If a corporation were formed, and negotiated with the Government of Mexico for a route, it might happen, before another year rolled round, that the government of that country would undergo a revolution, and the contract, thus made, be repudiated. The instability of that government was proverbial; and what security would such a corporation have? The Government of the United States could not be there to back such a corporation. He thought, therefore, that the Convention ought simply to ask, at present, that the President of the United States institute negotiations for the right of way, and then, if that was not accomplished, let us take all the chances we could, and form a corporation.

Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, addressed the Convention as follows:

I am opposed, Mr. President, to the resolutions of the gentleman from Arkansas, as visionary, utterly impracticable, and unmanageable in their details. The plan contemplates a great Southern association of sovereign States to build the Pacific Railroad on the Southern route. The first objection which I urge is, that it is a combination of Southern States only.

We are here in a Convention of Southern, Western, and South-Western States, for commercial purposes. True, I admit that the Pacific Railroad and all railroads, are legitimate subjects of consideration, because they facilitate, promote and advance our commercial prosperity in an eminent degree. It was my deep interest in railroads that brought me here, but I shall advocate no combination of the Southern States into a body corporate, to the exclusion of the Western and South-Western States. It savors of politics, and all political agitation in this body I eschew.

These conventions I approve, because by an interchange of views and opinions, we may improve the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial condition of our country. One of the resolutions contemplates an application to a foreign power for a right of way through its territory. I am a State Rights man, and am so held by all who know me. I am so, sir, because it is a principle, with that class of men, to hold the Federal Government to the exercise of its granted powers only; reserving to the States and the people all powers not granted by the Constitution. The power to negotiate with a foreign nation—to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, is expressly given to the General Government. Let that government perform its proper functions. I cannot express the opinion that this Convention shall create a *corporation of the Southern States* with the power to negotiate with a foreign nation. Individuals may contract with foreign countries, and so may associations of individuals. But the States, in their sovereign capacities, have surrendered this power, and therefore should not attempt to create an incorporation of the Southern States for such a purpose.

The plan contemplates a charter by Virginia, authorizing the fourteen Southern States to become parties by subscribing $2,000,000 each, and also admitting individuals, cities, and the Indian tribes, to become stockholders. Will any man, after reflection, say that there is the least probability that any one of the States will come into the measure? My colleague, Mr. T. A. Marshall, has shown that Mississippi cannot. The constitutions of Kentucky and Louisiana, we are told, forbid them from becoming members of the corporation. Other State constitutions, no doubt, have similar restrictions against such bold and reckless appropriations. But, sir, if there were no such obstructions, would any State enter such an association upon a question of policy? Not one of the fourteen.

Sir, how could this institution be managed? By a board of directors, I presume; each State having equal voice. Would not these State officials be obliged to consult their States on all important questions? Must not the Legislatures be convened to give instructions? The machinery of this wild scheme is too heavy, sir; it will fall to pieces of its own weight.

But if individuals and the Indian tribes come in, how much weight are they to have? and how exercised in the management of this grand machine? It is too complicated to work well. If the Convention adopt it, this is the last we will hear of it. Other objections have been noticed by other members, but I shall not repeat them.

Sir, where is the necessity of this new plan, of ponderous and unmanageable dimensions?

There is in existence a charter, granted by the State of Louisiana to the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad Company, which is ample for the purpose. Its capital is only $4,000,000, 'tis true; but it contains a clause authorizing a union of any other road, in extension of the route, through Texas or elsewhere. This charter was obtained for the express purpose of building a railroad across the State of Louisiana, with a view to its extension to the Pacific Ocean, along the line of 32.30 North latitude.

The State has taken one-fifth of the capital stock, $800,000. The company is fully organized, the route surveyed, and *they are ready for operations*, without waiting for the action of the Virginia Legislature, now, or a long time hereafter, to form a new organization. I here exhibit in the hands of Colonel Oakey, a map of this route, in its connections with the railroad system east of the Mississippi, as well as its extension through Texas, New-Mexico, Sonora and California, to the Pacific Ocean, at San Diego. A straight line from this city to San Diego, never north of latitude 33, never south of 32 north latitude. A route that has no obstacles to overcome, no snow or ice to impair its usefulness at all seasons of the year; a route which is the shortest that can be obtained from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, passing through the heart of the cotton region of the United States, identifying the interest of the States represented in this Convention. One of these Southern States, the youngest in the family, by an enlightened policy which cannot be too highly extolled, has recently passed a law, granting twenty sections of her domain for every mile of railroad that shall be made through her territory, beginning at a point on the eastern boundary not north of Fulton, on the Red River, and running west of El Paso, a distance of 750 miles or more. That charter likewise contains a clause authorizing a union with other roads, in extension of the route. At that time there were two roads west of the Mississippi—the Vicksburg and Shreveport road, and the New-Orleans and Opelousas road—aiming to reach the Pacific. through Texas. I believe, sir, that it is the general desire in Texas, that their road shall connect with the Vicksburg and Shreveport road, as the trunk route, and with the Opelousas and Memphis roads, as branches.

The number of acres granted is upwards of ten millions. It will be worth, when the road shall be completed, ten dollars per acre, or one hundred millions of dollars. But lest some may deem this estimate extravagant, let us suppose it will be worth five dollars per acre, or $50,000,000.

This is a low estimate, for the land is admitted to be fertile, and the climate delightful and salubrious.

Then let us estimate the cost of construction at $20,000 per mile, a very high estimate, the distance is seven hundred and fifty miles, and it will amount only to $22,500,000; leaving a balance in favor of the contractors of $27,500,000, and the road paid for. But, sir, let us suppose the road will cost $40,000 per mile, which is Colonel Abert's estimate, and it amounts to $30,000,000; leaving $20,000,000 in hand, and the road paid for.

Now, sir, this munificent offer is before us; and the Louisiana charter and company are ready for operations.

The Texas contract will be closed by the first of June. We have yet time enough. If the cities of Charleston, Savannah and New-Orleans, the three cities most deeply interested in the Pacific Railroad, will forthwith subscribe $500,000 each in the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Company, and advance $300,000 to deposit in Texas as a guarantee for making the first fifty miles in eighteen months after the contract, the Louisiana Company can bid for the contract, and my word for it, will get it in preference to any Northern company.

After the first fifty miles are made, the $300,000 will be redeemed, and the land for the fifty miles will come to the contractors, and can be sold for more than enough to make the next fifty miles, and so on through the State. But, sir, there will be no want of funds with such a contract and fifty miles of road finished. We can raise funds in abundance, by sale of stock; and the stock will command in any market apremium—a high premium—because it will be worth a high premium.

Here the President's hammer told that ten minutes had expired.

Mr. T. A. Marshall, of Mississippi, addressed the Convention as follows:

He said that this was a subject in which his constituents felt a deep interest, and he trusted that whatever action the Convention might take, it would meet the approval of business men. He did not desire that they should do anything which would subject them to the charge of fostering any "ism." Believing the plan proposed in the resolution now under consideration to be utterly impracticable, he could not see the wisdom or utility of adopting the resolution. Separated as these States were, with different interests, in many respects, although having one general interest, as a whole, it was hardly probable that the fourteen States could be brought to united action within a period of ten or twelve years.

But look at the question in another view. The resolution spoke of the necessity of speedy action; and in view of the importance of speedy action, what difficulties were to be surmounted? They were told the other day, by a delegate from Maryland, that the constitution of that State would prevent the State from entering into any association of the kind. In order, therefore, to have the co-operation of Maryland, her constitution would require to be amended, and that could not be done within a period of ten years.

Then, coming down to Virginia, would any delegate undertake to give a pledge that she would embark in a scheme of this kind?

Would the delegates of South Carolina say that she was ready to subscribe two or more millions of dollars in support of a work which was to commence seventeen hundred miles from her sea-board, when she had refused to subscribe $750,000 for a work at home?

Then go to Georgia. Would Georgia do so? Did the past experience of what had been done by that noble and energetic State show that she would give her support to a visionary scheme like this? He spoke with all respect of other gentlemen, and did not wish to excite any unpleasant feelings; at the same time he desired to have a fair, free and rational interchange of feelings and views. And would Georgia do a thing like this? And what would Alabama do? She had refused to aid her own works.

Go next to Mississippi, and he was free to confess that she could not undertake a work like this, and for one, he must say that he had no hope, not the slightest hope, of accomplishing such a result as was here contemplated. He had no idea that the people of Mississippi should submit to taxation for the construction of a road a thousand miles west of her borders.

Go to Arkansas, and was it probable that she would subscribe two millions to this end? Perhaps the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. Pike) might think she would, but he (Mr. M.) could hardly believe it possible.

Then, again, consider the instability of the investment. The money was to be invested for a work in a foreign country having one of the most unstable governments in the world. Go in this way through all the Southern States, and see if such would not be the result. He looked upon the scheme as entirely impracticable.

Judge Nesbit, of Georgia, addressed the Convention as follows:

He was opposed to the scheme of the gentleman from Arkansas, (Mr. Pike.) In the first place, the scheme seemed to him to be utterly impracticable; and was this Convention, which might be said to be a representation of the intelligence and moral worth of the Southern States, to give its approbation to a scheme, and send it forth to the world as a thing to be adopted, when every man of reflection and business talents must perceive that, if not stamped with the character of Quixotism, it at least bore the impress of impracticability? He was no stickler for constitutional scruples. He believed that the Constitution of the United States gave full power for the construction of works of internal improvement; but if he doubted the constitutionality of anything, he doubted the constitutionality of a scheme like this. Could the States colonize? He apprehended not. Could they become owners of real estate in foreign States, without legislation by the United States Government? He apprehended not. He did not mean to denounce this scheme as unconstitutional, but he must confess that he had serious doubts upon the subject.

But he had another objection. The scheme was emphatically sectional in its character. And how was it to be carried out? If the resolutions were adopted this moment, he was satisfied that twelve of the States never could be found to unite in the enterprise. The arguments of the gentleman from Mississippi, who last addressed the Convention, were conclusive to his mind, and what a vast theatre would it not open for the power of demagoguism! How many interests would it not have in opposition to it! From his knowledge of the character of the people of the South, he was satisfied a subscription would never be obtained from a single State, without a tremendous popular demonstration against it. You would go before the people of every State, with abstractionist orators *pro* and *con.* Several of the States were perhaps nearly equally divided upon the great question which agitated the South; and how could sufficient suffrages be commanded to insure the corporation? The scheme would invoke all the power of party spirit, of every shade and degree; and the result would be, in nine out of fourteen States, an absolute and unconditional failure.

Now if this were so, did they wish, as sensible men, to adopt a proposition which would be utterly ineffective? nay, worse than ineffective, for it would stamp the body as "impracticables." Would they ask him to go to his proud State of Georgia—proud in her internal improvements and in her capacity to think for herself—and ask her to lend her aid in an enterprise which he believed never could be carried out? Would they ask the merchants of New-Orleans and Mobile, and Savannah and Charleston, to enter into an *ad libitum* partnership with Cherokees, and Choctaws, and Chickasaws, and other Indian tribes? Why, was it not obvious to every man that there is nothing to which a man looks more closely than the investment of his capital? This was true of every man. And were the States of the Union less wise in their day in reference to money matters than individuals? Certainly not.

And then what about the procurement of this Mexican territory? Could it be obtained? If it could, what would be the position of the States as corporators? Could they trust the stability of Mexican institutions? They were more convulsive than the volcanic regions of the earth, and yet all the money raised and invested by such a corporation would be placed subject to the fate of constantly recurring revolutions of this, the most unstable people in the whole world. How would they secure their rights? Could they make war upon Mexico, in case of a violation of contract? Could they, at the point of the bayonet, compel her to respect their rights? Either they must do that, or they must do what they declared they would scorn to do, become suppliants at the feet of the National Government.

Whatever else might be proposed, he could not give his approbation to this resolution.

Lieut. M. F. Maury addressed the Convention as follows:

Lieut. Maury said he agreed with the gentlemen who preceded him, in their opposition to the details of this plan of a railroad to the Pacific. In his judgment these details not only involved impracticabilities, but they sought to accomplish some of their objects by unlawful means; for instance, the 7th resolution, as had already been remarked, asks that power shall be given by a State to negotiate with a foreign government. No State has the right to give any such power, authority or leave. This resolution also contemplates the maintenance, by the company, of "military posts along said road," thus adding to the tremendous money power, which such a corporation must have, the hideous feature of military power also. He agreed with the opinions expressed upon this subject by the gentlemen from Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi.

To the mind of the Lieutenant, the details of this plan were full of objections. He had no objections to the *people* of the South agreeing to build this road out of their own resources; but he did object, earnestly, seriously, to any combination or "organization" unlawful.

There was another point to which he would briefly allude, and that was, that he thought the Convention, by adopting the details of this plan, would be arraying itself against, and begetting opposition to, one of the States of the South. He alluded to Texas.

That gallant young State, sympathizing with the Southern feeling with regard to this road, had made the magnificent grant of 10,000,000 acres of land towards it, which was amply sufficient, it was thought, to build nearly one half of this road, or at least so much of it as lies within her borders. Proposals for constructing so much of this road had been invited, and in forty-five days from this time the bids were to be closed, and the contract awarded to that bidder which should offer on the most favorable terms. And the company proposed by the plan before us could not be organized in time to become a bidder for so much road. The Legislatures of the States could not be got together in forty-five days, much less could a charter be granted. The company here proposed, therefore, cannot have the benefit of the Texas grant, or of the Texas route, and it therefore must end in running a road in opposition to that which Texas has so patriotically and liberally provided for.

And after discussion, participated in by Messrs. Tift of Georgia, Gibbon of North Carolina, Lyons of Virginia, Tilghman of Maryland, Morton of Georgia, Gen. Gadsden, and Gov. Clay of Alabama, the Hon. W. C. Dawson, President, (Lieut. Maury, 1st Vice-President, in the chair,) addressed the Convention as follows:

I beg to detain the Convention but a few moments. This is a question vastly important for us to decide. The proposition is to incorporate a company by States throughout to the Pacific. So far as the power of the States goes, in my judgment, confining themselves to their own limitations, every State, from North to South, has incorporated a company to build a railroad throughout the entire United States. Take, for instance, the railroad from Virginia down the valley of Virginia to Memphis; we all see there is a company incorporated. From Richmond, through North Carolina and South Carolina, to Memphis, Tenn., there is a road. From South Carolina there is one all completed, and from Georgia there is another. Now these companies have their termini, and generally one terminus at the Mississippi. What, then, do you want with an incorporation of States through the States of the Union? Where do all these roads go to? Some point on the Texas boundary, to be designated according to the Texas charter. Will not all these railroads go to that point? and have not all these companies abundant means to carry it there? Is not that true? Can there be any doubt about it? Whether you start from Memphis or St. Louis, or anywhere else, all will converge on the Texas line. Do you want the States incorporated to get there? You are there already. When you are there, do you want the States incorporated to get through Texas? There is the Texas charter, amply complete to carry it to El Paso. Are you not there by all the legislation that Legislatures can give you, and by all the capital the thing can require? I consider the thing as done. When you get to El Paso, then commences your difficulty. What then? You then strike the line designated through New Mexico. New Mexico is a territory of the United States, and the line contemplated runs about three hundred miles throughout that territory. When you get there, can you, by your independent State corporations, acquire an absolute right of way? A right of way from whom? From the United States? Many of us consider that the General Government is bound to build that road. But if it should not, what are you to do? Why, call upon the government to give you alternate sections along the line. [Great applause.]

A Delegate.—To which company will you give it?

Mr. Dawson.—To that company, or those companies, which unite and pledge themselves to open the road. Any of those companies may ask the government to give them the right of way and alternate sections of land. These companies can unite under a charter, and commence successful operations, much more easily than you can get the States to unite in a common corporation.

Mr. Polk, of Tenn.—If this proposition is put up for bidding, I would inquire of the honorable gentleman whether the city of New-York alone can subscribe more than five millions of dollars.

Mr. Dawson.—And where is it to be put up for bidding? These companies have the charters to carry it on. These companies will unite and go there, and they will ask the General Government to appropriate them the alternate sections of land to build it, and we of the South have a right to demand it. [Applause.] And there can be no difficulty about it.

Then when you have passed three hundred miles through New Mexico, you strike where? You strike the frontier of Mexico, a foreign and independent country. Now what do prudence and propriety require us to do?

Certainly appeal to that government which has the power to negotiate. Negotiate for what? The right of way through Mexico. And here let me suggest, that if Great Britain, or any other foreign power, desired to run a railway through any one of our States, or through any territory of the United States, would we consider that any State, or any government within the limits of such State, would have the right to negotiate for such a purpose? Or, I will put the case of any State entering into a contract with any foreign power to build a railroad through their country: do you suppose such power would respect such contract, in case of war? Why, to suppose so is sheer folly. But I will not detain you. [Great applause, and cries of "go on, go on."] And supposing that the State making such contract with Great Britain was to violate that contract, and Great Britain was to seek to enforce her rights—this is a mere suggestion, and I do not make it for the purpose of eliciting argument—you know what the consequences would be. [Applause.]

Now, as a Southern Convention, had we not better act upon the principles of our government, than violate them? Let us ask of Congress—and not of Congress alone, but of the treaty-making power, the President and Senate of the United States—to make negotiations with Mexico for this route.

Now, if this line were to run through Sonora, would it be wise to enter into a contract for a right of way for over three hundred miles of road, and depend upon a foreign country to protect the money invested in building the railroad? [Applause.] I am as careless about money matters as most ordinary men, but I would not place my funds in any investment that would be subject to the caprice of any government, and still less to the Mexican Government. Then let us ask our government to do this; and I do think, if that were done, the President of the United States would send a messenger to Mexico, with instructions to carry out this great object, although it may be called a "Northern line," and he a Northern man. I have that confidence in him, that I believe he would do it instantly. And if you should fail in making a government arrangement, you can, if you choose, make a corporation contract with Mexico. [Applause.]

My own judgment is this: that if this Southern route depends upon the assent of Mexico—the surrender of her soil, and the surrender of her jurisdiction over the right of way, and to be placed under the control of the United States—we never will get it. The apprehensions of that Government against us are so strong, that they will look upon us with fear, and deny us common civility. If ever it is done in the world, you may depend upon it that it will be done under the guarantees of treaty, under which the honor of the Government of the United States shall be pledged to exact the fulfilment of the stipulations of such treaty.

Mexico may then do it; but she will never do it if it is to depend upon a contract with a corporation. She will be the only party who will construe the limits of such contract, and may involve us in interminable difficulties, if it is ever done. In such case, your road will be stopped, and hence it is that I concur with my friend from Tennessee, (Mr. Jones,) that the General Government be requested to obtain for us that guarantee to which we were entitled, and which we want. That three hundred miles is the only embarrassment. When we pass that, we strike the borders of California; and when we get to California, we might obtain alternate sections of land for the completion of the road in that State. [Applause.]

Now, you may almost say that the roads are built in every direction to El Paso, because the charters are all complete to our Southern boundary on the Rio Grande. Then get a charter through North Mexico, and the right of way through Sonora, and take the alternate sections of land in California, as will certainly be granted by the General Government, together with this magnificent donation of land by the State of Texas, and not a single dollar more is necessary for this road. [Applause.]

A Delegate.—Is not the right of way guaranteed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?

Mr. Dawson.—If that is not sufficient, we will go further, and obtain another guarantee.

Now, you talk about capital. I think I have shown you that there is an abundance of capital, except for the three hundred miles through Sonora. That could easily be raised. It would be raised in one week after the right of way is procured, for the connection would be worth millions on millions of dollars to the company who would construct that line. [Great applause.]

Here the hammer fell.

Mr. Dawson.—I will not detain you further. [Loud cries of "go on," "go on," and "suspend the ten minute rule."

Mr. Dawson.—No: I have said all I desired to say, and give way to other gentlemen.

On motion, the rule was suspended to allow Mr. Albert Pike, of Arkansas, the mover of the resolutions, to reply at length.

Mr. Albert Pike, of Arkansas, then addressed the Convention as follows:

I thank you, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, for the uniform kindness you have shown to me personally, and as a body, since I entered this Convention. I am aware that I have a hard task to fulfil, in answering the arguments of so many distinguished gentlemen, concluded as they have been by one from the President of the Convention; but were they ten times as numerous, and ten times as strong, unless they were better founded in fact and in reason, I should not dread the conflict.

It has been urged that this measure is wholly impracticable. Whenever, in all past history, was there a great scheme propounded, which some men did not declare impracticable? I wish, sir, that I had an army of women at my back, instead of men. [Cheers] If our forefathers had listened to the objections which were urged when the Constitution uniting these States together in one bond of union was proposed, that great instrument never would have been framed; and our hard-won freedom might have resulted in the direst anarchy. There are difficulties everywhere; every great scheme is surrounded with them; but if we examine fairly into this matter, we will find that these difficulties are mostly to be found within ourselves, and we ought to be ashamed of them. These differences are our rivalries and our jealousies; difficulties as to different points on the Mississippi River for a terminus; difficulties in regard to different notions concerning politics. Of course, no man expects that we will all unite. But in setting forth these difficulties, you tell the North that we are weak, and why should we lay our whole secret open to them? I do not suppose that it is necessary to lay the whole secret of our weakness—if there be weakness—before all the world. Let us say as Richelieu said, "there is no such word as fail." [Applause.] I would not, I assure you, recommend any proposition which would seem to stamp this Convention as "Quixotic and visionary." But if the proposition does not bear that character, then let us try the experiment. Who bids to build the road to the Pacific? We talk and talk about this building of the road, but it is all talk and no plan. We talk about the General Government building it; yet, no one knows how the General Government can build it consistently with your scruples. The President has told us that he considers the road as being already built. I beg to differ with that gentleman, however much I respect his opinions on other matters. We have been told of what can be done by other railroad companies in accomplishing this end; but, from what I know of the condition of many of these companies, I know that it is impossible;

and were I to characterize any scheme by a hard name—which I will not do—then I might say that such a supposition was "visionary and Quixotic." The truth is, that everybody is waiting for some national movement. It has been said that the Vicksburg company could take these Texas lands, and build the road to the Rio Grande. But it is all nonsense; they have not the means.

Then, again, we are all looking to the General Government for aid. You all agree that it is constitutional to make grants of land. Very well. But supposing that the lands were granted, let me tell you that I know something about the country through which this road is to run. It happened to me some years ago to go poking about the head of the Red River on foot, and I know something of the character of that country; the rivers there, although wide, are often nearly dry, and the water found in them at such, seasons is salt, for I dug among the sand with my hands, on one occasion for a whole night to get a mouthful of fresh water, after being without for two days.

We are told about this munificent grant of land by the State of Texas. There may be ten millions of acres of land granted by Texas, yet more than two-thirds of it is not worth a farthing an acre, instead of being, as has been said here, worth $10 per acre. Well, when you have got through Texas, you reach New Mexico. I have been in New Mexico, too. Except the valley of the Del Norte, there is hardly a single foot of land worth a cent in New Mexico, on the line of this road.

The valley of the Del Norte is narrow, with but a small strip of land which is of any value. Then, when you get to the border of California, you travel through another desert. When I was there, in 1832, the hunters were obliged to drive along with them a great quantity of mules, that they might use them as food. So thus you go the greater part of the way through a desert; and unless there are valuable mineral treasures to be found, the lands are not worth anything, and no man would be willing to vest money in their purchase.

Now, these are difficulties which we blink at all the time, instead of looking them fully and manfully in the face. You all say that government has no power to grant money to build a road, and that the only way in which she can help us, is by grants of land. And how much will that help you, if the lands are worth nothing? If the road is to be built, money must be had. It is no use to deny or attempt to conceal it, for

"To that complexion we must come at last."

We might as well say it now, as to say it ten years hence, when it will be too late. Somebody has to advance the means, and the question is, "who is to do it?"

What, then, does this resolution propose? It says, "That in order to make provision for the construction of said road, this Convention earnestly recommend that a Southern organization be effected, if practicable, of the fourteen different States, and of the different cities, and railroad companies and corporations in those States, for the purpose of obtaining the right of way, if necessary, from Mexico." If the President of the United States will obtain the right of way, so much the better; but is it worth while for us to wait until that is done? How, then, is this organization to be effected? I never imagined that all the States would unite—not for a moment. I simply propose that Virginia, as the oldest of the Southern States, should grant a charter, involving a certain amount of capital, to build the road from the point or points indicated in a previous resolution, and then any State, or city, or company might take stock in the road. This charter is to incorporate such persons, States and corporations, as choose to become corporators under that charter. And suppose that no

State should take any stock, would not the charter be living? Some of the States may take the stock, and Northern men, with Northern capital, if they find it to be a paying road, will come and take the stock themselves. How does the only Pacific Railroad Company now exist? Everybody knows that it got its charter from the Legislature of the State of New-York. Now, I want to get a charter also; and, having got it, if the road is not completed under it, it will only show that there is no spirit in the South. There is, therefore, nothing impracticable in the matter, because it does not require the assent of all the States. We do not require that they all unite; yet the plan would be as capable of being carried into effect without the co-operation of a single State, in her State capacity, if the money can be raised.

But it has been said that the legislation of the other States is necessary in order to insure such co-operation. Of what States? Of Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. These are the only States through which it will run, if it goes through to California; and there is no difficulty about obtaining the needful legislation on the part of these States. I cannot say what Virginia, or Maryland, or any other State will do; but I can only say that if there is a spark of that feeling existing in the bosoms of the different States, which teaches them the doctrine of State sovereignty, and State dignity and independence, they will strain every nerve to carry out this enterprise, in which the interest of the whole country is involved. As for the State of Arkansas taking stock to the amount of two millions of dollars, she cannot do it, neither can the State of Mississippi: but the Legislatures of these States could say to their people, "We invite you to join in this enterprise," and thus, as States, you will give it the weight of your opinion. There is no doubt that the citizens of Arkansas or Mississippi could give each to this road two millions of dollars, if they saw fit. And why should they not do it? If they are to get a portion of the Arkansas lands and the Texas lands, and the railroad stock, as their security, why cannot they, under these circumstances, raise the money? And if the State of Maryland cannot do it, cannot the citizens of that State do it? Sir, the mere recommendation of the several Legislatures of those States would induce the people to join the enterprise, and that is the reason why I ask for a union of the States. There is no difficulty whatever, except in getting men to agree upon any one scheme.

With regard to the location of the road, that can be done when you agree upon the plan. It has been said that there will be difficulties with regard to the directory. I can see no more difficulty in managing such an institution as this, than is to be encountered in any other of a like nature in the State of Maryland, or Virginia, or anywhere else.

Gentlemen have been kind enough to characterise this plan as "visionary and Quixotic." I remarked, at the beginning, that every great scheme that has ever been brought forward for the amelioration of the world has been so characterized; and if all the men who had been the benefactors of the world had been deterred by such representations, their projects would have been thwarted, and this world would be in the same condition that it was in three hundred years ago. [Applause.] It is within the recollection of the youngest man here, that a man utterly without means left this country, some years ago, and landed in France, and attempted to overturn the French Government. He was made a prisoner, and escaped and fled. He was afterwards a deputy constable in the city of London, and was characterized as a hair-brained fellow. Yet he now sits supreme upon the throne of France, and holds the destinies of Europe in his hands. Who would not have called Mahomet a visionary, when he attempted to break down idolatry, and establish a purer system of religion, commencing first in his own family, and then in his immediate neighborhood, until he had spread his doctrines over half the world? So it was with the founder of the Christian system. It was said, "he hath a devil, and is mad."

Now, if you can convince men that the Texas lands will build the road, and Southern men will not enter into it, then the plan may be pronounced Quixotic. I am willing to admit, that if we had first to obtain the assent of every State, the plan never would succeed. We do not propose to obtain the assent of any one of them. All that we propose is to obtain the charter, and then proceed to distribute the stock as it may be taken.

Again, difficulties have been suggested in regard to getting a right of way through Mexico. Why, sir, if the Government of the United States, in case of invasion, or disregard of our rights by the republic—or, as it now is—empire of Mexico, would not interfere to protect the rights of her own citizens there, and wage war, if necessary, for their enforcement, then I, for one, will cease to be an American citizen, and you may raise your banner of secession, and I will be found fighting under it. [Great applause.] Tell me that you cannot rely upon Mexico? Have you not heard of the Sloo grant? Has not Sloo a contract for building a line across the isthmus of Tehuantepec? Why, every charter that has been granted in Central America for building railroads, and digging canals, and erecting telegraphs, has been granted to foreigners—most of them Englishmen.

And why is it that they take them? Simply because every subject of the British Queen knows that if he makes a contract with a foreign power, the British lion will defend his rights, and the American citizen should also feel that the American eagle will defend his in like manner. [Applause.] Mexico, like every other power, submits to the law of nations. And what is the law of nations? It is the public opinion of the established world. For my own part, I would rather go and buy the right of way, than walk into the halls of Congress and ask them to give. [Immense applause.]

I am opposed to the proposition of the gentleman from Georgia, because it seems to me to be without life or energy. It simply recommends that a railroad should be built. Why, of what use is that? I remember once at a town meeting in Massachusetts, the people resolved that Massachusetts ought to have a railroad. That is exactly as far as the gentleman's resolution goes; but they went further: they said, "resolved that she *shall* have one." [Applause.] And, sir, you may depend upon it, that there never was either a man or a nation that ever did anything great, unless it was done by self-reliance, and I am proud to say, that such I believe to be our national character.

Sir, I said that I wished I had to address a Convention of ladies. I said so, sir, because I never yet knew a lady who had once decided that a thing was proper to be done, who ever looked at difficulties. [Applause.] Whatever may be the difficulties that stare them in the face, they will attempt it; and in my opinion it is better to fail than to halt, not between two, but between fifty-five opinions, until the golden opportunity slips, and we see what fools we were, not to seize upon it when we could have done so.

Sir, it seems to me that we ought to have some plan. If the gentlemen who represent the Vicksburg and Shreveport Road will say that that company will build the road to the Pacific, I will go for that. But what have they to do? They have to go to the Legislature to amend their charter. It is said that we shall lose these Texas lands by waiting. Cannot we go to the Virginia Legislature, when it meets, and get a charter? Why should Texas be willing to sell her lands to Northern rather than to Southern men? Do you not suppose that Texas would prefer to give them to this company? But you must give her some assurance that this company will be formed, or else she will not withhold her lands from market.

As to the constitutionality of the matter, let me say that this is no unconstitutional alliance of the Southern States. I did expect, when I came here, to have to steer through shoals and around quicksands; but I never apprehended that I should stand under a South Carolina sun, and in the city of Charleston, and insist that the States had a right to combine together for the purpose of building a railroad through this or any other country. The Supreme Court of the United States has settled this question, over and over again. It has decided that a bank corporation in a State is for all legal purposes as a citizen of a State; that a State could incorporate herself. and that when she did so, she ceased to be a sovereignty, so far as the objects of the corporation were concerned, and became a mere individual, subject to laws as other individuals. And what is the difficulty, then, about such corporations? Where a State is incorporated for any purpose, it becomes a person, a legal being. It may go to Mexico and buy land, like any other individual. I have a right to do so—you have a right to do so. There is no law to the contrary. There cannot be the least question about the constitutionality of the matter. It is perfectly right and just, and cannot be unconstitutional.

We shall have to talk frankly about this matter, and if such talking does harm, it is not my fault. We do not want this company of Northern capitalists, or rather I might say of non-capitalists—for I do not believe that one man in ten who professed to subscribe to this New-York Pacific Railroad has a single dollar to invest in it—to get our lands in Arkansas and Texas. We do not want a Northern company to have the control of the immense trade which will pass over this railroad. We want Southern men to have it. We believe it would be the greatest source of wealth to the company which completes it, and the best stock the world has ever known; and for myself, I am fully convinced that if each of the Southern States takes two millions of stock in that road, it will enable them, in the course of a very few years, to be entirely free from debt. While a State is poor, she creeps and kneels, and fawns to the General Government. So long as States are dependent, and in debt, they will be humble. When they are rich, they are more likely to have sound political opinions, because in such case they are independent of the General Government. I am for getting the States of the South into that position as quickly as possible, without this thing of begging from Congress. It may be that we are so prone to lie down and feel listless and dependent, that we cannot do it; but if the State of Georgia has built so many railroads; if Maryland has crossed the Alleghany mountains to Wheeling; if Virginia has all her network of roads; and North Carolina and South Carolina, and Tennessee and Louisiana have done so much, why cannot the South, as a community, take up and build the Pacific Railroad? We must have some plan. But it seems to be the order of the day, that when a resolution is brought in with some pith in it, you feel that you must cut it down and prune it and emasculate it, until there is nothing in it, except something begging aid from Congress. Gentlemen seem to imagine that this is a legislative, rather than a suggestive body. Why, sir, the experience of every man must convince him that it is best to claim a little more than he expects to get. The best way for a man to plant his foot upon a place and hold it, is to have a little ground behind him on which to retreat. If you make a mere recommendation to Congress, it is of no use. I can take ten thousand dollars and go to Washington, and get more for the South, than you can obtain by all such resolutions of recommendation, passed in fifty Conventions. [Applause.] Of course, your representatives in Congress will vote for your measures, but that is not all. What then is wanted? I tell you, that if you come together, and do not put your shoulders to the wheel, this will be about the last Commercial Convention that will ever be held, and so it ought to be. [Applause.] I want to go to the Legislature of some Southern State, and say, "Here, charter me this company." If they do not do it, it will do no harm. It will look big. I would open books in every Southern city. I would address every Southern Legislature, and would then see whether the South could build the road or not. I want to do that, or nothing, because I do not believe that any other plan will succeed.

It seems to me that all our difficulties arise from misapprehension. Why should not we get these lands? If the Texas lands will build the road in Texas, why should not Southern men build it, and have the advantage of it? Suppose now that we had acted upon some such measure as this a year ago, and organized a company, do you not suppose that Texas and Arkansas would have given us the lands? Most assuredly. And what harm would have accrued to the Vicksburg Company? None at all. Could not this or any other company have taken stock, or not, as they pleased? Certainly.

In regard to another point, let me say a word. It has been argued that under such a contract for a road, if it should so happen that this country got into a war with Mexico, the company could not go over the road, it being in an enemy's territory. That is not the law of nations, as was definitely settled in the case of Frederick the Great, in connection with the Silesian loan. If war were to break out, that property could not be confiscated. But there would be no danger of that. We need not discuss all these things; it is a mere illustration of the disposition of large bodies to discuss abstractions. It is the last thing that Mexico would attempt to do. Why, sir, in the greatest emergency, ever likely to arise under such circumstances, I could take the road with 3000 Creeks and Choctaws, and keep it forever. [Great applause.]

I believe, sir, that Mexico would forty times sooner sell the right of way to a private company, than to the Government of the United States. Mexico has no very high opinion of our justice or good faith. They have many intelligent, acute, shrewd men in that country; and they would say, and perhaps with some justice, "If your government will not keep the faith of its treaties with Indians, how will it keep its faith with us?" When they see that, notwithstanding all the solemn guarantees by treaties, pledging the faith and honor of the United States, under the broad seal of the nation, these treaties are violated whenever it suits the purpose of the government to drive the Indian away from his land; when they see grave Senators of the United States rising in their seats, and saying that all these guarantees are to shrink into nothing, like the parchment on which they are written, when consumed by fire, why they think that we are Indians too; and therefore I believe that Santa Anna would fifty times sooner make a treaty with a private company, than with the Government of the United States.

Sir, I am satisfied there would be no difficulty in negotiating for this route, for a reasonable sum, with the Government of Mexico. Look at the rich country of Sonora. Santa Anna knows full well that a railroad would develop the wealth of that country. He knows that a railroad would profit Mexico, as well as any other people, and the Mexicans know that a private corporation will deal honestly with them. For my own part, I do not believe that Santa Anna would charge such a corporation a solitary dollar. On the other hand, if you negotiate through the government, you have to settle all existing difficulties with Mexico, and you may depend upon it that Santa Anna is not going to give away a single foot of land to the Government of the United States, until all other matters are adjusted. But a private corporation could get rid of all these difficulties, by disentangling themselves from them.

Mr. President, in my opinion you will not see in twenty years any treaty giving us this right of way, because there are so many complicated questions that must be settled.

I feel, sir, that I have addressed the Convention too long. I must say, however, that if the Convention refuses to adopt this project, the idea of a

Southern Confederation for this purpose has taken root, and in due time will produce its fruits, whatever may be the action of this Convention. It is the first attempt to see whether we are so dependent on the action of the General Government that we are not capable of combining for the accomplishment of any great work. It is in that view that it has struck the popular heart. It has not appealed to the great Southern feeling, either because of its originality, or because of any merit in its founder, but because it was manly and bold and honest, and would ask the assistance of no one but of honest men and of God. [Applause.]

I want this matter to stand by itself. I have objections to asking Congress to give lands to aid in the construction of railroads. I think they ought to do it; but I do not want it in this resolution; I want it to be a sort of declaration of independence on the part of the South. [Long-continued applause.] We can try the experiment. Is it not worth while to try it? Is it worth while to tell the people of the North that you are so impracticable that you cannot agree upon any plan to promote your best interests?—for it is not the scheme that is impracticable; the only impracticability is in the people themselves.

Let us try it; it will at any rate prove to the North that we are in earnest; and when they find that we are in earnest, they will respect us the more. If you want Congress to do anything in the way of negotiation, it is not the way to obtain it by going on your knees from the footstool of the capitol to the Presidential mansion. No, no. The only way is to say to them, "If you don't do it, we will do it ourselves." [Applause.] Yes, gentlemen, people always get their rights most readily when they demand them.

Sir, the scheme will not fail. It is utterly impossible that out of these fourteen States some will not be found to take the stock. As for the objection about the distance, it is nothing. You are investing stock in steamers to carry mails, not 1,700 miles off, but 17,000 miles off, and subject to every kind of risk. The great difficulty is in ourselves and our own timidity. It often happens, that when a project is proposed, men think they cannot accomplish it, and instead of inquiring whether it is feasible, they set to work to find out why they cannot do it.

Mr. President, if I had time, I intended to address a word or two to the ladies, and I feel compelled to do so, because I received a bouquet of beautiful flowers, with a card, saying that it was presented by the Pee Dee ladies. I thank them for the kindness shown me for the too feeble efforts I have made here. If I had time, I would say a word or two in regard to the influence of women.

In the first place, ladies, I hope you will always be present when such Conventions are being held. We have seen in this Convention that it is not so much that the measures discussed are important, but that there is a spirit of rivalry created by your presence, and an unwillingness to bear defeat. Your influence can be better exercised in the galleries of the Convention, by preventing our disputes from degenerating into quarrels, than in any way I can think of; and I have no doubt that it will often happen that the presence of ladies will go further to make men harmonious and united, and to prevent strife and difficulties, than any other means. I adjure you always to bless us with your presence in Conventions like this. I want you to feel proud of your fathers, and husbands, and brothers. We all want to be proud of ourselves, and when was not a woman in favor of what was manly, and honest, and right? [Applause.]

Do not say that you can have no influence. Remember the time when Maria Theresa went to the camp of the blunt Hungarians with her infant her arms, and said "Behold your king; protect him." That single act of roism saved Austria from dismemberment. Who can tell what would have been the fate and fortunes of Napoleon Bonaparte, if he had continued to live with his Josephine, and had not sought a courtly alliance? Who knows but that he would have lived out his time on the throne of France; that the battle of Waterloo would not have taken place, and the present European war, perhaps through that very means, have been entirely averted? None can tell.

Why the lives of every one of us may have been produced by an act of heroism. I believe that it was a South Carolina matron (Mrs. Mott), in the war of the Revolution, who presented to the commander of our forces the arrow tipped with fire, for the purpose of destroying her own dwelling, rather than permit it to fall into the hands of the enemy. And there are hundreds here who would do the same. Why, even among the degenerate Mexicans, I have always found the women infinitely higher in their impulses than the men; and in South Carolina there are hundreds and thousands of women who would bring the flaming arrows and destroy their dwellings, rather than permit an enemy to shelter there. [Great applause.]

Help us, then, and teach these timid, dubious men [immense applause], who are faltering in the twilight of dubiety, and hesitating between this course and the other course—teach them to unite with the man the energy of the woman, that you may have a railroad to the Pacific, and secure to your South the victory.

And if you enter into that undertaking, your memories will be more endeared than those of the greatest benefactors of your race. Teach us to do our duty, and the South will be safe. [Applause.] That you will do so in all emergencies, I do not doubt; and I have only now to say, in conclusion, that I have not exhibited too much zeal; that I have not been too positive in my assertions; that I have felt my opinions, and uttered them like any other man; but that I have been solely actuated by a zeal for the cause; for I do believe as sincerely as I believe that I live, and that the light liveth, that this or some similar plan is essential, not only to the wealth, but the security and salvation of the Southern States. [Long-continued applause.]

Mr. Polk, of Tennessee, moved the previous question, which being seconded, the question was, "Shall the main question be now put?" and upon its being determined in the affirmative, upon a call of States, the vote appeared as follows, viz.:

Yeas—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia—13.

Nays—None.

Whereupon, the resolution was declared adopted.

The fifth resolution being under consideration, Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, called the previous question, which being seconded, the question was, "Shall the main question be now put?" and upon an affirmative vote, the fifth resolution was put, and adopted.

The sixth resolution being under consideration, Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, called the previous question, which being seconded, the question was, "Shall the main question be now put?" and upon an affirmative vote, the sixth resolution was adopted.

The seventh resolution being under consideration, Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, called the previous question, which being seconded, the question was, "Shall the main question be now put?" and upon an affirmative vote, the seventh resolution was adopted.

The eighth resolution being under consideration, Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, called the previous question, which being seconded, the question was, "Shall the main question be now put?" and upon an affirmative vote, the eighth resolution was adopted.

The report was then adopted.

Mr. Duncan, of Georgia, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That California be invited to unite in this organization.

The fourth report of the Committee on Resolutions was then taken up.

Mr. Ruffin, of Virginia, moved an indefinite postponement of the whole subject, and called thereon the previous question, which being seconded, the question was, "Shall the main question be now put?" and upon the call of States, the vote appeared as follows, viz.:

Yeas—North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia—3.

Nays—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas—12.

Mr. Polk, of Tennessee, moved to lay the 1st resolution of the fourth report on the table until Saturday next; and upon the call of States, the vote appeared as follows, viz.:

Yeas—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia—9.

Nays—Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi—4.

Which was declared carried.

Upon the second resolution, after discussion participated in by Gov. Jones, of Tennessee, Messrs. Kirkpatrick, of Virginia, and Tift, of Georgia,

Mr. Tift, of Georgia, moved a suspension of the order requiring the Convention to adjourn at 3 P. M., which was carried.

The discussion was then further participated in by Governor Leake, of Virginia, Messrs. Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, T. A. Marshall, of Mississippi, and Clapp, of Mississippi.

And the question recurring upon the second resolution, it was declared not adopted.

The third resolution was then adopted.

The fourth resolution was adopted.

The fifth resolution was adopted.

The sixth resolution was adopted.

The seventh resolution was stricken out.

It was moved that the preamble and first resolution be reconsidered; and upon a call of States, the vote appeared as follows, viz.:

Yeas—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia—9.

Nays—Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi—4.

The question being then upon the preamble and first resolution, by leave of the Convention, they were withdrawn.

The fourth report, as amended, was then adopted.

The fifth report was then taken up for consideration.

The first resolution was, by permission, withdrawn, a committee being charged with the preparation of such report.

The second series of resolutions were then adopted.

The preamble and resolution relative to the Portland Canal being under consideration, Lieut. M. F. Maury addressed the Convention as follows:

Lieut. Maury begged to state a single fact with regard to this canal. To get to it, as it now stands, the commerce of Louisville was subjected to heavy drayage—21 cents, for instance, on a barrel of pork, and for this one item alone, the aggregate drayage amounts to about $75,000 a year.

The tonnage which passed through this canal during the last year was greater than the aggregate tonnage of the commercial marine of Great Britain—being no less than five millions of tons. That is about the tonnage of the whole world.

And the preamble and resolution were then, by permission, withdrawn.

The fourth resolution was then adopted.

The fifth resolution amended, by adding "and South-Western" after "Southern."

The sixth resolution was then adopted.

The seventh resolution was then adopted.

Mr. William M. Lawton, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the citizens of the respective States here represented, the importance of holding a fair, for the exhibition of their numerous productions of industry, specimens of every description in mechanical skill and art; thereby inviting a cordial and generous spirit of circulation. The time and place for holding said exhibition to be decided upon by a majority vote of the General Committee of this body.

Mr. Patrick Henry Aylett, of Virginia, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz.:

Resolved, 1st, That among the measures auxiliary to the important objects we have in view, this Convention cannot but regard as of deep interest and importance the adoption of the proper means for introducing Commercial Education among the youth of our country—the training them up to habits of business, and thereby establishing a body of merchants whose every interest and feeling shall be identified with the country which has reared and sustained them.

Resolved, 2d, That the Convention recommends to the Legislatures and citizens of the Southern States, the ample endowment of universities, colleges, and other scholastic institutions, for the purpose of extending their advantages and usefulness; and it also respectfully solicits the visitors and boards of trustees for such institutions of learning, to discriminate in the election of all professors and other teachers in favor of Southern talent and education.

Resolved, 3d, That we recommend the creation, patronage, and encouragement of establishments for the publication and sale, in the Southern States, of elementary books of education—the productions of Southern men, prepared with express reference to the proper education of Southern youth.

The Committee on Resolutions returned sundry papers, which had been referred to them, and asked to be discharged from their further consideration; and on motion, the Committee was discharged.

Mr. John Heart, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be and are hereby tendered to the Hon. Wm. C. Dawson, for the dignity, ability and impartiality with which he has presided over the deliberations of this Convention.

On motion, the following resolution was adopted, viz.;

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Secretary and Assistant Secretaries, for the faithful manner in which they have discharged their duties.

Mr. Drew, of Florida, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That the Committee appointed by the second resolution of the report of the General Committee, to prepare statistics, &c., be also instructed to obtain, and report to the Secretary, the statistics on the milling and lumber trade, as carried on by the respective States represented in this body; as well also as the statistics of agriculture in the same States.

Sundry resolutions relative to the place at which the next Convention should be held were then taken up,

And after some remarks from Mr. Albert Pike, of Arkansas, the resolution to meet at Louisville, Ky., was withdrawn.

The next resolution, being to meet at Norfolk, Va., upon the putting of the question, was declared lost.

The question then recurred upon the resolution to meet at New-Orleans, La., which was adopted.

The time of meeting was, after some discussion, fixed for the second Monday in January next.

Mr. Dent, of Maryland, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That the warmest and most cordial thanks of each member of this Convention are due, and are hereby tendered in the most earnest manner to the citizens of Charleston generally, and to the various committees of Charleston connected with this Convention especially, for their unbounded and untiring kindness, and their most munificent and elegant hospitality, and for their unremitting attention to the comfort, pleasure and enjoyment of this Convention.

Mr. Clapp, of Mississippi, expressed the acknowledgments of the Delegation from Mississippi to the people of Charleston for their hospitalities.

Mr. C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz.:

Inasmuch as the cause of Education is of the first importance among growing and enlightened States, and the proper instruction and training of the rising generations in the Southern and South-Western States demand our especial care and attention:—therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention looks with peculiar gratification upon the prosperous condition of the several State institutions, and the praiseworthy exertions of the different Christian denominations in the cause of education within the States here represented; and hereby tenders to them its grateful recognition of their momentous work, and the remarkable success which has crowned their toils.

Resolved, That this Convention earnestly recommends all parents and guardians within these States, to consider well, that to neglect the claims of their own Seminaries and Colleges, and patronize and enrich those of remote States, is fraught with peril to our sacred interests, perpetuating our dependence on those who do not understand and cannot appreciate our necessities and responsibilities; and at the same time fixing a lasting reproach upon our own institutions, teachers and people.

Resolved, That among the most important measures necessary to the success of our educational interests, is the establishment, by the Southern and South-Western States, of normal schools, for the free admission of such persons, of both sexes, as may wish to devote themselves to the profession of teachers, within their borders; and this Convention respectfully solicits the attention of the Governors and Legislatures of these States to the importance of this subject.

Resolved, That this Convention respectfully recommends to the Legislatures of these States the importance of encouraging the production, by their own citizens, scholars, printers and publishers, of such school books as may be necessary for elementary and general education, by the offer of suitable prizes for the best books of different classes, to be decided upon by appropriate committees, appointed to judge of their merits; such books always to be printed and published in the South.

Resolved, That a Special Committee, consisting of Henry A. Griswold, of Louisville, Ky.; J. J. McCarter, of Charleston, S. C.; J. B. Steel, of New-Orleans, La.; David Cushing, of Baltimore, Md.; and William T. Berry, of Nashville, Tenn., be appointed a committee by this Convention, to prepare a report, to be published with the proceedings, upon the Book trade of the South and West, embracing such statistical facts in regard to the publication and manufacture of books, both literary, scientific and instructive, as are adapted to the school system, and the general wants of the South and West, and report at their earliest convenience, to the Secretary of this body.

Resolved, That the President of this Convention appoint a committee of three gentlemen to prepare and present a memorial on the subject matter of these resolutions, to the consideration of the Legislatures of the Southern and Western States.

On motion, it was *Resolved*, That all the Committees ordered to be raised by the action of the Convention, be appointed by the President.

Governor Jones, of Tennessee, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due, and are hereby tendered to the different lines of travel which have facilitated the transportation of delegates to this place.

Governor Clay, of Alabama, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due, and hereby tendered to the Editors and Reporters of newspapers, who have so generously and ably facilitated our labors on this occasion.

On motion, the Convention then adjourned.

WILMOT G. DE SAUSSURE, *Secretary.*

The final resolutions of the Convention have already been published in the REVIEW. The names of the several Committees are hereby appended, with the confident hope, that the reports of each will be ready for the next meeting of the Convention at New-Orleans, on the second Monday of January, 1855.

Committee on Statistics of Manufactures, Mines, &c., viz.:—J. D. B. DeBow, of Louisiana, *Chairman*; William Crichton, Thomas T. Hutchins, John F. Dent, Maryland; Thomas Wallace, William H. Macfarland, Mordecai Cooke, Virginia; Dr. J. H. Gibbon, E. D. Hale, James A. Patton, North Carolina; W. B. Johnson, Alexander McBee, Joseph Walker, South Carolina; Thomas C. Nisbet, Nathan C. Monroe, John J. Gresham, Georgia; Benjamin F. Whitner, Columbus Drew, C. A. Price, Florida; Dr. Charles H. Patton, Daniel Pratt, Alfred Battle, Alabama; J. W. Clapp, Andrew Matthews, T. A. Iredell, Mississippi; J. Forstall, A. Dimitry, Louisiana; Albert Pike, Arkansas; Dr. Alexander McCall, Samuel Morgan, A. W. Van Liew, Tennessee; A. L. Shotwell, T. S. Kennedy, B. D. P. Standeford, Kentucky; John S. Rea, Texas; James M. Clendennin, W. H. Blackwood, Missouri; Hamilton Smith, Indiana.

Committee on Promotion of Manufactures, Mining, &c., in Southern and Western States, viz.:—Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, *Chairman*; T. Tilghman, C. C. Baldwin, C. F. Montague, Maryland; W. F. Gordon, O. G. Clay, Edmund Ruffin, Virginia; J. A. Young, D. G. McRae, John Eccles, North Carolina; James Chesnut, R. F. W. Allston, C. G. Memminger, South Carolina; Mark A. Cooper, John Cunningham, Dr. M. A. Franklin, Georgia; B. A. Putnam, J. W. Bryant, B. E. Carr, Florida; L. C. Garland, John S. Winter, J. G. L. Huey, Alabama; T. A. Marshall, R. H. Crump, J. W. Clapp, Mississippi; E. G. W. Butler, H. J. Ranny, J. A. Brand, Louisiana; John S. Rhea, Texas; Albert Pike, Arkansas; Benjamin Deckard, William H. Sneed, Tennessee; John Funk, E. Auchins, Frank Roulhac, Kentucky; W. H. Blackwood, Jas. M. Clendennin, Missouri; Hamilton Smith, Indiana.

Committee on Pacific Railroad Scheme, viz.:—Albert Pike, of Arkansas, *Chairman*; Thomas Whitridge, of Maryland; James Lyons, of Virginia; John Winslow, of North Carolina; Henry W. Conner, of South Carolina; C. J. McDonald, of Georgia; W. D. Moseley, of Florida; Dr. Thomas Fearn, of Alabama; N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi; S. W. Oakey, of Louisiana; John S. Rhea, of Texas; John H. McMahon, of Tennessee; Leslie Combs, of Kentucky; W. H. Blackwood, of Missouri; Hamilton Smith, of Indiana.

Committee on Mail Service, viz.:—John Heart, of South Carolina, *Chairman;* J. H. McMahon, of Tennessee; Nelson Tift, of Georgia; Theo. O'Hara, of Kentucky; H. K. Arthur, of Mississippi; F. A. Lumsden, of Louisiana; C. C. Fulton, of Maryland; C. C. Danley, of Arkansas; W. Richardson, of Texas; P. H. Brittan, of Alabama; Thomas Loring, of North Carolina; Charles A. Rose, of Virginia; Charles E. Dyke, of Florida; A. B. Chambers, of Missouri; Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

Committee on Direct Trade, viz.:—Myer Myers, of Virginia, *Chairman;* Dr. Mallory, Norfolk, Va.; Joshua Jones, Thos. Swann, Baltimore, Md.; B. K. Dickinson, A. J. DeBossett, jr., Wilmington, N. C.; Geo. A. Trenholm, C. T. Mitchell, Charleston, S. C.; George Daniels, Hiram Roberts, Savannah, Ga.; Wm. R. Hallett, Wm. A. Dawson, Mobile, Ala.; Samuel J. Peters, John B. Leefe, New-Orleans, La.; Lewis Webb, James Caskie, Richmond, Va.

Committee on Book Trade of Southern and Western States, viz.:—Henry A. Griswold, of Louisville, Ky.; J. J. McCarter, of Charleston, S. C.; J. B. Steele, of New-Orleans, La.; David Cushing, of Baltimore, Md.; William T. Berry, of Nashville, Tenn.

Committee to Memorialize Southern and Western States on Education, viz.:—C. K. Marshall, Mississippi, *Chairman;* George S. Bryan, of South Carolina; Ashbury Hull, of Georgia

Art. VII.—FINANCES OF CHILE, AND HER FOREIGN COMMERCE.

THE LOTA AND CORONEL COAL MINES—FINANCES—THE FOREIGN AND INTERNAL LOAN, ETC.

The coal mines in the south, which promise to furnish an important article of commerce for Chile, were first worked in 1851, by but a few hands and inefficient machinery, but have nevertheless yielded 6,000 tons during the year 1852.

The first experiment to use them for steam purposes was made in April, 1852, on board the Chile war steamer Cazador, by Mr. Hurtado, commander of the vessel, who published in the papers the following account:

STEAMER CAZADOR,
ANCUD, *March* 18, 1852.

Let this steamer's first engineer inform respecting the quality and durability of the coals taken from the mines of Lota Creek and conveyed on board as an experiment.

MIGUEL HURTADO.

To the Commander of the Steamer Cazador.

SIR—I find that the Lota coal is superior in quality to all foreign coal that can be got at present on the coast of Chile. For arriving at this conclusion, I have the following reasons:

1st. That a smaller quantity is required for consumption.

2d. That this coal gives no ashes.

3d. That in 24 hours, only two buckets full of dross have been taken out the furnace.

4th. That it is harder, and burns more easily.

5th. This is all I have to state in compliance with the anteceding order.

MAURICE BRUNET,
First Engineer.

ANCUD, *March* 19, 1852.

This statement, in which the writer speaks of the quality of Lota coal, was much exaggerated. The Coronel coal, which at present is generally preferred, is said to be of a more desirable quality for steam purposes, resembling the English coal, and with the aid of English machinery, and a sufficient number of men, the yield of this article will form a considerable item for home consumption, and also for export, being well adapted for the saltpetre works, but it does not make sufficient heat for smelting minerals.

The Coronel Mines are at present worked by Messrs. Casinó and Garland, the head of the Flour Association; and these gentlemen have orders for all they can deliver at $6 per ton, laid alongside the vessel. There is no doubt that in the same vicinity many more valuable mines will, ere long, be opened to advantage. Those worked at present give employment to about eight hundred persons. The English coal being at so low a price, and the quality of Chile coal not sufficiently known here, have caused that the recent arrivals of this article have met with an unfavorable market.

From the tables and statistics presented in these sketches, a favorable conclusion will be formed regarding the financial state of the country. In connection with this, we find that in 1848 the Government was not over punctual in remitting funds to Messrs. Baring Brothers of London, to cover the interest due to Chile bondholders, and they had to buy silver bars on credit at the high rate of ten dollars and five reals, pledging part of the revenue in prospectus. The Exchequer, according to the statement of the Minister of Finance, was reduced to $34,980, and was owing $153,600 in London, besides the sum of $92,314 to the Mint and deposits.

The new branch of trade to California, however, had soon an invigorating influence on the finances of the country, and in latter years regular remittances were made in advance, and even the revolution of 1851, which cost the Government more than one million of dollars, did not impoverish the Treasury. The Custom House revenue of 1849 amounted to $2,206,802, and the entire revenue, including realizable Government property of two millions, $134,000 owing by the English agent, and $500,000 deposits, amounted to $6,761,150, and the expenditure to $5,627,384—a decided improvement within a year, the English agent being a debtor; whereas, in the previous year, Chile was in arrears with $150,000, and showed an entire deficit of $500,000. But much more wonderful must these facts appear, when we consider that in the year 1838 the revenue of Chile amounted to $1,300,000, and the expenditure to $1,966,948. The net revenue in 1850, without taking government stock and deposits into account, amounted to $4,334,314, and the expenditure to $3,610,837. The revenue, therefore, surpassed the expenditure $723,477.

To give the reader an idea how this revenue is raised, I affix a table of the different branches forming the above amount:

Custom House	$2,627,442
Tithe	363,552
Land Tax (Catastro)	83,632
Patents (Patentes)	46,516
Excise (Estanco) Government monopoly on Tobacco and Playing Cards	718,777
Mint	389,820
Stamps	74,216
Sundries	83,359
Total	$4,334,314

In 1852 the Custom House revenue exceeded that of 1851 by one million, principally caused through the activity of industry and increased commerce. This large increase of revenue can, however, not be depended upon for 1853, the particulars of which will be published in June next, the imports of 1852 having been so much larger than usual, owing to the cessation of business during the civil war of 1851. The annexed tables, being a comparative statement of the revenue of 1851 and 1852, show an increase in almost every branch excepting the mint. This is accounted for by the large quantity of silver having been coined during that period. The entire revenue of 1852, however, shows an increase of $1,173,572 above 1851.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE REVENUES.

	1851. Entries.	1852. Entries.
Custom House	2,729,506 29	3,465,038 77
Excise	735,565 43	783,652 33
Land Tax	71.542 56	98,622 77
Property Tax	137,103 64	197,933 37
Patents	45,301 00	55,778 00
Stamps	47,279 00	64,436 86
Tithe	375,267 09	526,940 25
Mint	117,797 75	97,101 69
Post Office	61,537 48	70,328 57
Toll	62,479 87	62,914 10
Auction Dues	4,033 29	6,063 29
Sundries	39,493 84	51,955 15
	4,426,907 18	5,480,480 15
Comparation		4,426,907 18
Increase of Entries in 1852		$1,053,572 97

	1851. Decrease.	1852. Increase.
Custom House	—	735,532 48
Excise	—	47,696 90
Land Tax	—	27,080 27
Property Tax	—	60,834 73
Patents	—	10,477 00
Stamps	—	17,157 80
Tithe	—	151.673 10
Mint	20,696 06	—
Post Office	—	8,791 09
Toll	—	434 28
Auction Dues	—	8,030 90
Sundries	—	12,461 31
	20,696 06	1,074,269 05
Comparation	—	20,696 08
Increase of Entries in 1852		1,653,572 97
Interest of the Peruvian Debt of $2,000,000, first and second dividend		120,000 00
Total		$1,173,572 97

Chile enjoys an excellent credit abroad, and whilst the bonds of almost all South American republics were considered dead stock, those of Chile were sought after of late, owing to the punctuality in the payment of interests, and in the annual redemption of part of her debt, which has advanced Chile stock in the London market to 104.

This External or Anglo-Chilean Loan of one million sterling was contracted in May, 1822, in the time of the war of independence against Spain. In consequence of this war and the unsettled state of the country, Chile was unable to pay the interests for many years, until, in the year 1844, the Government commenced paying interest on the original capital only. In the year 1842 an engagement was entered into by the Chilean Chargé d'Affaires in Paris with the English holders, and it was agreed that the interest owing since 1822 should be converted into three per cent. stock, payable from the 31st of March, 1847, with one per cent. added for a sinking fund.

In 1850, after the redemption of a number of bonds, the debt was reduced to $7,465,000, leaving in circulation

7835 six per cent. bonds, at £100	$3,917,500
7695 three per cent. bonds, at £100	3,547,500
	$7,465,000

The interest paid by the government in 1850 on this sum, including sinking fund, loss on exchange, expenses for remittances, commission, etc., amounted to $551,830. This amount included a further augmentation of the sinking fund, together with the one per cent. employed for that purpose, so that the six per cent. debt will be cancelled in 1869, and the three per cent. in 1877. A further payment was made in 1851, amounting to $652,050. When arranging for the payment of interest in 1842, the Government agreed, through Messrs. Baring Brothers, not to raise another loan until the present one is cancelled.

Since the war of Independence, Peru owed Chile four million dollars, and has at last recognized her debt. Though the Chilean Government had given Peru full power to arrange the payment of the interest on this debt, through their Agents in London, in the most favorable manner possible, they did not avail themselves of it, but placed two million dollars of the new six per cent. loan of thirteen million dollars, raised in London, at the disposal of the Chilean Government, which secures so much of the debt, in case of the credit of Peru being shaken in consequence of their internal troubles, and the anticipated war with Bolivia.

The internal debt, which is held by a few capitalists, and is scarcely ever offered in the market, amounted, in 1853, to $1,561,309, viz.:

LIQUIDATION OF THE CONSOLS OF CHILE.

Three Per Cent. Consols, registered to the end of 1852		$1,909,200
Redeemed up to the 7th of October last	342.825	
This date at 12¼, 30¼	5,075	347,900
Remain in circulation		$1,561,300

Since then the Government raised a loan of $500,000 at 8 per cent. for the erection of Custom House Stores, giving security to the bondholders in a claim upon the stores; this amount, however, cannot be added to the internal debt, because the Government make a considerable profit on the operation.

Art. VIII.—PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.

[A few months ago we published an article upon this subject, which has since been receiving the attention of Congress, and will, no doubt, be carried into practice at the next Session. The following, taken from the report of the Hon. John Perkins of Louisiana, will show how radical are the changes contemplated by the State Department and the Committee on Foregn Affairs of the House:]

Without dwelling on the importance to the United States of properly organized diplomatic and consular establishments, and the repeated efforts in the early history of our government to secure them, your committee have thought that a brief review of the operation of the existing systems for the last twelve years—from 1841 to 1853—with a simple statement of the provisions of the proposed bill, would be the best argument in favor of its adoption.

On the 1st of July, 1841, the United States had full missions at London, Paris, St. Petersburgh, Berlin, Vienna, and Mexico; a resident mission at Constantinople; *chargéships* at Madrid, Lisbon, Naples, Turin, Brussels, the Hague, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Rio de Janeiro, Chili, Peru, and New Granada.

In the latter part of the year 1841, the mission to Brazil was raised from a *chargéship* to that of a minister plenipotentiary, and in 1842 the full mission to Spain re-established. In 1843 the mission to China and the *chargéship* to Buenos Ayres were established. In 1845 the mission to Austria was reduced to a *chargéship*, and the commission to the Sandwich Islands established. In 1848 a full mission was authorized to the then so-called German empire, and *chargéships* established to Ecuador, Bolivia, and Central America. In 1849 a full mission was created to Chili, and that to the German Empire discontinued. During the last session of Congress the missions to Central America and Peru were raised to the first grade, and a resident mission to Switzerland established.

There are twenty-eight legations of the United States in foreign countries. Ten of these, at the opening of the present Congress, were represented by ministers plenipotentiary, two by ministers resident, fourteen by *chargés d'affaires,* and two by commissioners.

The ministers plenipotentiary receive, at the time of their acceptance of their appointments, outfits of $9,000 each, and annual salaries of $9,000. One of the ministers resident receives a salary of $6,000, and the other an outfit of $4,500, and $4,500 salary. The *chargés* receive outfits of $4,500 each, and salaries of $4,500. One of the commissioners receives $9,000 outfit and $9,000 salary, and the other $5,000 salary. Each of our representatives in the diplomatic branch of the public service is allowed an infit equal to three months of his annual compensation.

We have also ten secretaries of legation with salaries of $2,000 each, a dragoman with $2,500, and an interpreter with $2,500.

The expense of conducting our foreign diplomatic intercourse for the twelve fiscal years terminating on the 30th of June, 1853, amounted to $3,656,204—an annual average cost for that term of $304,683 66.

The proposed bill elevates all United States missions to the grade of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, and provides a secretary for each. Representatives below this grade are, by the mere etiquette of the rank, restricted in their influence with the government to which they are accredited. The letter of credence of a *chargé d'affaires* is addressed merely to the minister of the foreign department, and the presentation of the bearer of it to the sovereign or chief of the State is a matter of courtesy. In the case of a full minister, the presentation is a matter of right. A *chargé d'affaires* requests, a minister may demand, an audience. At the more fastidious courts, the admission of a *chargé* to the royal presence is regarded as a favor to his government. The false position in which this places a representative is not only a humiliation to himself, but the occasion often of serious inconvenience to his nation. If important objects are to be accomplished with the cabinet, the good will of the ruler greatly facilitates them, and this can be best secured by personal intercourse. In his social, as in his official intercourse, the representative less than a minister is likewise subjected to embarrassments. Regarded merely as a functionary, with no higher or other duties to perform than the taking care of the archives of his country, ministers plenipotentiary from the smallest States enjoy superior consideration, and take precedence of him in society.

The bill provides a secretary for each legation, and this is required both by the services to be performed and by prudential considerations. Without such an officer, the absence of the minister from his post, even temporarily, through illness or other cause, leaves the government without representation.

The existing system of outfits to our foreign representatives does not accord with the principle upon which other public servants are compensated, and by the bill it is abolished. It has proved unequal, if not demoralizing, in its operation. It pays for services in advance of their performance. A minister may ask for his recall whenever he chooses; and if he has served but one day as such, he cannot be required to return to the treasury his outfit.

There are instances where, in the space of four years, ministers to comparatively unimportant courts have received $18,000, and in one case $22,500 in outfits. Of the $3,656,204 which our diplomacy cost for the twelve years ending the 30th of June, 1853, the sum of $596,500 was drawn for outfits.

The scale of compensation provided by the bill to our ministers and secretaries has been graduated to correspond with the importance of the duties to be performed, and the expense of living at the respective capitals. It is desirable that the salaries of our representatives abroad should be liberal without being extravagant.

Our diplomatic establishment, if remodelled in the manner and with the salaries indicated, will cost annually $320,500—only $15,816 34 more than the average cost for the last twelve years of outfits, salaries, and contingent expenses. Although the number of our legations has been considerably augmented, and several of them raised, since 1841, it is thought that our foreign intercourse may be conducted for twelve years, commencing with the 1st of July, 1853, in the manner proposed, for a sum not larger than that expended for the twelve years preceding that day.

Our consular establishment is imperfect. It is defective in most important particulars. Repeated attempts have been heretofore made in Congress to remodel its provisions, but without success. All the great interests of the Union more or less connect themselves with its agency, and require its improvement. Some of our consuls are better compensated than any officers of the government, while by far the greater number receive nothing like just remuneration for the services performed. This inequality the bill proposes to remedy by discontinuing the system of compensation by fees, and the substitution of salaries. In important commercial ports, and in large manufacturing districts, consuls are not to be permitted to transact business. The withholding from them of this privilege is necessary to prevent undue advantages in trade over their countrymen.

In ports with which we have but little commerce, and in interior places where there is comparatively no exportation to the United States, they may carry on business. Those from whom this privilege is withheld are provided with higher salaries than those not excluded from trade, but without any distinction of grade.

We have at this time but one consul-general commissioned as such, and by the bill he is reduced to an ordinary consul. In countries where consuls are not received, commercial agents are to be appointed.

The salaries proposed by the bill to consuls and commercial agents, prepared with much care after consultation with the State Department, are considered just, and called for by the public interests.

The amount of fees received at all our consulates in 1852, (the returns for 1853 not being complete), according to the reports of the State Department, was $153,196 19; to this may be added $24,300 for the salaries, clerk-hire, house-rent, and contingent expenses during the same year of the consulates at London, Basle, Constantinople, Alexandria, Smyrna, Beirut, Candia, Fuh-Chau, Amoy, Shanghai, and Ningpo, making the cost of our present consular establishment $177,496 19 per annum; that of the one under the proposed bill will be $252,750.

It is not thought advisable to discontinue the exaction of fees for consular services, but to modify the charges authorized. At present consuls may charge $2 for any act authenticated by the consular seal. From this law it is proposed to exclude *visés* of passports. The existing law affects unequally ship-owners in the deposit and delivery of ships' papers, for which two consular certificates are required. A vessel of thirty tons pays as much as one of three thousand tons. By the bill this service is charged for by the registered measurement of the vessel. At present an invoice of merchandise of $25 value pays the same for a consular authentication as an invoice of $25,000 value. This is made by the bill to conform to the amount of the adventure when it is above $100. The commission allowed to consuls, where salaried, for advances to distressed seamen, are discontinued. Returns of fees are to be reported quarterly to the Treasury Department, and a failure to comply in this particular is made a cause for removal from office.

The cost of the diplomatic service of Great Britain, exclusive of special agencies and contingent disbursements, amounts annually to £127,805, about $568,022 22: that for the diplomatic and consular service of the United States under the proposed bill will amount to $573,250.

SUMMARY.

By the bill proposed there will be—

Ministers	28
Commissioner	1
Secretaries of legation	28
Dragoman	1
Interpreter	1
Consuls not permitted to transact business	88
Consuls permitted to transact business	69
Commercial agents	4

Aggregate amount of salaries of ministers ($262,500) and secretaries ($47,000)	$309.500
Commissioner to Sandwich Islands	6.000
Interpreter to China	2,500
Dragoman to Turkey	2,500
Aggregate cost of diplomatic service as per bill proposed	320,500

Aggregate amount of salaries to consuls not allowed to transact business	$191,500
Aggregate amount of consuls permitted to transact business	58,750
Commercial agents	2,500
Total amount of expense for consular service as per bill proposed	252,750
Diplomatic service	320,500
Total cost of diplomatic and consular services	573,250

Aggregate cost of proposed consular establishment		$252,750 00
Deduct fees, which amounted in 1852 to	$153,196 19	
Contingent expenses of sundry consulates	24,300 00	
		177,446 19
Net cost		75,253 81

Annual expenditure required by the proposed bill for diplomatic service will be, over that of the existing system	$15,816 34
The annual expenditure under the proposed bill for consular service will be, over that of the existing system	75,258 81
Total increase of expenditure under the proposed bill, over that of the existing system	$91,070 15

Art. IX.—CUBA AND THE SOUTH.

[The author of the following article is an intelligent citizen of New-Orleans, and expresses the views of a large part of the Cuban sympathizers. He belongs to a school somewhat more "*progressive*" than our own, though a good way short of the stature of "Young America."]

Believing from my heart that the question of Cuban independence is one of momentous import to the people of this Union—the most important in result to the world—and to the

South, a question freighted with the issue of life and death, and willing to contribute in directing to this subject the attention of gentlemen of our own State; and of those sister States linked to us by a common destiny, you will, I am sure, pardon me that I have chosen this mode of communication.

The scales have at last fallen from the eyes of our citizens as to the scenes being enacted near us, and we begin to regard with serious attention measures which threaten disaster to our own land, and endanger that interest which is to us, in this portion of the Union, a vital one. We behold how the insidious action of England and France, having in view the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba, has at last, by an outside pressure, impossible to be resisted by the weak and enervate government of Spain, forced her to the bold and destructive measures which are now being consummated.

All admit the necessity of action, but it is as to what manner of action is best calculated to achieve the end in view, that is of the chiefest importance in this matter; and it is to this point that the Cubans, and the friends to the Cuban cause, would ask the attentive consideration of Congress, the Government and the people. No true friend of Cuba will for a moment desire any hostile action at this time, on the part of the United States, towards Spain. It is the opinion of the Cubans, and of our most substantial and influential men here and elsewhere, favorable to this cause, that such a step would be destructive of every hope for the salvation of Cuba. The first gun fired by an American ship of war on the coast of that island, would be the signal for the sacrifice of all property of the Creoles, and all this accomplished by a simple decree, which it is as well known at Washington as here, the Captain-General is authorized at his discretion to promulgate. The United States, taking the island after the promulgation of such a decree, would hold but a worthless wreck. A crown robbed of its jewels, would be all that they would gain by such unfortunate action. Taking it too in such condition, they could never again return the savage and brutal population to their servile state, for this, if no other reason, that the fanaticism of the North would rear the banner of civil war to prevent such a consummation. All the Compromise and Nebraska Bills in the world would not create such discussion and distraction. A contest would commence, which would end but in the dismemberment of the Union.

The plan of acquiring Cuba by purchase, if not obnoxious to all the objections which attach to its acquisition by conquest, yet many of these, applicable in the latter case, apply with equal force in the former; with this insuperable objection on the part of the Southern States, that it would introduce into our Union a State burdened with such decrees as have been already ordained, as well as such as might be hereafter enacted by the existing government, respecting the *status* of the negro, between this and the date of the purchase. All these the power purchasing would be compelled to maintain and to carry out. All of these are and would be at war with a proper administration of the domestic policy of the South.

This question, however, will never arise. Spain will never sell Cuba. It is not probable that her overweening pride will be drowned in her avarice, when so large a portion of the purchase money will go to her creditors, and not into the pockets of her corrupt administration.

No. If we get Cuba, we must get it in another way; and the road is open. Let but the United States Government hold off, and Cuba will free herself in a short time. So long as the government of Spain has to deal only with a domestic foe, she will be confident in her strength to quell the revolution, and will not, we may hope, discover her error, until too late to remedy it; but the attack of so powerful an adversary as the United States will, on the very first hostile demonstration, bring down the decree. If we acquire Cuba, we must acquire her as we acquired Texas.

The Cuban revolutionists would have it understood by gentlemen in Congress, by the Administration, and by the people, that what they seek is Cuban independence—not annexation; at least, not now. Those who would go to aid them, would claim to go to assist a people already in a state of moral revolution—known to be so, by irrefragable proof. They would go, with the sinews of war supplied by Cuba herself. They would bear over the arms necessary to accomplish their liberation, for they are without them. Imprisoned, manacled—their chains must be broken. With a bayonet bristling at every man's bosom, an unassisted outbreak, before help from without should arrive, would be sheer madness.

But, it is asked, how and where have they evinced a desire to be free? They have evinced it by a long and continued struggle, moral and physical, which is wonderful, when we contemplate the position of the Creole in Cuba.

They evinced it in 1823, when a commission from the island went forth to ask aid at the hands of Gen. Bolivar.

They evinced it when the Congress of American States, held at Panama, in 1826, listened to their pleadings, and when the instructions to our own representatives to that body smothered the measure.

They evinced it in 1828, when the foundation of the Order of the Black Eagle, a powerful organization, was discovered, and suppressed by the Government.

They evinced it when they united with General Lorenzo, at

St. Jago de Cuba, in 1836, for the purpose of proclaiming in Cuba the Spanish Constitution.

They evinced it by an imperfect plan of revolution, which failed in 1848, and by the ill-fated expeditions of 1850 and 1851, when a band of our gallant countrymen were murdered under circumstances of so much ruthlessness and barbarity—whose blood cries out aloud from the ground, even now, for vengeance; when that gallant and ill-fated general who led them paid the forfeit of his daring with his life. But he has not died in vain. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Future generations of his enfranchised countrymen will revere him as a hero, and the dark-eyed daughters of his "beloved Cuba" will deck his grave, as a hallowed spot, with the fairest, freshest flowers, and his memory will live ever in the hearts of his countrymen.

They have evinced their desire to be free, in 1854, by their untiring efforts to direct public sentiment in this country to the matter of their condition and their desires; by the accumulation of the means of war, in the midst of dangers actually incomprehensible to an American mind. They have done more than Poland, Hungary or Italy; for they have shown a disposition to assist themselves in a practical, sensible manner, in accordance with the difficulties which surrounded them, and in the only manner in which success can be accomplished.

The friends of Cuba who, from this country, would endeavor to assist her, will, I am sure, scrupulously avoid any violation of the neutrality law—a law which is a libel upon our free institutions—a similar law to which, we believe, is not found in the code of any other civilized nation. It is a mockery of our Constitution—an ovation from obsequious Republicanism to courtly Royalty. Kossuth and Mazzini may plan the liberation of their countrymen, and plot against oppressive governments in monarchical England, but in republican America it is criminal, and the suspected parties must be annoyed by the means of the government, squandered in shameful and ineffectual prosecutions.

View this question, if you will, in a national light. It is the first outpouring of American feeling from the great valley of the West, which must sweep before it the rotten and tottering fabrics the absolutism of the Old World has set up in the New. It is the first crusade of the people against the *divine right* sacrilegiously claimed by imbecile king-craft. Our people *do*—the Government *must* sympathize with it. The existence of an island peopled by a race of intelligent men, so ready for the reception of, and so imbued with American ideas, with a social institution identified with that of all the Southern and South-western

States, and this race ruled simply by the force of the bayonet, is, in this age, an anomaly too monstrous to be borne.

Of this people a large number have been educated in American schools. Many Cuban youths are now being educated here. These all return fully imbued with American ideas. Shall we, who have taught them, now blame them that would follow our example, and raise themselves from a state of serfdom to be freemen? The march of free opinion is step by step, as are the inductions of mental philosophy.

Look at it as a commercial question, and the necessity of a change in the political condition of the Island of Cuba appeals with an irresistible power to the mercantile mind of this country, and to that of the commercial world. See how our commerce is harassed by an island so governed, guarding the mouth of the mightiest river in the world, whose shores are bordered by the rich States of the West, and bearing on its bosom their untold wealth—this land governed by a jealous, unfriendly and pusillanimous power,whose only aim seems to be, to embarrass all intercourse with us—tampering with our national honor, just so far as they may believe their weakness will be their protection—vaunting with the boldness of a braggart, and trembling with the trepidation of a coward—driving, by high and excessive duties, all our products from her markets, when the articles we produce are those they most need—our citizens insulted even as the Creoles themselves! How long would England or France endure a condition of things like this? How long would they have suffered such an incubus to have existed at the outlet of even their petty rivers, weighing down their commercial advancement, and not have removed the cause? Let Cuba be Africanized, and then with another San Domingo blocking the mouth of the Mississippi, all we can do by internal improvements will help us little. Our seas will be divested of ships, and those white-winged birds of commerce will fly to other oceans, or furl their pinions, and droop upon our waters.

Lastly, and chiefly, it is as a Southern question that this subject demands the calm and attentive consideration of the people of the South and the South-west. We well know that a feeling is rife at the North antagonistic to the institution of slavery—a feeling which is extending amongst many even of their men of education and liberal feelings. They make the same error which has lain at the bottom of this false philanthropy since its beginning (for slavery is much the older of the two); and this error lies in regarding the negro as a white man—in speaking of him and arguing of him thus. This is their chiefest error, and the germ of all their fanaticism. Although I believe the Union will endure so long as it is the interest of both sections of our country to be united, yet this fatal idea festers like a cancer at its heart, and may eat it up. The safety of the South is to be found only in the extension of its peculiar institutions, and the security of the Union in the safety of the South—towards the equator. The great beauty of our system of government is in its power of expansion. An hundred States may be governed under such a system as well as a few.

It was a prevailing feeling when our Colonies had, by their united efforts, achieved their independence, that they should lose their recollection of their former separate positions as individual States in the greatness of the result achieved by their Union. This idea was a natural one: we and our fathers have been educated in it, and we seem to view our federal as a centralized government, rather than as a federation of independent States, linked together by a league, offensive and defensive, with a common purpose of free government; a common interest in commercial prosperity; a common protection in war, and advancement in peace. A more enlightened view is beginning to prevail and extend among the people, as its necessity increases, and the philosophy of our system is properly considered.

New fields for a restless and enterprising population will demand all the energy and labor of the land; and in the blessings and in the returns of an unlimited commerce, the superfluous sympathies of our Northern brethren would be absorbed. Thus would the bonds of interest be drawn the closer together between the North and the South, and their union be the more thoroughly cemented. With Cuba, an island seven hundred miles long, and capable of sustaining such an increased population, assimilated to our own in their government, what a splendid prospect of commercial eminence opens to the South! What wealth will float upon our waters! What a bright gem will she, "the Queen of the Antilles," be in the coronet of the South, and how proudly will she wear it!

It is the greatest question of the age. Let our statesmen meet it boldly. Let them meet it as Americans. Already has the boom of cannon rolled along the shores of the Bosphorus, and the red fire of battle brightens the waters of the Baltic. It is the beginning of the end. It is the sound of the struggle of despot with despot; and while the strife goes on, Freedom will raise her bowed head, and the down-trodden people, brutalized by ages of oppression, will rise in the rude majesty of their ungovernable might; and terrible will be the rising thereof. The seeds of liberty, it seems, must be sown in blood, even as man's redemption was purchased by its price.

Art and action have conquered time. The work of years in former times is now the accomplishment of a day. Almost with the rapidity of light are the principles of free government

—*American principles*—penetrating the dark holes of European despotism.

Progress is King. At his step thrones are shaken, the monarch trembles, and with pale lip and blanched cheek beholds the impending storm; before his breath "that divinity which doth hedge a king" fades as a thin mist. The phantom of kingly prerogative flees away, and all the pomp and pageantry of courts wastes to the empty show of a pantomime.

Down-trodden man walks boldly upright in God's sunshine, and looks human majesties calmly in the face, and political equality is a truth realized.

What, then, will America do? What will the United States, the centre from which these rays diverge, be willing to contribute to the cause of Freedom and humanity? Will she, while absolutism wars with itself, stand like a sentinel on a hill to perpetuate the existence of the worst despotism on this continent which exists on the face of the whole earth? Will she forge the fetters for men striving to be free, or rivet the chains already fastened on their limbs? I trust not. It is one thing to keep your faith; and it is another thing for a man or nation to wreak a wrong on humanity by stepping beyond what is pledged to or required of it.

Art. X.—RECLAMATION OF SOUTHERN SWAMPS.

Utterly valueless in their present state for tillage purposes as these lands are, the poisonous property which they communicate to the atmosphere is a perpetual source of disease and death. If effectually drained and embanked, the soil of the delta of the Nile or Mississippi would not surpass them in fertility, or perhaps equal them in the variety of fruits which they would be capable of yielding. Health, too, would probably reign where pestilence now abides. Why, then, has an enterprise of such transcendent importance, in all its relations, never been a theme of profitable public dsicussion? The abundance and superior adaptation of the high lands for cotton, and the comparatively small expense in preparing them for that crop, was originally the main cause. As often as a field of this character furnished evidence of deterioration, the axe was put in requisition, and another, new and untried, substituted. The expensive and ruinous process has been carried to so inordinate a length, that the continued cultivation of poor tracts would seem to prove that, in the judgment of the planter, all the high grounds of value had been occupied. If this were true, which I deny, there is no alternative but to restore the productive power of the exhausted soils, or to render available the lands of which one of the elements has deprived us. The latter scheme, it is asserted, is impracticable, as the descent in the swamps is insufficient to draw off the water; and even if practicable, the expense of the undertaking would not repay the cost. Both of these opinions are untenable. Actual surveys of the Edisto swamps of the middle and eastern sections of the State by another,[*] show that in relation to the former—the least valuable[†]—the smallest descent in the lowest of them is not less than 3 or 4 inches to the mile, and in most of them from 12 to 18 inches; and with regard to the latter, that the fall is obviously sufficient for the purpose desired. Concerning the outlay, perhaps it is only necessary to remark, that if the value of the rice lands of the river-swamps, and most of our inland swamp, be a correct criterion by which to estimate the worth of the best of the reclaimed low grounds of the State, it would be repaid ten thousand-fold, and probably by the product of two or three crops, if not one only. Surely what has been achieved in other regions can be successfully done here, where so many advantages and incentives conspire to aid us. Your notice is not directed to Egypt, where dykes have converted a morass, 270 miles in circumference, into a vast field regularly yielding two crops within the year; nor to Holland, one-third of which has been recovered from the sea by mounds, some of which are 63 feet thick; and where at this time it is in contemplation to drain Harlaem Lake, embracing an area of 1500 miles; nor to India, the river banks of which country are said to be 1000 miles in length; nor China, where two of her finest provinces have been banked in from the sea; nor to Great Britain, where millions of acres of exuberant soil have supplanted the pestilential morass and the quaking bog. To our own country and State we ask you to look. In the levee at New-Orleans, art has effected a triumph over nature which, in its physical and political consequences, is still inadequately appreciated. Where will you find a more perfect work for the purpose it accomplishes than our rice plantations exhibit? The result, too, of individual energy.[‡]

To the public, in the absence of data on which to predict an opinion, an extended scheme of reclamation appears too herculean a task to be undertaken. If, however, the judgment of scientific witnesses may be relied upon, the difficulties are apparent, not real. A canal in the lowest ground, they maintain, having a properly directed course, though but 10 feet wide and 5 deep, if always operating, would gradually and regularly draw off the waters, which, obstructed as they now are, may flood many thousand acres; and there are indeed but few, if any of the larger inland swamps, of which a main canal of double this width, at most, would not serve to remove the surplus, and heretofore injurious waters, and perhaps at the same time furnish good navigation in times of abundant water, if not always. It may, then, be assumed, that the drainage of the large extent of high swamp (not subject to tide), in the lower range of districts, is not only practicable, but would be cheap compared to the immense value to be gained. We have especially in view, however, such swamps as the Biggin, the source of Cooper, and Wassamasaw, the source of Ashley River. It might here be pertinent to add, that all these swamps are underlaid, and at but a few feet below the surface, with the richest marl of our country, so that the canals deep enough for the main drains would, through nearly all their course, penetrate this rich bed. If a proper estimate were put upon the marl, the expense of excavating the canals, it is not improbable, might be compensated by the use and sale of that great meliorating agent. The construction of the Santee Canal, merely for navigation, and upon a high level, it is now obvious, was an injudicious measure. If that work did not exist, another might be made on a lower level for much the greater portion of the distance, and through rich swamp land with marl below, and by combining three objects, be as profitable as the actual plan has proved otherwise. The two great swamps already alluded to are connected, and both very nearly, with similar land on the Santee. The canals necessary and proper for drainage would completely connect, as well as greatly extend, the navigation of the Cooper and Ashley, and both with the Santee, by cutting through higher ground merely for navigation. In like manner the Edisto might be connected with the Ashley; and independent of the other advantages, the now difficult and hazardous rafting down the Edisto to Charleston would be avoided, and a shorter and safe passage secured. In the belief, however, that such a work might, at some future time, seriously impair the value of, if not destroy, the rice grounds below, the Legislature at its last session rejected a proposition to incorporate a Company to execute it. The general features which distinguish the Biggin and Wassamasaw Swamps prevail through most of the swamps above tide water, in Charleston District, if not elsewhere. While their drainage, therefore, would, in effect, add many thousand acres of the very best land to lower South Carolina, it would, at the same time, execute a network of canals of almost level and open water. What would be the effect of these extended reclamations of swamps in removing or lessening diseases of a malarial origin, is much less capable of appreciation. Nevertheless, the opinion is, perhaps, well founded, that the curse of our State—the only great physical evil—is capable of being controlled by wise legislation and agricultural energy.

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[*] Mr. Ruffin.

[†] The swamps on the Edisto, says Mr. Ruffin, from their narrowness—hence requiring extensive embankments—would be difficult to be secured from freshets; and as the Edisto passes through a sandy country, and does not therefore make the same rich deposits as the Congaree and Santee, the swamp lands of that region would be less valuable than the latter.

[‡] The highest evidence of the capacity of individuals of even moderate means to arrest and divert the channel of rivers by stable barriers, examined by the writer, is found in the Parish of St. Stephens. The embankment is 4¼ miles long, 40 feet base and 11 feet high, and was constructed by the venerable Samuel Porcher. This work will be regarded as an endeuing testimonial of the sagacity, skill and indomitable perseverance of its projector. The reclaimed land has produced as high as 70 bushels of corn and 40 bushels of oats per acre.

The river swamps, subject to inundation by the freshets of the rivers, present a much more difficult subject for improvement. It is on such lands as the Santee, Congaree, Wateree and Peedee, that the only extensive and successful trials have been made to reclaim swamps. While each of the enterprising proprietors acts solely in reference to his own land, and frequently in error as to that, and there is no general and consistent plan of operations, it must happen, that one private embankment serves to obstruct some other; and if all were to attempt to bank out the floods, their height and force would necessarily be rendered so much the greater, and perfectly uncontrollable. The plan heretofore pursued by the undertaker is to embank his swamp land along the river side, as near as may be. If, then, the work be completely effective for his own purposes, still he has obstructed the passage, and thereby more or less increased the height of all future freshet. Should his opposite neighbor deem it advisable to follow his example, and both their dykes approach near to the river side, then, instead of the floods having a breadth of two or three miles of swamp to flow over, they would be confined to the narrow bed of the river. It is manifest that the open water would rise until high enough to surmount, or sweep away the obstructing dykes. * * *

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With regard to many of our inland swamps, and generally the low grounds of the State, the soil of which has been used as an element in the composition of manures, the intelligent farmers are fast yielding to the opinion, that it is in every respect better to abandon that practice, and to render these valueless tracts available capital, by drainage and appropriate earthy or mineral ingredients.

Most of the inland swamps of South Carolina are of inexhaustible fertility. While the soil is generally a black mud, averaging probably three feet in depth, sometimes ten, and rarely under two feet, the substratum, with few exceptions, is sand and gravel, on which account it is more easily drained and kept free from water, though it is susceptible of perfect drainage when resting on clay, if it be a foot or two below the surface. Between the sea-board and Columbia thousands of acres—but inferior in productive capacity to similar tracts immediately below the Falls of Savannah River—are to be seen in the cypress ponds, bay galls and creek swamps, which cover, perhaps, half the State below the ridge. The experiments of our most enterprising planters go far to establish the belief that these lands, or the better class of them, are capable of yielding average crops, including the first year, for an indefinite period, of 400 lbs. of clean short cotton per acre. The cost of bringing them into cultivation may be estimated from the following statement: By one individual,* from 150 to 165 acres were last year put into tillable condition, at an expenditure for drainage of 1,733 days' work, to which he afterwards probably added sixty-six more; and for felling timber, burning, fencing, &c., 6,813 days' work of all sorts of hands. Under different circumstances and management, it is believed that 1,000 days of ditching, and and nearly 5,000 days of work of all hands, could have been saved—in a word, that such land may be prepared for the hoe, at a cost, in labor, of $25 per acre.† Manuring at the rate of from two to three hundred bushels to the acre, would of course add much to the expense. With such encouraging facts before them, it is almost unnecessary to observe, that if our people, especially those of the lower country, would embark, each according to his circumstances, in draining, clearing and marling this emphatically pestilential region, they would do more to develop the agricultural capacity, add to the wealth, and improve the health of the State, than by any other application of their labor and time.

Although private enterprise is supposed capable of accomplishing much on this head, yet, in relation to the river swamps, it would be comparatively powerless. Where the concurrence of many wills is required, and landed property, from the operation of our laws in regard to intestates, is constantly changing owners, or multiplying their number, the difficulties of united action are almost insurmountable. If legal aid could be so far brought to facilitate the undertaking, as to produce uniformity, in order that the labors of one should not counteract those of another, a very formidable impediment in the way would be removed. To require and compel the combined action of proprietors, would constitute a more decisive act on the part of the Legislature, that could not, however, be dispensed with. In the Code of Louisiana, where such a power is given, the most signal benefits to individuals and the public have already accrued from its practical exercise.

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* Ex-Governor Hammond.

† The grubbing was not included, as it belonged to the crop work.

Art. XI.—NEW-ORLEANS PRODUCE RECEIPTS.

A Table showing the receipts of the principal articles at New-Orleans, from the interior, during three years ending 31st August, with their estimated average and total value, compiled from the New-Orleans Price Current, by the United States Economist.

ARTICLES.	1852.		1853.			1854.		
	Amount.	Value Dollars.	Amount.	Av'ge.	Value Dollars.	Amount.	Av'ge.	Value Dollars.
Apples, bbls	20,356	61,068	48,328	3 00	144,984	47,451	4 00	189,804
Bacon, assorted, hhd. and csks.	46,734	3,505,050	50,347	70 00	3,524,290	37,664	55 00	2,071,520
Bacon, assorted, bxs	3,626	126,910	4,009	30 00	120,270	9,931	20 00	198,620
Bacon, hams, hhd and tc	38,188	2,694,120	42,868	65 00	2,786,420	32,155	50 00	1,607,750
Bacon, in bulk, lb	281,280	28,502	134,300	0 07	9,401	121,000	0 06	7,260
Bagging, piece	60,044	780,572	64,144	13 00	833,872	45,263	14 00	633,682
Bale rope, coils	90,272	677,040	121,553	8 00	972,424	102,274	8 00	818,192
Beans, bbls	6,598	65,980	9,494	7 00	66,668	13,459	5 00	67,295
Butter, kgs and fiks	44,786	358,288	44,444	6 00	266,664	47,649	7 00	333,543
Butter, bbls	1,778	53,340	2,184	28 00	61,152	1,934	30 00	58,020
Beeswax, bbls	171	7,605	194	50 00	9,710	161	50 00	8,050
Beef, bbls	41,227	494,724	48,565	13 00	631,345	29,700	13 00	386,230
Beef, tcs	11,523	172,845	30,226	18 50	559,181	10,301	20 00	206,020
Beef, dried, lbs	26,100	2,088	18,900	0 8½	1,606	31,601	0 09	2,844
Buffalo robes, pkg	1,300	97,500	17	75 00	1,275	12	80 00	960
Cotton, bales	1,429,183	48,592,222	1,664,864	41 00	68,239,424	1,440,779	38 00	54,749,600
Corn meal, bbls	2,514	7,542	1,788	3 00	5,364	355	4 00	1,420
Corn in ear, bbls	163,008	114,106	17,620	0 25	13,215	48,404	0 90	43,563
Corn, shelled, sacks	1,397,132	1,176,558	1,225,031	1 30	1,592,540	1,740,267	1 50	2,610,400
Cheese, bxs	72,448	253,513	39,497	4 00	157,988	58,132	4 00	232,528
Candles, bxs	53,936	323,616	68,796	6 50	447,174	72,298	7 00	506,093
Cider, bbls	300	900	36	3 00	198	89	3 00	267
Coal, Western, bbls	850,060	425,000	700,000	0 50	350,000	1,000,000	0 60	600,000
Dried apples and peaches, bbls	804	4,020	2,237	4 00	8,948	7,353	5 00	36,765
Feathers, bags	2,065	72.275	2,042	40 00	81,680	1,377	50 00	68,850
Flax-seed, tcs	519	5,190	1,279	8 00	10,232	192	9 00	1,728
Flour, bbls	927,212	3,708,848	838,672	4 50	3,639,024	874,256	7 00	6,119,792
Furs, hhds, bundles, and bxs	2,136	1,000,000	739	—	300,000	1,048	—	400,000
Hemp, bales	17,149	257.235	17,648	17 00	300,016	19,992	30 00	599,760
Hides	123,687	247,374	101,460	2 00	202,920	112,489	2 25	253,100
Hay, bales	53,434	160,302	175,000	3 00	525,000	72,664	4 00	290,656
Iron, pig, tons	62	1,860	121	40 00	4,840	515	40 00	20,600
Lard, bbls and tcs	125,496	3,137,400	118,243	26 00	3,074,318	133,065	24 00	3,193,560
Lard, kgs	157,689	788,445	159,672	5 50	878,196	110,477	4 50	497,146
Leather, bundles	7,572	189,300	6,309	50 00	189,270	5,690	35 00	198.150
Lime, Western	42,305	52,881	33,838	1 25	42,297	21,390	1 50	32,085
Lead, pigs	267,564	856,204	210,287	4 00	841,148	74,296	5 00	371,480
Lead, bar, kgs, and bxs	1,138	22,760	157	25 00	3,925	210	30 00	6,300
Lead, white, kegs	1,368	4,104	725	4 00	2,900	544	4 00	2.176
Molasses, est'd consump., gals.	18,300,000	4,026,000	25,700,000	0 20	5,140,008	31,000,000	0 12	3,720,000
Oats, bbls and sacks	463,273	347,454	446,956	1 00	446,956	586,451	1 00	586,451
Onions, bbls	17,184	34,368	17,718	2 00	15,240	22,893	3 00	68,679
Oil, Linseed, bbls	758	19,708	508	30 00	35,433	539	32 00	17,248
Oil, Castor, bbls	4,291	120,148	4,742	38 00	180,196	2,438	35 00	85,330
Oil, Lard, bbls	14,114	395,192	14,685	82 00	469,920	14,298	35 00	500,430
Potatoes, bbls	428,095	456,190	204,337	2 00	408,654	206,273	2 00	412,546
Pork, tcs and bbls	276,606	4,425,696	316,592	14 00	4,432,288	249,188	12 00	2,990,256
Pork, bxs	303	10,505	2,074	30 00	62,220	15,206	28 00	425,768
Pork, hhds	2,478	198,240	2,547	70 00	178,290	1,750	65 00	113,750
Pork, in bulk, lbs	800,000	616,000	12,985,810	0 6½	844,077	12,646,600	0 05	632,330
Porter and Ale, bbls	406	41,060	1,140	10 00	11,400	1.770	10 00	17,700
Packing Yarn, reels	2,093	14,651	2,811	7 00	19,677	2,443	7 00	17,101
Skins, Deer, packs	998	24,950	420	30 00	12,050	305	30 00	9,150
Skins, Bear, packs	16	240	29	45 00	435	4	15 00	60
Shot, kegs	2,704	67,600	2,233	30 00	66,000	3,675	24 00	88,200
Soap, bxs	5,318	15,924	6,911	3 00	20,733	9,173	3 50	32,105
Staves, barrel	7,319	278,122	6,000	40 00	240,000	2,500	37 00	92,500
Sugar, estimated crop, hhds	236,547	11,827,350	321,931	48 00	15,452,688	449,324	35 00	15,726,840
Spanish Moss, bales	4,372	35,976	3,702	10 00	27,020	4,466	15 00	66,990
Tallow, bbls	1,307	26,140	1,318	24 00	31,632	371	30 00	11,130
Tobacco, Leaf, hhds	75,816	5,686,200	63,260	100 00	6,326,000	36,405	80 00	2,912,400
" Strips, hhds	11,741	1,467,625	10,050	130 00	1,306,500	10,600	120 00	1,272,000
" Stems, hhds	2,118	42,360	1,700	20 00	34,000	1,900	23 00	43,700
" Chewing, kgs & bxs.	4,779	95,580	10,886	25 00	272,150	4,617	25 00	115,425
Twine, bundles and boxes	2,341	18,728	4,544	8 00	36,352	3,902	8 00	31,216
Vinegar, bbls	92	552	242	6 00	1,452	422	6 00	2,532
Whiskey, bbls	146,352	1,097,640	138,515	8 00	1,108.120	128,925	10 00	1,289,250
Window Glass, bxs	19,251	48,127	13,408	3 00	40,224	24,857	3 00	74,571
Wheat, bbls and sacks	64,918	129,836	47,238	1 75	82,766	184 943	3 00	554,829
Other articles, estimated at	—	5,500,000	—	—	6,000,000	—	—	6,000,000
Total value—dollars	—	108,051,708	—	—	134,233,735	—	—	115,336,798

The aggregate for eleven years have been as follows:—

AGGREGATE VALUE OF RECEIPTS OF PRODUCE AT NEW-ORLEANS FOR SEVERAL YEARS.

1842	$45,716,045	1847	$90,033,256	1851	$106,924,083
1843	53,728,054	1848	79,778,051	1852	108,051,708
1844	60,091,716	1849	81,989,692	1853	134,233,735
1845	57,199,122	1850	96,697,873	1854	115,336,798
1846	77,193,464				

Art. XII.—AMERICAN CITIES.—MILWAUKIE, WISCONSIN.

STATISTICS OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKIE FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 1, 1853, WITH AMOUNT OF PRODUCE IN STORE MARCH 20TH, 1853 AND 1854.

The Committee intrusted by the Board of Trade with the task of collecting and compiling statistics relative to the commerce and manufactures of the city of Milwaukie, as well as the various enterprises, both existing and projected, which tend to promote her interests, beg leave to submit the following report:—

In the commencement, they would say that much care has been exercised, and several weeks have been spent in collecting the figures below, which may be relied upon as being as accurate as the nature of the case will admit. That portion relating to the manufactures of the city has been obtained by visiting almost every manufactory of the articles enumerated, even the most retired and insignificant. As some of the articles of manufacture have doubtless been omitted, the aggregate may be considered as really above the amount stated below.

As regards exports, the amount of produce in store, and the lumber trade, the figures have been taken from the books of forwarders, ship-owners, and dealers, individually, and are as complete as possible. From the negligence of captains of vessels in filing their manifests, and the impossibility of their being gathered by the Collector, the Custom House books present a very imperfect idea of the lake commerce of the city. For the same reason, it is impossible to ascertain with any kind of accuracy, (without visiting every merchant in Milwaukie,) the imports of various kinds of merchandise during the year; we have therefore omitted them altogether.

Wisconsin, during the past year, has been unusually productive; crops of most kinds have been larger in quantity than in any year since its first settlement. Although a larger proportion than usual has gone to other lake ports or to the Mississippi for shipment, yet the figures below show that a large region continues tributary to Milwaukie, and that the cash paid by this city to producers must have been greater than in any previous year. From the extraordinary yield, a lively business was anticipated during the fall, winter and spring of 1852-'3. High prices were general throughout the country. Farmers reaped a rich harvest, but a large proportion was absorbed by mortgages on their farms, which checked expenditures by them in improvements or in luxuries. The late decline, however, in provisions and breadstuffs, while it does not immediately affect the farmer, who has marketed his products, falls heavily upon buyers in all the principal marts of the West. It was anticipated in the autumn of 1852, that the stock of merchandise on hand on the 1st of March would be extremely light. This anticipation has not been realized, and there still remains enough to supply all probable demands before the arrival of spring stocks.

Notwithstanding these unfavorable circumstances, Milwaukie and the State of Wisconsin, owing to restored credit and internal improvements, which are bringing in foreign capital, are in a condition many fold more flattering than for the past four years.

It is proper here to allude to the water power of this city, which is now one of the chief sources of our productions. At Humboldt, four miles from the city, there are a paper mill, a distillery, a flour mill and a saw mill. In this city, there are on the power, five large flour mills, which have manufactured all the flour which has been made here during the past year. Also an oil mill, and several manufactories in wood. There is now room for double the number of establishments, and one or two will probably be erected during the ensuing year.

The Board of Trade has reason to congratulate the citizens of Milwaukie on its present commercially healthful condition.

Manufactures.—The following table shows the value of the principal articles manufactured during the year ending March 1st, 1853:

Ale and beer, 33,900 bbls., valued at	$169,500 00
Barrels (flour, packing, and whiskey)	45,020 00
Billiard tables	26,500 00
Boiler work, bank vault doors, gas fixtures	15,200 00
Boots and shoes	103,000 00
Book binding, &c.	5,800 00
Bread and crackers	38,400 00
Brick (12,900,000 manufactured)	58,500 00
Cabinet making	92,000 00
Castings and iron, including locomotives, &c.	137,237 75
Clothing	230,000 00
Confectionery	23,000 00
Flour	311,552 50
Gas manufactured (3 months)	8,500 00
Gun factories and brass turnings	6,100 00
Jewelry	2,100 00
Lime	6,000 00
Linseed oil; one small factory has ceased running. Another has been put in operation upon the water power, and is capable of manufacturing 60 bbls. per month. 70 bbls. made	2,100 00
Mill stones	16,500 00

Paper, printing, including book paper, 170,000 lbs	$17,000		
Colored do., 3,000 lbs	300		
Hardware, do., 6,000 lbs	600		
Tea paper, 4,000 lbs	200		
Wrapping do., 130,000 lbs	6,500	24,600	00
Furs		10,000	00
Planed lumber and siding, sash, blinds, and shingles		78.800	00
Piano Fortes		3.360	00
Saleratus		18.000	00
Starch (40,000 lbs.)		2,600	00
Stone ware		2,100	00
Soap and candles, 500,000 lbs. soap, and 120,000 lbs. candles		37,000	00
Tanning hides and skins		175.304	33
Threshing machines		16,240	00
Tin, sheet iron, and copper manuf		38,862	29
Tobacco and cigars		11.550	00
Trunks and harness		48,000	00
Wagons, coaches, trucks, &c		23,750	00
Window shades		1,800	00
Whiskey (11,811½ bbls. manuf.)		91,537	83
Woollen goods		21,148	62
Miscellaneous		200,000	00
		$2,050,663	32

The aggregate of the above shows Milwaukie to be no insignificant city in respect of manufactures, and that she offers superior inducements as a residence to artisans. Some of the items enumerated, particularly that of malt liquors, whiskey, boots and shoes, tanning, clothing, iron castings, &c., are surprising to those who have not paid particular attention to these branches of trade. The item of iron castings includes the *locomotives* manufactured by Walton & Co., at the Menomonee Foundry. This establishment is soon to be conducted by a chartered company, the requisite stock subscription ($100,000) having been made up. The patterns, &c., are now all completed, and the company are able to turn out one locomotive each month. Those they have constructed prove to be A No. 1, and home manufactures should be encouraged. The items of malt liquors and whiskey show that we have Anti Maine-Liquor-Law men "among us."

The manufactures enumerated above do not include house and ship building, which we give below:

House-building.—Francis Charnley, master builder, has furnished statistics of the number, kind, and value of buildings erected during the year ending March 1st, of which the following is the summary:

129 frame houses and 40 brick buildings, (including Gas Works), at a cost of	$415,150 00

Tonnage.—The following is the aggregate tonnage of vessels owned in Milwaukie:

Sail vessels completed	6,258 tons.	
Do. now being built	1,490 tons.	7,748
Steam tonnage		800
Total number of tons		8,548

During the past year three vessels have been launched, and six are now on the stocks.

Shipments.—As is stated above, the following aggregate of shipments from this port during the season of 1852, has been taken from the books of those engaged in the business, and may be relied upon as correct. The published figures of 1851, having been taken from the Collector's books, fail to give an accurate idea of the business of that year. We compare a few items only. It will be seen that the shipments of grain in 1852 are so far in advance of those of 1851, as to render comparison useless:

	1852.	1851.
Flour, bbls	88,597	101,811
Wheat, bushels	394,386	130,744
Barley, bushels	345,620	99,897
Oats, bushels	428,811	55,124
Rye, bushels	67,759	none.
Rye flour, bbls	124	
Corn meal, tons	37	
Live and dressed hogs, lbs	1,771,364	
Pork, bbls	19,603	
Smoked hams, lbs	102,314	
Pickled do., bbls	274	
Smoked shoulders, lbs	85,972	
Pickled do., bbls	21	
Lard, packages	1,226	
Tallow, bbls	324	
Beef hams, bbls	1,112	
Navy beef, bbls	6,661	
Vinegar, bbls	887	
Eggs, bbls	540	
Butter, kegs	811	
Beans, bbls	293	
Saleratus, lbs	150,000	
White fish, bbls	77	
Bran and shorts, tons	300	
Dried peaches, bbls	13	

	1852.
Hops, lbs	11,625
Brick	700,000
Wool, lbs	321,121
Rags, lbs	30,000
Salt, bbls	190
Ale, bbls	2,400
Whiskey, bbls	712
Hides	12,990
Flax, lbs	4,211
Malt, bushels	6,376
Flour barrels	2,008
Cattle, head	165
Horses, head	75
Fruit, bbls	270
Broom corn, tons	227
Ashes, casks	3,291
Grass seed, bushels	5,851
Furs, bales	139
Lead, lbs	218,208
Shot, lbs	31,150
Stave machine	1
Dressed staves	167,000
Pipe do	22,000
Tobacco, bbls	69
Ivory black, bbls	100
Merchandise, tons	1,230
Barrels bulk	6,304

It will be seen by the above, that while the shipments of flour are 101,811 bbls. in 1851, to 88,597 in 1852, being a falling off of 13,214 bbls.; yet the shipments of grain are 1,236,576 bushels in 1852, to 285,765 in 1851, being an increase of 950,811 bushels in 1852.

By comparing the above table with that of 1853, it will be seen that the amount of produce in store at the opening of navigation this year was more than double that of 1853. A large amount of produce went forward last fall, and also heavy amounts have come for shipment *since the opening of navigation*, and still the value *in store* on 20th of March was over *two millions of dollars.*

Amount of Produce in store on March 20th, 1853, *to be forwarded.*

Flour, bbls	45,220	Grass seed, bushels	1,826
Pork, do	15,821	Beans, do	403
Beef, do	269	Malt, do	500
Lard, do	1,540	Flaxseed, do	274
Butter, lbs	5,000	Wool, lbs	7,311
Wheat, bushels	225,600	Lead, pigs	150
Rye, do	22,200	Broom corn, bales	310
Oats, do	65,249	Hops, do	20
Barley, do	36,500	Flax, do	19
Corn, do	70		

Produce in store at Milwaukie, March 20th, 1854.

Wheat, bushels	460,000	Pork and lard, bbls	30,000
Rye, do	80,000	Beef, do	10,000
Oats, do	155,000	Timo. seed, do	4,000
Corn, do	32,000	Tobacco, tons	50
Barley, do	75,000	Broom corn, do	100
Flour, bbls	75,000	Hides and ashes, valued $50,000.	

No full report has been made by the Board of Trade for the spring of 1854; but the number of arrivals and departures have largely increased, as have also the number of emigrants arriving, and the amount of imports.

It appears that a larger amount of produce remains to go forward at the opening of navigation, at this point, than at all others on Lake Michigan combined, or at any point on Lake Erie.

Arrivals and Departures.—During the season of navigation in 1852, the number of arrivals, according to the books of the Collector, was as follows:

Steamers	841	
Propellers	330	
Schooners	393	
Sloops	1	
Brigs	34	1,599

Departures about the same as arrivals.

Lumber.—The lumber trade during the year past has been lighter than for the year 1851, although prices have been a shade better. The following are the total receipts for the season of 1852:

Lumber, feet	12,649,426
Laths	1,565,000
Shingles	6,820,000
Shingle bolts, cords	800
Cedar posts	3,000

Beef and Pork.—Wisconsin beef stands as high in the New-York market as any produced in this country. Cattle are as good in respect of stock, as well fattened, and as well packed, as the best from our neighbors of Illinois. The total amount packed during the season was 10,151 barrels.

The total number of barrels of pork, packed during the last season, amounts to 23,707 barrels. The pork generally has brought a high price, and farmers have reaped a rich harvest, the current rates having been $5 and $6.75 during the season.

Railroads.—The past year has been fruitful of railroad enterprises. Charters have been granted by Legislature, which, if rendered efficient, would, when laid down upon the map, make Wisconsin look like a spider's web. *Some* of them will, doubtless, be built. We notice those only which are tributary to Milwaukie, charters for which have been granted.

The Milwaukie and Mississippi road will be, when completed (with its branch to Janesville) to the Mississippi River, *via* Madison, 200 miles in length. The direct road is now in operation to Milton, 62 miles, which, together with the Janesville branch, 8 miles, makes 70 miles of road now in running condition, and tributary to Milwaukie. We are under obligation to Mr. S. K. Platt for the following statement of the business of this road for the year ending March 1st, 1853. It will be borne in mind, on reading the following table, that the road was not opened to Janesville until January 8th, of the present year, and was also pushed forward from different points beyond Whitewater at different periods during the past year.

Table showing the amount of Freight moved during the year ending March 1853, *on the Milwaukie and Mississippi Railroad*—EASTWARD.

Wheat in bush	296,672	Pork in barrels	432
Corn in bush	5,450	Live stock in numbers	2,031
Oats in bush	30,442	Flax and tow in bales	119
Potatoes in bush	2,598	Stone in cords	7¾
Barley in bush	67,095	Lumber in feet	18,886
Rye in bush,	14,471	Potash in barrels	55
Wool in bales	231	Sundries in pounds	1,365,815
Flour in barrels	19,397	Whiskey in barrels	330
Butter in kegs	758	Barrels for packing	3,175
Pork in hog, No	10,323	Lard in barrels	44½
Weight of hogs, lbs	1,961,370	Highwines in barrels	371

Table showing the amonnt of Freight moved during the year ending March 1, 1853, *over the Milwaukie and Mississippi Railroad*—WESTWARD:

Merchandise in pounds	6,412,911	Whiskey in barrels	352
Lumber in feet	3,961,978	Stoves, No	790
Lath in bundles	25,014	Bricks, No	51,805
Shingles, M	2,427¾	Live stock, No	19
Coal in pounds	443,620	Iron in pounds	8,797,999
Salt in barrels	4,857	Sundries in pounds	66,230
Furniture, &c., in pounds	65,473	Barrels for packing	829

Other roads surveyed, or provisionally chartered, are as follows:

Green Bay, Milwaukie and Chicago :—		
Between Milwaukie and Chicago, miles	85	
Do. do. Green Bay	120	205
Milwaukie and Beloit		70
Do. Watertown	46	
Continuation to Ft. Winnebago	50	96
La Crosse and Milwaukie, (*via* Iron Ridge)		200
Milwaukie, Fond du Lac and Green Bay		130
Milwaukie and Mississippi (as above)		200
Total number of miles		901

The above makes seven railroads, radiating in different directions from Milwaukie. Of these there will probably be built at the end of the present year:

Milwaukie and Mississippi, to Madison	100
Do. do. branch to Janesville	8
Green Bay, Milwaukie and Chicago, between Milwaukie and Chicago.	85
Milwaukie and Watertown	46
La Crosse and Milwaukie (to Iron Ridge)	45
Milwaukie, Fond du Lac and Green Bay, (to Fond du Lac)	62
Total number of miles	346

Plank Roads.—The following is a schedule of the several plank roads diverging from this city, with their length annexed:

Milwaukie and Waukesha, miles		10
Milwaukie and Janesville, main trunk to Mukwonago	25	
Do. do. branch to Rochester	13	38
Milwaukie and Watertown		45
Do. Wauwatosa		5
Do. Lisbon and Hartland		25
Do. Fond du Lac		12
Do. Green Bay		10
Do. Humboldt		5
Total		150

These are all, or nearly all, completed and in operation. The stock, as a general thing, pays well, some of them having declared very heavy dividends. Most of the above roads are chartered to extend farther into the country; but in the present *furor* for railroads, it is hardly probable that any great addition will be made.

Art. XIII.—COTTON CROP AND COTTON STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES.*

Statement and total amount for the year ending 31*st August*, 1854.

NEW-ORLEANS.

		Bales.
Export—		
To foreign ports	1,236,653	
Coastwise	192,527	
Stock, 1st September, 1854	24,121	
		1,453,301
Deduct—		
Stock, 1st September, 1853	10,522	
Received from Mobile, Montgomery, &c.	64,806	
Received from Florida	9,368	
Received from Texas	21,680	
		106,376
Total		1,346,295

MOBILE.

Export—		
To foreign ports	336,963	
Coastwise	178,668	
Consumed in Mobile	1,465	
Stock, 1st September, 1854	29,278	
		546,374
Deduct—		
Beceived from New-Orleans	63	
Received from Texas	111	
Stock, 1st September, 1853	7,516	
		7,690
Total		538,684

TEXAS.

Export—		
To foreign ports	18,467	
Coastwise	90,081	
Stock, 1st September, 1854	2,205	
		110,753
Deduct—		
Stock, 1st September, 1853		428
Total		110,325

FLORIDA.

Export—		
To foreign ports	49,190	
Coastwise	165,194	
Stock in Apalachicola, 1st September, 1854	583	
		155,967
Deduct—		
Stock in Apalachicola, 1st Sept., 1853		523
Total		155,444

GEORGIA.

Export—		
To foreign ports—Uplands	98,580	
" Sea Island	3,861	
Coastwise—Uplands	203,363	
Sea Island	11,667	
Stock in Savannah, 1st September, 1854	3,200	
Stock in Augusta, 1st September, 1854	8,318	
		328,989
Deduct—		
Stock in Savannah and Augusta, 1st September, 1853		12,984
Total		316,005

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Export from Charleston—		
To foreign ports—Uplands	217,603	
Sea Island	18,154	
Coastwise—Uplands	190,675	
Sea Island	6,612	
Stock in Charleston, 1st September, 1854	17,031	
	450,075	
Export from Georgetown—		
To Northern ports	3,209	
		453,284
Deduct—		
Stock in Charleston, 1st September, 1853	15,126	
Received from Florida	4,133	
Received from Savannah	17,271	
		36,530
		416,754

NORTH CAROLINA.

Export—		
To foreign ports	none.	
Coastwise	11,524	

VIRGINIA.

Export—		
To foreign ports	500	
Coastwise, and manufactured, (taken from the ports)	21,086	
Stock, 1st September, 1854	750	
		22,336
Deduct—		
Stock, 1st September, 1853		400
		21,936
Received at N. Y. by N. Y. & Erie Canal		1,182
" N. Y. by N. Y. & Erie Railroad		2,258
" Balt. and Phila. from Tennessee, &c.		8,990
Total crop of the United States		2,930,027

Comparative View of the Crop of Cotton for 1852-3 *and* 1853-4.

Received at—	1852-3.	1853-4.
New-Orleans	1,580,875	1,346,925
Alabama	545,029	538,864
Texas	85,790	110,325
Florida	179,476	155,444
Georgia	349,490	316,005
South Carolina	463,203	416,754
North Carolina	23,496	11,524
Virginia	25,783	21,936
Overland, at New-York, &c.	9,740	12,430
Total crop, 2 years	3,262,882	2,930,027
Decrease from 1852-3		332,855
" " 1851-2		85,002

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* From the Shipping and Commercial List and the Economist, New-York.

Comparative Statement of Growth.

Crop of—	Bales.	Crop of—	Bales.	Crop of—	Bales.
1853—4	2,930,027	1842—3	2,378,875	1832—3	1,070,438
1852—3	3,262,882	1841—2	1,683,574	1831—2	987,477
1 51—2	3,015,029	1840—1	1,634,945	1830—1	1,038,848
1850—1	2,355,257	1839-40	2 177,835	1829-30	976,845
1849-50	2,096,706	1838—9	1,360,532	1828—9	857,744
1848—9	2,728,596	1837—8	1,801,497	1827—8	720,593
1847—8	2,347,634	1836—7	1,422,930	1826—7	957,281
1846—7	1,778,651	1835—6	1 360,725	1825—6	720,027
1845—6	2,100,537	1834—5	1,254,328	1824—5	569,249
1844—5	2,394,503	1833—4	1,205,394	1823—4	509,158
1843—4	2,030,409				

Export to Foreign Ports from September 1, 1853, to August 31, 1854.

From	To Great Britain.	To France.	To North of Europe.	Other Foreign Ports.	Total.
New-Orleans......bales	813,736	193,571	93,375	135,971	1,236,653
Mobile	231,230	76,752	14,466	14,515	336,963
Texas	6,191	4,275	8,001	—	18,467
Florida	43,086	1,965	2,429	1,710	49,190
Savannah	92,363	6,487	2,921	670	102,441
Charleston	162,970	41,245	12,641	18,901	235,757
North Carolina	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia	500	—	—	—	500
Baltimore	2,159	—	200	52	2,411
Philadelphia	3,490	—	—	1,472	4,962
New-York	245,746	49,763	29,845	2,742	328,096
Boston	2,279	—	1,294	135	3,708
Grand total	1,603,750	374,058	165,172	176,168	2,319,148
Total last year	1,736,860	426,728	171,176	193,636	2,528,400
Decrease	133,110	52,670	6,004	17,468	209,252

Consumption.

			Bales.
Total crop of the United States, as before stated			2,930,027
Add—			
Stock on hand at the commencement of the year, 1st September, 1853:			
In the Southern ports		47,499	
In the Northern ports		88,144	
			135,643
Makes a supply of			3,065,670
Deduct therefrom—			
The export to foreign ports	2,319,148		
Less foreign included	1,565		
		2,317,583	
Stock on hand, 1st September, 1854:			
In the Southern ports	85,486		
In the Northern ports	50,117		
		135,603	
Burnt at New-York and Philadelphia		1,913	
			2,455,099
Taken for home use			610,571

Quantity Consumed by and in the Hands of Manufacturers.

NORTH OF VIRGINIA.

	Bales.		Bales.		Bales.
1853—4	610,571	1843—4		1834—5	216,868
1852—3	671,009	1842—3	325,129	1833—4	196,413
1851—2	603,029	1841—2	267,850	1832—3	194,412
1850—1	404,108	1840—1	297,288	1831—2	173,800
1849-50	487,769	1839-40	295,193	1830—1	182 142
1848—9	518,039	1838—9	276,018	1829-30	126,512
1847—8	531,772	1837—8	246,063	1828—9	118,853
1846—7	427,967	1836—7	222,540	1827—8	120 593
1845—6	422,597	1835—6	236,733	1826—7	103,483
1844—5	389,046				

We now give our usual table of the amount of cotton consumed the past year in the States south and west of Virginia, and not included in the receipts at the ports. We have increased the estimate, as a whole, from the year previous, but give it only for what it purports to be, an *estimate*, which we believe approximates correctness. Thus:

Quantity Consumed.

	1854.	1853.	1852.	1851.
North Carolina...........bales	20,000	20,000	15,000	13,000
South Carolina	12,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Georgia	23,000	20,000	22,000	13,000
Alabama	6,000	5,000	5,000	4,000
Tennessee	6,000	5,000	7,000	8,000
On the Ohio, &c	38,000	30,000	16,000	12,000
Total to September 1	105,000	90,000	75,000	60,000

To which, if we add (for the past year) the stocks in the interior towns, &c., the quantity burnt in the interior, and that lost on its way to market, to the crop as given above, received at the shipping ports, the aggregate will show very nearly the amount raised in the United States during the past season—say in round numbers, 3,000,000 bales, against 3,360,000 for the year 1852-3—3,100,000 for the year 1851-2, and 2,450,000 for the year before.

During the year just closed, there were received here 2,258 bales by way of the New-York and Erie Railroad, 1,182 by the New-York and Erie Canal, 7,490 at Baltimore, and 1,500 at Philadelphia, from the West, nearly if not quite all of which, it is believed, came from Tennessee, and we have accordingly added it in another place to the crop in the country.

The quantity of *new* cotton received at the shipping ports to the 1st inst., amounted to 1,890 bales against 716 bales last year, and 5,125 the year before.

The shipments given in this statement from Texas are those by *sea* only.

It may be well to observe that the preceding statement of the crop is that of the United States *as a whole*, and does not purport to give the crops of the States, though the shipments, stocks, &c., are necessarily arranged under the different leading shipping ports or States, as the case may be. It is well known that, by the extension of railroads and other means of transit, oftentimes large quantities of cotton grown in one State are received at, and shipped from, the sea-ports of another, and this to a greater or less extent with every cotton-growing State in the Union.

Total Receipts of Cotton into the various Ports of the United States.

	1853-4.	1853.	1851-2.	1850-1.	1849-50.	1848-9.	1847-8.
New-Orleans	1,346,925	1,580,875	1,373,464	933,369	781,886	1,093,797	1,190,733
Mobile	538,684	545,029	549,449	451,748	350,952	518,706	436,336
Florida	155,444	179,476	188,499	181,204	181,344	200,186	153,776
Texas	107,906	85,796	64,052	45,820	31,263	38,827	39,742
Georgia	316,005	349,490	325,714	322,376	343,635	391,372	254,825
South Carolina	416,754	468,203	476,614	387,075	383,265	458,117	261,752
North Carolina	11,524	23,496	16,242	11,928	11,861	10,041	1,518
Virginia	21,936	25,783	20,995	20,737	11,500	17,550	8,951
Railroads	12,430	9,740	—	—	—	—	—
Total	2,930,027	3,262,882	3,015,029	2,355,257	2,096,706	2,728,596	2,347,634

Total Foreign Exports of Cotton from the United States.

	1853-4.	1853.	1851-2.	1850-1.	1849-50.	1848-9.	1847-8.
To Great Britain	1,603,750	1,736,860	1,668,749	1,418,265	1,206,771	1,537,901	1,324,265
France	374,058	426,728	421,375	301,358	289,627	368,259	279,172
North of Europe	165,172	171,176	168,875	129,492	72,156	155,458	120,348
Other foreign ports,	176,168	193,636	184,647	139,595	121,001	156,226	134,476
Total	2,319,148	2,528,400	2,443,646	1,988,710	1,590,155	2,227,844	1,858,261

Stock of Cotton on hand in the United States on 31st August.

	1854.	1853.	1852.	1851.	1850.	1849.	1848.
New-Orleans	24,121	10,522	9,758	15,390	19,612	15,480	37,401
Mobile	29,278	7,516	2,319	29,797	12,962	5,046	23,554
Florida	583	523	451	273	1,148	615	507
Texas	428	428	317	596	265	452	747
Savannah and Augusta	11,588	12,984	6,657	34,011	29,069	25,319	36,603

	1854.	1853.	1852.	1851.	1850.	1849.	1848.
Charleston	17,031	15,126	11,146	10,953	30,698	33,806	14,084
North Carolina	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia	750	400	420	620	1,000	1,000	444
New-York	32,988	67,675	45,710	35,410	60,720	67,720	41,967
Other Northern ports	17,129	20,469	14,250	3,850	15,456	15,456	16,130
Total	133,856	135,643	91,176	128,900	167,930	154,753	171,468
United States consumption	610,571	671,009	603,029	404,109	487,769	518,039	531,772

The consumption here given is the quantity taken by spinners from the out ports. The consumption in the interior was given by census for 1850 at 67,460, and it must now be at least double.

Art. XIV.—GRAIN AND PROVISION TRADE OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

[From the circular of Neuffer, Hendrix & Co., we glean some particulars of this trade in Western produce, of which so large a part is likely to be transferred to Charleston.]

A NEW era has dawned upon Charleston, and she has just tasted the first fruits of her judicious appropriations to railroads connecting her with the Great West, and when that, the greatest of them all, the Blue Ridge Railroad, is completed, she will reap the full benefit. Within the past year, the Nashville and Chattanooga Road has been completed, and turned a considerable quantity of bacon and grain to this market, and we may expect a still larger quantity next season. The road from Loudon to Knoxville, Tennessee, is now in a state of completion, and will soon bring us the products of that fertile region, and will save the water carriage from Knoxville to Loudon, which, heretofore, has been a great drawback in our trade with that region of Tennessee. Other roads are diverging, from the different termini, which will soon place Charleston in connection with all parts of the country, which, from her position, are naturally tributary to her. Charleston is now independent of the North for her breadstuffs and provisions.

Flour.—The receipts per railroad, for the past year, have been about 80,000 barrels, of which some 35,000 barrels have been exported foreign and coastwise. Heavy orders were received here from Europe, but could only be partially filled, as the majority of flour received here was in sacks, which merchants holding orders would not risk. This, we trust, will not be the case another year. We, however, filled an order for 3,000 sacks for Liverpool, which arrived there in good condition, and gave satisfaction. But, as a general rule, barrels always take the precedence. Charleston is now a flour market, and has a reputation to establish; and we would impress upon our friends the necessity of paying particular attention to the putting up of their flour, as to weight, classification of quality, and order of package. Nothing is to hinder Tennessee, Georgia, North and South Carolina flour from acquiring a reputation equal to any manufactured, as it is admitted that their wheat is equal to any grown. For consumption it would not make so much difference, but even then it would pay the manufacturer to establish a reputation for full weight, good order and quality, as represented by his brand. The past year, there has been considerable flour shipped coastwise to New-York, Boston, and some even to Philadelphia and Baltimore; (the two latter places from which Charleston formerly received her supplies;) and, we say with pride, stood the test with their best brands, and sold for equal prices, some sack flour from Tennessee bringing the high price of $10 per barrel; all the objection urged against it being its irregularity in order and classification of quality, and, in too many cases, short weight.

We would remark, however, that Charleston cannot look to these markets to take her surplus flour. She must look to the same markets they do, and there is nothing to hinder her from competing successfully; all she wants is the enterprise to open the trade. There is no occasion for flour to be from $1 to $1 25 per barrel lower in Charleston (which has been the case for some time past) than in those markets. This can be only temporary, and the natural disadvantages of a new trade. Our Flour Inspection Law has many serious objections, and has had our attention. The inspection fee is entirely too high. The reduction of the fee, and other charges required, will be brought before the Legislature at its next session, and we have every assurance of success.

Corn is another article to which we would call your attention. The consumption of Charleston and vicinity is about 800,000 bushels. The receipts per railroad the past year have not exceeded 150,000 bushels. This should not be; we have had to get our supplies from North Carolina and Maryland. Georgia and Tennessee should send us enough for consumption at least, to say nothing of export. Corn should be put up in osnaburg sacks, or good heavy domestic, containing about two bushels each; in fact, it would be well to make them of uniform size, and holding 112 lbs., equal to two bushels, as purchasers buying to sell again, save the trouble of re-weighing or measuring, and it makes it handy to retail. A considerable quantity of corn is shipped from Charleston to the West Indies, but buyers have to buy it by measurement, as that trade requires it in two bushel sacks. The sacks should be securely sewed, as, if they are not, the loss in transportation is heavy. Osnaburg or heavy domestic sacks are pereferable to gunny, and cost less.

Oats, also, are sold here in large qnantities; but, heretofore, we have had to depend almost entirely upon the North for this article, when the West should supply us. Oats never go below 40 cents per bushel here, and an average price is 50 cents, and frequently go as high as 65 and 70 cents.

Peas are always high here, and bring relatively higher prices than any other grain. The past year they have been very scarce, and, since January, have been selling from $1 10 to $1 25. It would seem that we ought to get our supplies by railroad, but as yet, have got them from North Carolina, by water.

Bacon is another new article by railroad, this being the first season that any has arrived, and we are sorry to say, a very unpropitious one for an opening. Prices have been extremely low in all markets, but, as low as it has been, prices in Charleston have been ½ cent to ¾ cent above Baltimore, and 2 to 2½ cents above New-Orleans. There is a large quantity of bacon sold here, and, until the past season, we have received our supplies from Baltimore, New-Orleans and Cincinnati. Tennessee sides are unexceptionable as to quality, but the packages are inferior. Shippers would do well to attend to this particular. Bacon should be packed in new casks, made expressly for the purpose, and of uniform size, and it will pay the shippers to do so. Our Tennessee friends, however, will have to improve in the mode of cutting their hams. They have brought a high price here the past season, but those shipped from Tennessee have been selling at 6 to 6½, while Baltimore and Cincinnati have been bringing 11 to 14 cents, without having any advantage in quality, but simply because they were cut in the proper manner. We would call your attention to this matter, as it is one of great importance to you.

Packages, too, is an item here again. Hams should be packed in neat barrels or tierces, not to exceed 600 lbs. gross. It may appear strange, but we assure you that attention to these particulars is of great importance.

Art. XV.—EDITORIAL.

Party Leaders. Sketches of Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and John Randolph, of Roanoke; including notices of many other distinguished American statesmen. By J. G. Baldwin, author of the "Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi." New-York: D. Appleton & Co. Washington: Taylor & Maury. 1854.

A very able series of papers which the author proposes to continue, and which should be read and studied by all who desire to know the political history of their country, or to have themselves "a place in the picture."

Virginia Comedians; or, Old Days in the Old Dominion; edited from the manuscript of C. Effingham, Esq. In 2 volumes. New-York: Appleton & Co. Washington: Frank Taylor.

"That strange Virginia of 1776, with its passions, humors, and anomalies of every description, afforded a broad field for dramatic narrative, and the author has endeavored to embody some of its peculiarities in this rapid and shifting panorama." His wish is simply to depict some Virginia scenes and personages ten years before the Revolution. It is written with vigor and spirit, but is anonymous.

Captain Canot; or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver. Being an account of his career and adventures on the coast of Africa, in the interior, on shipboard, and in the West Indies. Written out and edited from the Captain's journal, memoranda, and conversations. By Brantz Mayer. New-York: Appleton & Co. Washington: —— Farnam.

The name of Brantz Mayer is a sufficient guarantee for the literary excellence of the work, and the subject is itself so full of interest that, even in ordinary hands, it would attract attention everywhere. Captain Canot was a veritable trader, and the work is founded upon his veritable experiences. There are chapters of great power, and the most exciting interest.

The School for Politics; a Dramatic Novel. By Charles Gayarre. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 346 and 348 Broadway. 1850. 12mo., pp. 158.

"This is an admirable hit at the tergiversations and somersets of the politicians of the day. The author, as usual in all such cutting sarcasms, disclaims all intention to be personal in his delineation of the characters of his drama; and indeed there is so much that every mere politician, in every section of the country, might take to himself, that we have no reason to doubt that the scenes of political degradation he describes are altogether fictitious. The author is known to us as a gentleman of high standing in New-Orleans, whose occasional visits to this city have made him acquainted with most of our eminent men, who will no doubt be ready to testify to his respectability, and to his entire freedom from all malevolent design in the construction of his dramatic novel. The characters are, in truth, so well delineated that every reader will fancy that the author had some particular individual in his eye of his own familiar acquaintance. So it is, and must be, with all true painters of nature: the individual is but a type of this kind; and a description sufficiently correct to lead us to a knowledge of the genus cannot but be recognized as a faithful portrait of every individual of the family. Those to whom the several characters are applicable would do well to profit by the useful moral which the book is intended to convey. All readers will find amusement in the life-like scenes which it depicts."

Lectures on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. By M. V. Cousin. With an Appendix on French Art. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854.

An able volume from one of the first metaphysicians and philosophers of Europe.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

The Annual Course of Lectures in this Department will commence on MONDAY, November 13, and will terminate in the ensuing March.

James Jones, M. D., Professor of Practice of Medicine.
J. L. Riddell, M. D., Professor of Chemistry
Warren Stone, M. D., Professor of Surgery.
A. H. Cenas, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics.
A. J. Wedderburn, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.
Gustavus A. Nott, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica.
Thomas Hunt, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Pathology.
Cornelius C Baird, M. D., } Demonstrators of Anatomy.
Samuel P. Choppin, M. D., }

The rooms for Dissecting will be open on the Third Monday in October.

The Faculty are Visiting Physicians and Surgeons of the Charity Hospital, and attend this Institution from November to April.

The Students accompany the Professors in their visits, and, free of expense, enjoy extraordinary practical advantages.

There are, during the Session, about eight hundred persons prescribed for daily.

In 1853, the number of patients was thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

Sep., 54, 1 yr. THOMAS HUNT, M. D., *Dean.*

THE GREAT FAMILY AND PLANTATION MEDICINE!

WRIGHT'S INDIAN VEGETABLE PILLS.

The great and increasing sale of this excellent medicine proves the high estimation in which it is held by the entire community. In the South and Southwest it is now fully appreciated. Entirely a vegetable composition, its use is unattended by the serious injury consequent upon mineral remedies, which, even if they do sometimes relieve one disease, invariably produce half a dozen others in its place, rendering it more difficult to recover from the effects of the medicine, than from the disease for which it was taken.

In the fevers and other complaints incident to southern and southwestern life, Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills are unsurpassed in efficacy. They have cured YELLOW FEVER after every other remedy had failed. They have broken up the AGUE and BILIOUS FEVER in all their forms. They are thoroughly anti-bilious in their action; powerful for good, and yet innocent of evil.

If resorted to in time this medicine will be found to answer all the requirements of the family and *Plantation.* Either ADULTS or CHILDREN afflicted with any of the prevalent disorders will find a dose or two of this medicine thoroughly efficacious—not only curing the immediate sickness, but PURIFYING the BLOOD, AIDING the CIRCULATION and IMPROVING the *general health.*

Space will not allow of the introduction of the numerous testimonials received by the proprietor. He therefore subjoins only two or three of them, the first of which was received from Vera Cruz, in 1849, while the Yellow Fever was quite prevalent, and is signed, as will be seen, by the HIGHEST MEDICAL AUTHORITIES of that city.

TRANSLATION.

We, the undersigned, licensed Physicians in and for the city of Vera Cruz, do hereby certify, that we have used **Dr. W. Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills,** bought of Mr. Felix Rovira, Agent in this city, and having applied said Pills to cure the different diseases for which they are recommended by Dr. Wright, we have found them in every respect satisfactory, and we therefore recommend their use to every person in the republic who may be suffering from any of the maladies for which they are recommended by their inventor.—And in order that the present certificate may be used as convenient to the parties, we have signed it in Vera Cruz, this 10th day of August, 1849.

(Signed,) George Gaidan. Manuel Hovad.

Forbes' Town, Bute Co., California, March 26th, 1854.

Sir:—I take upon me to forward you a few lines, to let you know that I have been using your very effective medicine for over one year. What the name of my complaint is I cannot say, but your Pills have made a very great alteration in my outward appearance, and my inward feeling is most pleasant to what it was. I had bad health for a considerable time, and had tried a great many remedies, but all proved to have no effect; in fact, your Pills are the only medicine that I have ever found equal to recommendations. I can assure you that I value them more than the gold I am digging, and trust that I shall always have some of them beside me.

I remain, your well-wisher,
JAMES HALKET.

Pittsburgh, Pa., April 29, 1854, 410 Liberty Street.

Dear Sir:—I feel much pleasure in testifying to the excellence of your *Indian Vegetable Pills* as a cure and preventive of Diarrhœa. Last year I suffered very severely during many weeks from this horrible disease, being all the time under the care of physicians, and constantly taking medicine, from which I derived no benefit. At last I was induced to take a dose of your Vegetable Pills, and found four Pills not only effect an entire cure, but so radically to change my system that I have never been troubled with the complaint since—my general health being so good that all my friends remark upon the improvement.

Yours, respectfully,
To Dr. Wm. Wright, 169 Race St., Philad'a, Pa. JOHN THOMPSON.

The genuine may be had of J. Wright & Co., Chartres Street, and A. Bronsem, 74 Camp Street, New-Orleans; M. Boullemet, Mobile; Haviland, Harrol & Co., Charleston; and by the principal dealers throughout the United States and Canadas. Principal office, to which all communications must be addressed 169 Rcae Street, Philadelphia.

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Art. I.—THE SPANISH DOMINATION IN LOUISIANA.

THE history of Louisiana, and particularly that portion which relates to it while under the domination of Spain, presents a world of romance and of thrilling adventure, such as can only be found where the Spanish character has thoroughly prevailed. Whoever reads the history of Spain and of the Spaniards since the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula, cannot but perceive the striking and unique traits of character that a seven hundred years' contact with the followers of Mohammed has indelibly stamped upon the Spanish character. It is a genuine hybridity of character, partaking equally of the refined civilization of Western Europe, and of the semi-barbarous Mohammedan civilization of Western Asia. It is a character in which stands out in bold relief some of the darkest traits of the Moor, gently modified—though not sufficiently to conceal the source of it—by the softening influences of Christianity. There is just enough Moorish blood running in the veins of the Spanish race to give it all the wild adventure and romance of the Moorish character; while it takes away most of that love of gain, and of plodding commercial life and enterprise, which so much distinguish the French and Anglo-Saxon races. The Spaniard has no idea of plodding industry; he cannot think of tilling the soil, of turning the powers of nature into sources of wealth, and of accumulating riches by commerce. If it were so, Spain would long since have been one of the richest nations on earth, and her American colonies would never have left her; but her natural indolence of character prompted her only to make her American possessions sources of plunder.

Spain has conquered more of the earth's surface than any other modern nation; and her peculiar national character has also caused her to make the worst use of them. It was always easier for the Moor to conquer than to make a good use of his conquests; and so it has always been with Spain.

The peculiarities of the Spanish character have completely spent themselves upon the soil of America. For about three hundred years Spain had, in the Western World, full sway—the widest possible field for a development of its national character. The results were left deeply written in the soil of the Great and Lesser Antilles,—of Louisiana, Mexico, Central America, Peru, and of every country in South America,—results full of treachery, rapine, inhumanity, cruelty, avarice, religious intolerance, and of every trait of the semi-barbarian Moor.

A host of historians have revelled in the wide field of Hispano-American adventure, war and romance, and furnished to the world some of the most lively and thrilling narrations that modern times can afford. These historians, however, have mostly been confined to Mexico and South America, while Louisiana has been comparatively neglected. The history of the Spanish race in that portion remains yet to be written. Its outlines, as yet, are all that have been given to the world. There remains to be done for Louisiana what Prescott has done for Mexico and Peru.

We are happy to be able to announce that the task of writing and illustrating the history of Louisiana while under the domination of the Spaniards, has at last been undertaken by the Hon. CHARLES GAYARRE, one of the most distinguished citizens of Louisiana. We have been favored with a portion of the proof-sheets of his forthcoming work,* which are now before us. They are replete with interest, and fully sustain the high reputation which the author has already acquired. The work is entitled *The History of Louisiana under the Spanish Domination*, its object being to record the history of Louisiana as a Spanish colony, from 1769 to the end of the year 1803, when she was transferred to the United States of America. The work is elaborate, and written in a style vigorous and graphic, suited to the dignity of history. This work, so much needed, so ably written, and so full in all the details of so interesting a theme, places its learned author among the first of American historians, if, indeed, his other historical works do not entitle him to that honor. His preceding work on the French domination in Louisiana, entitled *Histoire de la Louisiane*, is a production of high merit, and written in a classical and dignified style; but owing to its having been written in French, its merits have not been fully appreciated by the American public. Abroad and in Louisiana it has been received with the highest praise, and is admitted to be the best work that has ever appeared on the subject.

* It will, perhaps, appear before these pages see the light.

It will be recollected by those familiar with the history of Louisiana, that in 1762 it was ceded to Spain by France, and that in consequence of the unwillingness of the colonists, Spain had great difficulty in getting it into its possession. These difficulties are fully detailed in Mr. Gayarre's *Histoire de la Louisiane.*

We have often been struck with surprise at the almost entire exclusion of the history of Louisiana from all of our numerous histories, so called, of the United States, and particularly those designed for schools. This omission has very naturally led to the conclusion that there was nothing in the history of Louisiana that could be of much interest to the reader; when, in fact, the history of no part of the United States is more interesting. We will not even except New-England, New-York, or Virginia, to whose histories so large a place is assigned in all of our books.

In 1766, two years after the cession, the Spaniards made an attempt to get possession of their new territory, but only partially succeeded, for soon after their arrival the colonists rose in insurrection in 1768, and drove them out of the country. The next year, the arrival of Governor O'Reilly, with an overwhelming force, avenged the insults offered to his Catholic Majesty, punished the leaders of the insurrection, and brought the province under complete subjection to Spain.

Having secured the obedience of the colonists, O'Reilly's next step was to organize a new government; and in doing this, he sought, as much as possible, to efface all traces of the old one. For the old French Superior Council he substituted a Cabildo, or Municipal Council, composed of six perpetual *Regidores,* or Aldermen, two ordinary *Alcaldes,* or city magistrates, an Attorney-General Syndic, and a clerk, over which body the Governor presided in person.

To fill the places of perpetual *Regidor* and clerk, those offices were put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder, and the purchaser "was declared to have the faculty of transferring his office to a known and capable person, from whom he was permitted to require in payment one-half of its appraised value; but one-third only could be received on any subsequent mutation."

This unique mode of acquiring office is peculiarly Spanish, and claims a high antiquity. It may be traced back to some of the earliest kings of Spain. There is, however, more reason and honesty in it than at first would appear; for by such a mode of acquiring office they only did openly what ambitious and hypocritical office-seekers now effect secretly; while they are all the time declaiming against acquiring office with money as a thing most wicked and scandalous. By the Spanish system, which at least had the merit of open competition and exemption from all bribery and hypocrisy, offices were doubtless as often filled by honest men as now. Offices continue to be purchased just as much now as ever; the only difference being, that what was formerly done openly and with the sanction of law, is now done secretly.

The Regidores, having thus acquired office, were also invested with those of Alferez Real, or Royal Standard Bearer, of Principal Provincial Alcalde, of Alguazil Mayor, or High Sheriff, of Depositary-General, and of Receiver of Fines.

The ordinary Alcalde and the Attorney-General Syndic were to be chosen, on the first day of every year, by the Cabildo, and were always re-eligible, during the two first years, by a unanimous vote, and subsequently by a bare majority. At such elections the votes were openly given and recorded.

The ordinary alcaldes were, individually, judges within the town of New-Orleans, in civil and criminal cases, in which the defendant did not possess and claim the privilege of being tried by a military or ecclesiastical tribunal, in virtue of the *fuero militar*, or *fuero ecclesiastico*.* These alcaldes, in their chambers, and without any written proceedings, took cognizance of, and summarily decided upon, all judicial matters in which the value of the object in dispute did not exceed twenty dollars. In other cases, they sat in a hall destined for this purpose, and their proceedings were recorded by a notary and a clerk; and when the value of the object in dispute exceeded ninety thousand maravedis ($330 88c.), an appeal lay from their decision to the Cabildo.

This body did not examine itself the judgment appealed from, but chose two Regidores, who, with the Alcalde who had rendered it, revised the proceedings; and, if he and either of the Regidores approved the decision, it was affirmed.

This Cabildo held its regular sessions on every Friday; but the Governor had the power of convening it at any time. In his absence, one of the Alcaldes presided, and, immediately after the adjournment, two Regidores went to his house and informed him of what had been done.

The ordinary Alcaldes had the first seats in the Cabildo, immediately after the Governor; and, below them, the other members sat in the following order: the Alferez Real, or Royal Standard Bearer, the Principal Provincial Alcalde, the Alguazil Mayor, or High Sheriff, the Depositary-General, the Receiver of Fines, the Attorney-General Syndic, and the Clerk.

The office of Alferez Real was merely honorary, no other function being assigned to the incumbent but the bearing of the royal standard in a few public ceremonies. The Principal Provincial Alcalde had cognizance of offences committed out of the town; the Alguazil Mayor executed personally, or by his deputies, all process from the different tribunals. The Depositary-General took charge of all moneys and effects placed in the custody of the law. The functions of the Receiver-General of Fines are pointed out by his official denomination. The Attorney-General Syndic was not, as may be supposed from his title, the prosecuting officer of the crown. His duty was to propose to the Cabildo such measures as the interest of the people required, and to defend their rights. This was a sort of imitation of the Roman tribune, and shows that, even in those days, and under that form of government which was reputed, not only absolute, but also tyrannic, the

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*** *Fuero* means privilege—for instance, such as the *fueros*, or privileges granted to particular provinces, to corporations, to the military, or to the ecclesiastical body, &c. &c.**

people, contrary to the general belief, were admitted to have rights, which were to be advocated and defended. Such at least was the theory, if the practice was different.*

The Regidores received only a nominal salary of $50 per annum, the fees of office supplying the balance.

From the Cabildo, the highest tribunal in the colony, there lay an appeal to the Captain-General of the Island of Cuba; from him, to the Royal Audience in St. Domingo, and thence to the Council of the Indies in Madrid.

The Governor of Louisiana was subordinate to the Captain-General residing in Cuba. He was invested with civil and military powers; and the higher officers about him were an

Intendant, who had the administration of the revenues, and of all that concerned the naval and commercial department; a Contador, or Royal Comptroller; an Auditor of War and Assessor of Government, who was the legal adviser of the Governor; an Auditor of the Intendancy, who was the legal adviser of the Intendant. There being in those days, in Louisiana, a scarcity of men learned in the law, says Judge Martin in his History, the Auditor of War frequently acted as the counsel, not only of the Governor, but also of the Intendant, of the Cabildo, and of all the other public functionaries. There was a secretary of the governor and a secretary of the intendant, a treasurer of the province, a general storekeeper and a purveyor, a surveyor-general, a harbor-master, an interpreter of the French and English languages, an Indian interpreter, and three notaries public; besides, a collector, a comptroller, a cashier, an inspector, and a special notary for the custom-house.†

The Governor exercised judicial powers in civil and criminal matters throughout the province; the Intendant in cases pertaining to the revenues, and to the navy; and the Vicar-General in the ecclesiastical department; and each of them had exclusive jurisdiction in their respective courts. The Governor could also make grants of lands.

In the parishes of Louisiana the government was administered by an officer of the army or militia, of no higher grade than a captain, stationed as civil and military commandant.

His duty was to attend to the police of the parish and preserve its peace. He was instructed to examine the passports of all travellers, and suffer no one to settle within his jurisdiction, without the license of the governor. He had jurisdiction over all civil cases in which the value of the object in dispute did not exceed twenty dollars; in more important cases, he received the petition and answer, took down the testimony, and transmitted the whole to the governor, by whom the record was sent to the proper tribunal. He had the power to punish slaves, and arrest and imprison free persons charged with offences, and was bound to transmit immediate information of the arrest, with a transcript of the evidence, to the governor, by whose order the accused was either discharged, or sent to New-Orleans. These parish commandants acted also as notaries public, and made inventories and sales of the estates of the deceased, and attended to the execution of judgments, rendered in New-Orleans, against defendants who resided in the country parishes.*

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* *Spanish Domination:* Gayarre, chap. i. p. 5.

† Gayarre, chap. i. p. 6.

O'Reilly, the first Spanish Governor of Louisiana, appears to have been a man of sterling integrity, enlarged and enlightened views, a high sense of honor and justice, and of a humanity worthy of a ruler possessed of extensive civil and military powers. He seemed anxious to promote the welfare and happiness of his people; and that they might be governed with good and wholesome laws, he ordered an abstract of the laws of Castile and of the Indies to be made, to serve as the statute law in all civil and criminal cases. "This abstract," as Mr. Gayarre justly observes, "will be found,† with the exception of a few objectionable provisions, to be remarkable for wisdom and humanity; and it would not require much investigation to discover worse legislation in these our days of enlightened morality and progressive knowledge."

Whatever may be thought of the machinery of government adopted by O'Reilly, his laws were certainly full of justice and humanity, and well calculated to secure to his subjects their rights. That our readers may have some idea of them, we will give a few extracts. Concerning the Cabildo, or Municipal Council, the 20th Art. of Sec. 1 reads as follows:

> The electors, in the two jurisdictions, being responsible for the injury and detriment which the public may sustain, by the bad conduct and incapacity of the elected, in the administration of justice and the management of the public interests, should have for their only objects, in the election of ordinary alcaldes and other officers, the service of God, the king, and the public; and, in order to prevent an abuse of that great trust, their choice should be directed to those persons who shall appear to them most suitable for those offices, by the proofs they may possess of their affection for the king, their disinterestedness, and their zeal for the public welfare.

With the omission of the word *king*, (remarks Mr. Gayarre), this article would not be found inapplicable to present circumstances, and might be fitly recommended to that generation of electors who now hold in their hands the destinies of our country.

Again, Art. 21:

> The Cabildo is hereby informed that it must exact from the governors, previous to their taking possession of their office, a good and sufficient surety, and a full assurance to this effect—that they shall submit to the necessary inquiries and examinations during the time they may be in employment, and that they shall conform to whatever may be adjudged and determined against them. This article merits the most serious attention of the Cabildo, which is responsible for the consequences that may result from any omission and neglect in exacting the aforesaid securities from the governors.

Considering the age in which it was framed, (observes Mr. Gayarre), and the source from which it emanated, this article deserves to be noticed, on account of the check which it intends to impose on the exercise of the executive power.

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* Martin's History of Louisiana.

† Mr. Gayarre gives it in full, in an Appendix.

The laws regarding prisoners were exceedingly humane. Art. 13 reads as follows:

> The ordinary Alcaldes, accompanied by the Alguazil Mayor (High Sheriff), and the escribano (clerk), shall, every Friday, proceed to the visitation of the prisons. They shall examine the prisoners, the causes of their detention, and ascertain how long they may have been imprisoned. They shall release the poor who may be detained for their expenses, or for small debts; and the jailer shall not exact from them any release fee. The Alcaldes shall not set at liberty any of the prisoners detained by order of the Governor, or of any other judge, without the express consent of said authorities.

Laws are generally an index to the character of the times and the state of public morals. The following, from the 5th Article of O'Reilly's abstract, shows that a state of things existed in Louisiana, in his time, not unlike that found at the present day in Spain, Mexico, and some other Spanish countries:

> The 5th Article says:—The principal object of the institution of the tribunal of the Santa Hermandad (Holy Brotherhood) being to repress disorders, and to prevent the robberies and assassinations committed in unfrequented places by vagabonds and delinquents, who conceal themselves in the woods, from which they sally to attack travellers and the neighboring inhabitants, the Alcalde Mayor Provincial shall assemble a sufficient number of members or brothers of the Santa Hermandad, to clear his jurisdiction of the perpetrators of such evil deeds, by pursuing them with spirit, seizing or putting them to death.

The Procurador-General of O'Reilly's government was an officer to whom we have no exact parallel in this country. Regarding the Procurador-General, Sec. 7th of Art. 1 reads as follows:

> The Procurador-General is an officer appointed to assist the people in all their concerns, to defend them, preserve their rights, and obtain justice on their behalf, and to enforce all other claims which relate to the public interest.
>
> In consequence thereof, the Procurador-General, who is appointed solely for the public good, shall see that the municipal ordinances are strictly observed, and shall endeavor to prevent everything by which the said public interest might suffer.
>
> For these purposes, he shall apply to the tribunals competent thereto, for the recovery of debts and revenues due to the treasury of the town of New-Orleans, in the capacity of attorney for said town. He shall pursue these causes with the activity and diligence necessary to discharge him from the responsibility he would incur by the slightest omission.
>
> He shall see that the other officers of the Council or Cabildo discharge strictly the duties of their offices; that the Depositary-General, the Receiver of Fines, and all those who are to give sureties, shall give such as are good and sufficient; and in case said sureties should cease to be good, he shall demand that they be renewed conformably to law.

He shall be present at, and shall interpose in the division of lands, and in other public matters, to the end that nothing unsuitable or injurious shall occur.

It must be admitted, says Mr. Gayarre, that this whole section is replete with a feeling of liberality and a regard for the interests of the people, which is supposed to appertain only to a republican government.

Imprisonment for debt, which still exists in the most enlightened countries, and even in one, at least, of our own States—Massachusetts—was considered an abomination by the Spaniards of Louisiana, under O'Reilly's administration, and allowed to take place in only one solitary case—that in which the debtor was known to be perfectly solvent and able to pay his debts. It is a disgrace to our country that even one of our States should still retain a law so barbarous.

The Spanish laws of Louisiana regarding criminal trials were somewhat remarkable. Art. 14 read as follows:

"The accused, being convicted of the crime, on its being fully established on trial by sufficient proof, or by some other proof in conjunction with his own confession, may be condemned to the penalty provided by law for the same. The said condemnation shall also take place, when two witnesses of lawful age and irreproachable character shall depose that, of their certain knowledge, the accused has committed the crime; but when there shall appear against the accused but one witness, and other indications or conjectures, he shall not be condemned to the penalty provided by law; but some other punishment shall be inflicted as directed by the judge, with due consideration of the circumstances which may appear on the trial. This state of things requires the greatest circumspection, as it must always be remembered, that it is better to let a criminal escape than to punish the innocent."

This provision, remarks Mr. Gayarre, concerning condemnation on the testimony of one witness, whatever may be said as to the propriety of its policy, is certainly more humane than the law by which we are now governed, and which may send a man to the scaffold on the bare testimony of another. It will also be observed that the well-known axiom that "it is better that guilt should go unpunished, than that innocence should suffer unjust punishment," is not confined to the common law of England. It may, moreover, not be amiss here to remark, in a parenthesis, that the boasted privileges of English liberty existed in some parts of Spain, although destroyed since, long before they were dreamed of in that noble land from which we have borrowed so much of our judicial and political organization.

The laws of O'Reilly's government, however, were not, as might be expected in that age, entirely free from barbarism and puritanical severity; though they were not more so than the laws of New-England, which punished with great severity the most trifling offences, and pursued with imprisonment, banishment, and death, innocent persons for their religious belief. A few passages will sufficiently show the character of some of the punishments:

"He who shall revile Our Saviour, or his mother the Holy Virgin Mary, shall have his tongue cut out, and his property shall be confiscated, applicable one-half to the public treasury, and the other half to the informer."

Art. 2d said: "He who, forgetting the respect and loyalty which every subject owes to his king, shall have the insolence to vilify his royal person, or that of the queen, of the hereditary prince, or of the *infantes* (princes of the blood), or of their sons, shall be punished corporally, according to the circumstances of the crime; and the half of his property shall be confiscated to the profit of the public or the royal treasury, if he have legitimate children; but should he have none, he shall forfeit the whole, applicable two-thirds to the public treasury, and the other third to the accuser."

The 4th Art. contains a remarkable feature. A plebeian, using opprobrious language to the detriment of any one, was condemned to pay a fine of 1200 maravedis; but should a nobleman have committed the same offence, the penalty for him was 2000 maravedis. This distinction seems to have originated from the impression, that such an offence ought to be more severely punished in one of gentle than of base blood, on account of its being more heinous in one who, on account of his rank, ought to have been more correct in his deportment.

Art. 6 said: "The married woman convicted of adultery, and he who has committed the same with her, shall be delivered up to the husband, to be dealt with as he may please; with the reserve, however, that he shall not put one of them to death, without inflicting the same punishment on the other."

Art. 7. "The man who shall consent that his wife live in concubinage with another, or who shall have induced her to commit adultery, shall, for the first time, be exposed to public shame, and condemned to a confinement of ten years in some fortress; and, for the second time, shall be sentenced to one hundred lashes and confinement for life."

These, and a great many others that we might quote, are thoroughly characteristic of the age. Those which we have omitted are too revolting to be cited, and show the depravity of the times.

O'Reilly's instructions to the *Commandantes* of the several parishes of Louisiana exhibit statesmanship of a high order, and an honorable line of policy. He enjoined upon them a strict observance of all existing treaties with the English, kind treatment of the Indians, and the greatest vigilance in respect to the observance of the laws.

Among his first decrees—and O'Reilly was clothed with unlimited authority—was the suppression of all trade with Mexico, and with the English navigating the Mississippi. He also suppressed the enslaving of the Indians. In his instructions to the *Commandantes* he says:

"It shall be made known to all the inhabitants that, by the laws of his Majesty, which shall go into operation in this province on the 1st of December, 1769, it is not permitted that Indians be held in slavery; wherefore, from the date of the notification of these presents, no one shall buy, exchange, and barter, or appropriate to himself, Indian slaves. They shall neither sell, nor in any way part with, those they now have (unless it be to set them free), until they hear further from his Majesty on this subject. The Commandantes shall make out an exact list of the Indian slaves who are within their jurisdiction. Said list shall contain the names of the owners, the price which they ask for every one of their Indian slaves, and the exact filiation of said slaves. This will obviate any future abuse on a subject which has so strongly excited the solicitude of our laws."

We cannot dwell longer on the early Spanish government of Louisiana, organized by O'Reilly and sanctioned by the crown of Spain. Louisiana was, in fact, a Dependency of Cuba, and was governed by the same laws as those which prevailed in the other American possessions of the King of Spain. The acts of O'Reilly abolished completely all previous French laws governing the colony.* The French language was tolerated in all legal proceedings, but all the acts, decrees, and public documents were required to be in the Spanish language.

On the arrival of O'Reilly in Louisiana, he found the colonists trading extensively with Mexico and with the English, while they were not allowed to trade with Cuba. This trade he immediately suppressed. In his first dispatch to the King of Spain he says:

> "I found the English in complete possession of the commerce of the colony. They had in this town their merchants and traders with open stores and shops, and I can safely assert that they pocketed nine-tenths of the money spent here. The commerce of France used to receive the productions of the colony in payment of the articles imported into it from the mother country; but the English, selling their goods much cheaper, had the gathering of all the money. I drove off all the English traders and the other individuals of that nation whom I found in this town, and I shall admit here none of their vessels."

His principal objection to the English appears to have been that they drained the Colony of its money.

The administration of O'Reilly has been very unjustly, as we think, characterized as tyrannical and even cruel. The developments of Mr. Gayarre, in the work now under review, will serve to place O'Reilly in a better light. We will close our notice of his administration with the following tribute paid to him by our author:

> "The motto on O'Reilly's coat of arms was, "*Fortitudine et prudentiâ;*" and he seems not to have been deficient in the possession of both these virtues. But there is hardly an instance, when blood shed in a political cause, whatever may have been the just and apparent necessity of it at the time, did not, sooner or later, rise from the earth, to cloud in the eye of the world the fame of the author or adviser of the deed. This has become an historical truth, and is confirmed by what O'Reilly's memory has suffered, in consequence of the execution of Lafrénière and his companions. He was not, however, the blood-thirsty tyrant that he was represented to be, and never, except on this occasion, in the whole course of a long public life, which was exposed to the scrutiny of those who hated him as a foreigner, and envied him as one of the king's favorites, did he ever give the slightest cause to accuse him of not having been always attentive to the dictates of humanity. His talents as a military man, and as an administrator when dis-

* Gayarre.

charging the functions of a civil officer, cannot be the object of a doubt, and it must even be admitted that they were of a superior order.

When in Louisiana, he was no more than thirty-four or thirty-five years old. There he left a reputation of strict morality and military precision. Fond of pomp, and somewhat ostentatious in all his tastes, naturally gay, and animated with strong sociable dispositions, he, nevertheless, was not addicted to pleasure, and he devoted himself entirely to the business he had on hand. He was exceedingly prompt, exact and active, and he required the same qualifications in his subordinates. By a proper and systematic distribution of his time, to which he inflexibly adhered, he could get on, with astonishing ease and rapidity, through an immense deal of labor, and he left nothing to be done by others which he could do himself. He emphatically was a man of action, a lover of the camp, as his predecessor, Ulloa, was a man of study, a lover of meditation and scientific speculations. It was said that he endeavored, as far as possible, to see everything with his own eyes, and, when he had to trust others, he never failed to descend into the minutest details of the duties which he expected them to fulfil. Not only was O'Reilly excessively urbane in his social and official intercourse, but distinguished also for the exquisite refinement of those courtly manners which have now almost ceased to be a reality, and the recollection of which will soon fade away into vague and dreamy traditions. But he was of an irritable temper, and liable to fits of haughtiness on the slightest appearance of what he supposed to be premeditated contradiction or opposition. Preserving all the vivacity, excitability, and sprightly wit of the Irish temperament, he was remarkably animated in conversation, and seemed to have a relish and a turn of mind for a good joke. He cultivated with sedulous attention the society of some families with which he seemed to be highly pleased, and which he always treated with deferential courtesy. Escorted by a few dragoons, his carriage was frequently seen driving at a rapid pace up the coast, where he used, in his moments of leisure, to visit a family residing a few miles from the town, and in which he found himself in an atmosphere reminding him of that of the best European society. One day, when, according to his habit, he had provoked a keen encounter of wits with the lady of the manor, being stung by a sharp repartee, his hasty temper betrayed him, and he forgot himself so far as to say, with a tone of command: "Madam, do you forget who I am?" "No, sir," answered the lady, with a low bow, "but I have associated with those who were higher than you are, and who took care never to forget what was due to others; hence, they never found it necessary to put any one in mind of what they were." Nettled at this proud answer, Count O'Reilly departed instantly, but returned the next day with a good-humored smile, and an apology befitting a gentleman of his rank. Finally, he became a much valued friend, where at first he had merely been a guest, and, to complete the description of his character, it may be sufficient to add that, whatever may have been some of his errors, he won esteem and affection wherever he was intimately known.

Don Luis de Unzaga, the successor of O'Reilly, was the Colonel of the regiment of Havana. He was appointed by O'Reilly, which appointment received the royal sanction on the 17th of August, 1772. He found the commerce of the colony in a sinking condition. The suggestions of O'Reilly that the colony be allowed to trade freely with Spain and Cuba, had not been heeded. Cuba was completely closed against them, and they were allowed to trade only with the ports of Seville, Alicant, Carthagena, Malaga, Barcelona and Coruña, and only in Spanish vessels.

> "Even these vessels, when sailing to or from Louisiana, were prohibited from entering any Spanish port in America, except in case of distress, and then they had to be submitted to a strict examination and to heavy charges. It is true that, in 1768, an exemption from duty had been granted by the king to the commerce of Louisiana on foreign and Spanish goods, either when exported from the six ports already mentioned, or when imported into New-Orleans; but the exportation of specie or produce from Louisiana was burdened with a duty of four per cent. The colonists had lately obtained a very slight and insufficient mitigation of the evils of which they complained, and it consisted in a permission granted for the admission of two vessels from France annually."

This cramped condition of the trade of the colony was perfectly in accordance with the short-sighted policy of Spain, and who has not yet learned to do any better. As a natural consequence of such a state of things, the deficiencies of the trade of the colony were, to a considerable extent, supplied by contraband.

> "The English," says Mr. Gayarre, "had engrossed the contraband trade of the colony through the facilities afforded them by the privilege of navigating the Mississippi. Their vessels were constantly ploughing the river up and down; and, under the pretence of going to their possessions of Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez, the English contrived clandestinely to supply the inhabitants of New-Orleans and the planters above and below that town with goods and slaves. They took in exchange whatever their customers had to spare,* and extended to them a most liberal credit, which the good faith of the purchasers amply justified. Besides, they had very large warehouses at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, and a number of vessels constantly moored a short distance above New-Orleans, opposite to the spot now known as the city of Lafayette. To these places the inhabitants of Louisiana used to resort, and to carry on their contraband dealings, which were hardly, if in any way, checked by the Spanish authorities. Encouraged by this tacit connivance, the English had gone farther, and had contrived to convert into floating warehouses two vessels, the cabins of which they fitted up as stores, with shelves and counters. These ingeniously devised shops were kept moving up and down the river, stopping, like our present line of coast steamboats, at every man's door, and tempting him and his family with the display of their goods and trinkets. Thus, in this indirect way, the English having monopolized the trade of Louisiana, this colony had, in a commercial point of view, become for its owner an entirely worthless possession.
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> "Without this infraction of the unwise provisions of the commercial and revenue laws of Spain, it is difficult to imagine how the colony could have subsisted, and, therefore, Unzaga acted judiciously for the province and for Spain, when he disregarded the Chinese-like regulations which he was commanded to enforce, and when he winked at their violation. The poor merchants of New-Orleans, whose occupation, like Othello's, was gone, were permitted to indulge in impotent clamors, and in slyly whispered insinuations that the Spanish governor had some reason of his own, besides the alleged one of supplying the wants of the colony, for the indulgence which he extended to British traders. But their complaints were as un-

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* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii. p. 26.

noticed as the idle wind, and things went on as usual, without even any show of attempted interruption."*

On the breaking out of the war between the American colonies and Great Britain, Spain became exceedingly alarmed for the safety of Louisiana. Unzaga was directed to communicate to his government the defensive force of the colony, and all that he knew regarding the designs of the English. In his communication to the government of Spain on the subject, he proposes to abandon the colony and retire into Mexico, should the English make a descent upon him. His ideas regarding the results of the American war were curious. In his dispatch to Spain he says:

> "I shall not allow myself to be thrown off my guard, and cease to use those precautions which I ought to resort to in the present circumstances, because I suspect that, at any moment, the royalists and the insurgents may make up their quarrel and unite their forces, in order to take possession by surprise of one of the domains of some European power, and thus to indemnify themselves for their losses and expenses, or in order to carry into execution any other designs, which I shall endeavor to penetrate by using all the means at my disposal; and, to that effect, I have dispatched a trusty man to Philadelphia, who, under the pretext of looking for flour, with a passport, and with permission to transport the flour to Cadiz in a Spanish vessel and with a Spanish crew, will endeavor to discover their designs by stopping at some of their ports."

Soon after this, Unzaga, at his own request, was replaced by Galvez as Governor of Louisiana; who, like his predecessor, watched with intense interest the struggle which was going on between England and her American colonies; and he received from Spain orders to afford secret assistance to the insurgents. As everything relating to the events of the Revolutionary war in the South are interesting, we shall devote the remainder of this article to such details as we find given by Mr. Gayarre on the subject.

> "In consequence," says Mr. Gayarre, "of the favorable dispositions of Spain, which were conveyed to some of the leaders of the Americans in the West, several large boats had come this year, 1777, from Fort Pitt to New-Orleans, where munitions had been collected by Oliver Pollock, with the occult aid of Galvez, for the use of the thirteen United States. 'Captain Willing, of Philadelphia, who came in one of those boats,' says Judge Martin, in his History of Louisiana, 'visited the British settlements on the Mississippi, and some of his companions crossed the lakes to Mobile, with the view to induce the inhabitants to raise the striped banner, and join their countrymen in the struggle for freedom. The people of both the Floridas, however, remained steadfast in their attachment to the royal cause.'"

Col. Geo. Morgan, the commander of Fort Pitt, carried on an active correspondence with Galvez, and gave him a lucid account of all the events that had occurred since the beginning of the Revolution, hoping to enlist the feelings of the Spanish Governor in favor of the Americans, and to obtain his aid. In a letter, which Col. Morgan wrote to Galvez, dated April 22, 1777, he says:—

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* Gayarre, p. 46.

"Should we be able to procure transports in New-Orleans, I think that we could easily surprise Mobile and Pensacola, destroy their fortifications, and possess ourselves of all their munitions, unless these ports be better fortified and defended than we imagine. I would pay liberally to have a plan of the fortifications, and correct information as to the garrisons and naval forces which protect these places. If one thousand men were sufficient for the contemplated expedition, and if we could, in New-Orleans, purchase or charter vessels, and procure artillery, on as short notice as possible, we could strike the most successful blow in a quarter where it is least expected. But we shall never proceed to any action on the subject, before having previously obtained the permission and co-operation of your Excellency, and before having secured all the transports, provisions, &c., of which we may stand in need. If we cannot, however, expect so much at your hands, we flatter ourselves that you will at least permit us to trade freely with New-Orleans, and I beg your Excellency to inform me by an express messenger of your decision, and this, of course, at my expense."

Galvez, however, received these overtures of Col. Morgan with great caution. He did not like the idea of permitting the Americans to set their foot in military array on the soil of Louisiana, fearing, perhaps, that when once there, they might turn their arms against himself. He therefore eluded giving a positive answer to Col. Morgan, and prepared himself for preventing the passage of any of the belligerents through his territories.

In Jan., 1778, Capt. Willing went to New-Orleans, to enter into communication and concert with Oliver Pollock, who, with the permission and support of Galvez, had now openly assumed the character of an agent for the insurgents. The Court of Spain had gradually become less timid in its manifestation of hostility towards Great Britain; and Galvez, encouraged by his government, had gone so far as to give assistance to the Americans in arms, ammunition, provisions, &c., to the amount of seventy thousand dollars. By these means the posts occupied by the militia of Virginia on the Mississippi had been strengthened, and the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania had received material aid and comfort. Under such encouraging circumstances, Willing had not hesitated to increase in New-Orleans the crew of his boats; and with most of those same companions who had come down with him, and who were about fifty in number, he engaged in foraging and predatory excursions against the British planters on the Mississippi. This troop captured a small vessel, which was at anchor near the mouth of Bayou Manchac, and took possession of the fort, which was evacuated by its garrison of about fifty or sixty men, who crossed the Mississippi, and sought refuge on the Spanish side. In the very vessel of which they had possessed themselves the Americans proceeded up the river to Baton Rouge, stopping at the several plantations on the way, burning all the houses and other buildings, and carrying off the negroes."*

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* Gayarre, p. 113.

> The British planters fled in great consternation, and put themselves under the protection of Galvez, (Spain being then at peace with England,) little suspecting the part he was acting. The invaders, under Willing, continued their course of devastation up the river, as far as Natchez, laying waste the plantations, destroying the stock, applying the torch of the incendiary to the edifices, and carrying off such slaves as had not followed their masters in their flight. All the sympathies of the people of Louisiana were in favor of the Americans; "but," says Judge Martin, in his History, "this cruel, wanton, and unprovoked conduct towards a helpless community, was viewed with great indignation and horror—much increased by the circumstance of Willing's having been hospitably received and entertained, the preceding year, in several houses which he now committed to the flames." It must also be added, says Mr. Gayarre, that most of the sufferers by these acts of Vandalism were well known in New-Orleans, where they used to resort to supply their wants, or for social intercourse; and that all of them had more or less extensive relations with the Spanish portion of Louisiana, in whose families some of them had married. This contributed to draw from those inhabitants a keener reprobation of the conduct of Captain Willing, who was looked upon as having acted more like an Indian warrior than a civilized enemy. The Americans, however, did not choose to attempt retaining possession of these posts, or of any portion of the territory thus devastated.

Galvez was not long compelled to operate secretly against the English; from the recognition of the independence of the American Colonies by France, which involved her in the war with England, Spain offered herself as a mediator between those two powers. England rejected the mediation, and Spain then united with France, by publishing a formal declaration of war against Great Britain, on the 8th of May, 1779.

Galvez immediately planned an attack on the English, and proceeded, with Oliver Pollock, the agent of the American Congress, up the Mississippi with a force of about 1,300 whites, and 160 Indians. Fort Manchac, 115 miles above New-Orleans, was taken without opposition. They next advanced to Baton Rouge, the fort of which was attacked with so much success that the English surrendered in a few hours, giving also into the hands of Galvez Fort Panmure, at Natchez.

On Lake Pontchartrain, an English privateer was taken, and the Spanish gun-boats captured at Galveston three schooners and a small brig, which were returning to Pensacola; also on the Mississippi two cutters, loaded with provisions for the English.

A curious adventure on Lake Pontchartrain is thus related by Mr. Gayarre:—

> "One Vincent Rieux, a native of New-Orleans, had been put in command of a sloop of war, to cruise in the lakes. On his coming to Bayou Manchac, through which the English used to receive all their supplies from Pensacola, having been informed that one of their barques, well armed, and well laden with provisions and ammunition, was soon expected, he landed his guns, cut down a few trees to form a sort of intrenchment, and kept himself concealed with his crew. When he saw the English close

under the muzzles of his guns, he suddenly blazed away at them, and raised, with his companions, such shouts and yells, that the enemy, persuaded that they had to deal with at least five hundred men, fled below deck. Rieux, availing himself of their panic, rushed on board, closed the hatches, and captured every soul that was in the vessel. The prisoners were—one captain, one first lieutenant, two second lieutenants, fifty-four grenadiers of the Waldeck regiment, and from ten to twelve sailors. It would be difficult to describe their surprise, when they found themselves the captives of fourteen men; these were, every one of them, Creoles or natives of Louisiana."*

The American Congress, on the rupture between England and Spain, regarded it as a favorable occasion for sending to the court of Madrid a Minister, whose instructions were to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and, particularly, to insist on their right to the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea. This right, however, the King of Spain was not willing to admit, and was supported by France in the view which he took of the question. "We are disposed," said, in substance, the ministers of the Catholic King to the United States, "to acknowledge your independence, and to enter into a treaty of alliance and commerce with you; but, if you wish us to consent to your admission into the great family of nations, you must subscribe to the right of Spain to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, and consent to our taking possession of both the Floridas, and of all the territory extending from the left bank of that river to the back settlements of the former British provinces, according to the proclamation of 1763. No part of this territory ever was included within your limits, and the whole of it, with the Floridas, may be legitimately conquered by his Catholic Majesty, without giving you any ground for remonstrance or complaint. We furthermore expect you to prohibit the inhabitants of your confederacy from making any attempt towards settling in or conquering any portion of the British territory to which we refer. Considering that you have, beyond the mountains, no possessions except the post of Kaskaskia, and a few others, which you have momentarily acquired from the British, and which you hold only by a very precarious tenure, what is the navigation of the Mississippi to you in comparison with the importance of your recognition by us as an independent nation, and of the advantages which you will derive from your relations with us, in consequence of a treaty of alliance and commerce?"†

This haughty reply of Spain was received with silent contempt.

The next expedition of Galvez was against Mobile, which he took with ease—Gen. Campbell, the English commander, sent from Pensacola, arriving too late to defend it. Pensacola was his next object of attack. The siege of Pensacola is related by Mr. Gayarre in all its details. The unfortunate explosion of a powder magazine opened the way for the Spaniards into it, after an obstinate and protracted resistance on the part of the English. Eight hundred of the English were taken prisoners, and Florida was surrendered to Spain.

The fall of Pensacola terminated the war in the South; it having been followed, soon after, by the Treaty of Paris, signed on the 3d of Sept., 1783, by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States.

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* Gayarre, p. 131.

† Ib., p. 134.

The treaty of 1783 was not received in the South with as much favor as was to have been expected, and a proposition was made by the discontented to establish in the South and West *a new Government*, independent of the American Congress. This remarkable scheme, of which little was, at the time, known, was first divulged by *M'Gillivray*, one of the most influential chiefs of the Talapouches, in a letter which he wrote, says Mr. Gayarre,* to the Spanish Governor of Pensacola, to propose a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Spaniards. He consequently represented in glowing colors the advantages which Spain would derive from it, and, what is curious, he hints at a scheme, which was subsequently adopted by the court of Madrid, and which was, to separate the Western territories from the rest of the United States.

"Having been informed a few days ago," said he, "by a letter received from St. Augustine, that the definitive treaty of peace between their Catholic and Britannic Majesties was ratified in Paris, on the 3d of September last, I take the liberty to congratulate with you on this fortunate event. As this treaty confirms Spain in the possession of both the Floridas, I solicit, in the name of the Talapouche nation, the beneficent protection of his Catholic Majesty for our persons, and for the land which we claim, and of which we are in actual possession. If the fortune of war has compelled his Britannic Majesty to withdraw from us his protection, nevertheless he had no right to transfer us away, with our property, to any power whatever against our will and inclination.

"Certainly, as a free people, we have a right to choose our protector and we do not see any one who answers our purposes better than the sovereigns of the two Florfdas. I will, therefore, lay before you a few reasons, to demonstrate that it would be sound policy on the part of Spain to grant us what we desire.

"Since the publication of the general treaty of peace, the American Congress has brought to light a situation of its affairs, showing the debts and revenues of the Confederacy. By this statement it appears, that the debts contracted in Europe and America are estimated at more than forty-two millions of dollars, the interest of which is about two millions and a half. The court of Versailles has urged upon the American Congress the necessity of paying the interest of the money due to France. In order to raise the necessary funds to meet these claims, the Congress has imposed duties, taxes, and contributions, striking alike the thirteen United States. This expedient has produced so unfavorable an impression, that a good many of their citizens, in order to escape from the burden of taxation, have abandoned their dwellings for the woods,† and have marched towards the Mississippi, in order to unite with a certain number of disbanded soldiers, who are anxious to possess themselves of a considerable portion of the territory watered by this river, and they propose establishing what they call *the Western Independence*, and throwing aside the authority of the American Congress. The emigrants are so numerous that, in a short time, it is possible that they may find themselves strong enough to carry into execution their scheme of separation; and, if they once form settlements on the Mississippi, it will require much time, trouble, and expense to dislodge them.

"I can assure you that the Americans in the South employ every means in their power to enlist the feelings of the Talapouches on their behalf, and to secure the support of this nation. Should they succeed, the result of their influence will be, that the Indians, instead of remaining the friends of Spain, will become very dangerous neighbors, and will assist the Americans in all the designs which they may form against Pensacola, Mobile, or any part of the adjacent Spanish dominions; and of all these things the Americans speak openly. I will now communicate my views as to the best course to be pursued to frustrate their designs." The course which he advocated was, in substance, to grant to the Talapouches as many commercial and other privileges as could be bestowed upon them, as the price of their non-participation in the ambitious schemes of the founders of the new empire then in embryo. The Spaniards undoubtedly received in full faith the statements of the Indians regarding the new scheme of the Americans; for in an Indian Congress, held at Pensacola and Mobile, soon afterwards, in 1784, they granted the Indians all that they required, and dismissed them with liberal distributions of brandy, powder, etc.

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* Gayarre, pp. 158, 9.

† Buscando nueva morada en los bosques, dirigiendo principalmente su viaje al Mississippi para unirse con porcion de vagos soldados que desean poseer gran parte de las tierras de este rio, y piensan establecer lo que ellos llaman, la independencia occidental, fuera de la autoridad del Congreso.

We hear nothing more of this grand scheme of a new empire in the West and South, until the year 1787, when the Kentuckians, and others west of the Apalachians, had become exceedingly discontented.

"They had repeatedly laid their grievances and wrongs," says Mr. Gayarré, "before the general government, and obtained no redress. They had in vain petitioned Congress to secure for them the free use of the Mississippi, without which it was useless for them to till the ground, since they had no market for their produce. The growing population of that newly settled region became intensely excited, and the bold and sturdy yeomen of the West determined to take their case into their own hands. But if they were unanimous as to that, they were divided as to the means of accomplishing their object, and they had even split into five different parties.

"The first (Judge Martin's History, vol. ii., p. 101) was for being independent of the United States, and for the formation of a new republic, unconnected with the old one, and resting on a basis of its own, and a close alliance with Spain.

"Another party was willing that the country should become a part of the province of Louisiana, and submit to the admission of the laws of Spain.

"A third desired a war with Spain and the seizure of New-Orleans.

"A fourth plan was to prevail on Congress, by a show of preparation for war, to extort from the Cabinet of Madrid what it persisted in refusing.

"The last, as unnatural as the second, was to solicit France to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and to extend her protection to Kentucky."

Miró, who was then Governor of Louisiana, and Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister residing near our government, at Philadelphia, watched all of these movements with the greatest satisfaction, and both pursued the same object—that of drawing into Louisiana

"as much of the western population as could be induced to emigrate, and even to operate, if possible, a dismemberment of the confederacy, by the secession of Kentucky and of the other discontented districts from the rest of the United States. Both these Spanish functionaries were partners in the same game, and yet they were unwilling to communicate to each other the cards they had in hand. Each one was bent upon his own plan, and taking care to conceal it from the other; each one had his own secret agents unknown to the colleague whom he ought to have called to his assistance. There was a want of concert, arising perhaps from jealousy, from the lack of confidence, from ambition, from the desire of engrossing all the praise and reward in case of success, or from some other cause. Be it what it may, the consequence was, that the schemes of these two men frequently counteracted each other, and resulted in a series of measures which were at variance and contradictory, and which seemed inexplicable to him who had not the key to what was going on behind the curtain.

"Among the most influential and popular men in the west, through whose co-operation Miró hoped to accomplish his object, was General James Wilkinson, who had already acquired considerable reputation in the military service of the United States, and who had lately emigrated to that section of the country. This individual had some friends among the merchants of New-Orleans, with whom he corresponded, and on whose influence with the Spanish Colonial government, backed by his own talents, address and management, he confidently relied in his hope to be able to open a lucrative trade between that town and the western country, which trade would be exclusively conducted by or through himself, and would thus secure to him a rapid and large fortune. General Wilkinson had therefore descended to New-Orleans, in the garb of a merchant and speculator, with a cargo of tobacco, flour, butter and bacon. Orders had been issued to seize and confiscate the boat and its load, when Wilkinson, having had an interview with Governor Miró, was permitted to sell his cargo without paying any duty. Several other interviews followed, and Wilkinson was hospitably feasted by the Spanish Governor, who became every day more friendly and condescending, and who granted to his guest permission to introduce into Louisiana, free of duty, many western articles of trade which were adapted to its market. Wilkinson remained in New-Orleans during the months of June, July, and August, and sailed in September for Philadelphia. Many wondered at the intimacy which had grown up, during this time, between Miró and Wilkinson, and sly hints and insinuations were thrown out as to its nature and tendency."*

Wilkinson, while in New-Orleans, at the request of Miró, committed to writing the details of the whole scheme of separation from the United States.

Fear of the United States was the sole motive that actuated the Spaniards; and they therefore encouraged emigration to Louisiana, with the expectation that the emigrants would constitute a reliable and increasing means of defence in case of invasion. Lands were to be given them, and the enjoyment of their religion. In his instructions to the Governor of Natchez, Miró says:—

"I herewith forward to you a copy of the oath which you will require of them. You will take notice of its last clause, by which they bind themselves to take up arms against those who may come as enemies from the settlements above; you will then, after having assured them that they shall not be troubled in matters of religion, inform them that the object of peopling Louisiana is to protect it against any invasion whatever which may be directed against it from the aforesaid settlements; that this is to their own interest, since, under the Spanish domination, they cannot fail to be happy, on account of its mild and impartial administration of justice, and because they will have no taxes to pay; and besides, that the royal treasury will purchase all the tobacco which they may raise. Whilst presenting to them these considerations, you will carefully observe the manner in which they shall receive them, and the expression of their faces. Of this you will give me precise information, every time that you send me the original oaths taken.

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* Gayarre, p. 194, 5.

"The form of the oath was as follows: 'We, the undersigned, do swear on the Holy Evangelists, entire fealty, vassalage and lealty to his Catholic Majesty, wishing voluntarily to live under his laws, promising not to act, either directly or indirectly, against his real interest, and to give immediate information to our commandants of all that may come to our knowledge, of whatever nature it may be, if prejudicial to the welfare of Spain in general, and to that of this province in particular, in the defence of which we hold ourselves ready to take up arms on the first summons of our chiefs, and particularly in the defence of this district, against whatever forces may come from the upper part of the river Mississippi, or from the interior of the continent.'"*

Wilkinson kept up a regular correspondence with Miró *in cipher*, much of which is given by Mr. Gayarre. In one of his letters to Miró, in 1788, after stating that Kentucky would cease to be subject to the jurisdiction of Virginia on the 1st of January, 1789, and that a Convention had been already called to frame a State Constitution, he adds:—

"The Convention of which I have spoken will meet in July. I will, in the mean time, inquire into the prevailing opinions, and shall be able to ascertain the extent of the influence of the members elected. When this is done, after having previously come to an understanding with two or three individuals capable of assisting me, I shall disclose so much of our great scheme as may appear opportune, according to circumstances, and I have no doubt but that it will meet with a favorable reception; because, although I have been communicative with no more than two individuals, I have sounded many, and wherever it has seemed expedient to me to make known your answer to my memorial, it has caused the keenest satisfaction. Colonel Alexander Leatt Bullit and Harry Innis, our attorney-general, are the only individuals to whom I have intrusted our views, and, in case of any mishap befalling me before their accomplishment, you may, in perfect security, address yourselves to these gentlemen, whose political designs agree entirely with yours. Thus, as soon as the new government shall be organized and adopted by the people, they will proceed to elect a governor, the members of the legislative body and other officers, and I doubt not but that they will name a political agent with power to treat of the affair in which we are engaged, and I think that all this will be done by the month of March next. In the mean time, I hope to receive your orders, which I will do my utmost to execute.

"I do not anticipate any obstacle from Congress, because, under the present federal compact, that body can neither dispose of men nor money, and the new government, should it establish itself, will have to encounter difficulties which will keep it weak for three or four years, before the expiration of which I have good grounds to hope that we shall have completed our negotiations, and shall have become too strong to be subjected by any force which may be sent against us. The only fears I have proceed from the policy which may prevail in your Court. I am afraid of a change in the present ministry, and in the administration of Louisiana, of the possibility of which event you are better judges than I can be, and I beg you to be explicit with me on the subject."†

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* Gayarre, p. 202.

† Gayarre, pp. 209, 10.

Copies of all these letters were sent to Spain, and money was loaned to Wilkinson by the Spanish Intendant, Novarro, at New-Orleans, to enable him to mature his plans.

On the 12th of February, 1789, Wilkinson wrote from Lexington, Kentucky, to Governor Miró: "Immediately after having sent you my despatch by Major Dunn, I devoted all my faculties to our political designs, and I have never since turned aside from the pursuit of the important object we have in view.

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"The question of separation from the United States, although discussed with vehemence among the most distinguished inhabitants of this section of the country, had never been mentioned, in a formal manner, to the people at large, but now was the time for making this important and interesting experiment, and it became my indispensable mission to do so. I had to work on a ground not yet prepared for the seed to be deposited in it, and I felt that, to produce a favorable impression, I had to proceed with reserve, and avoid with the utmost care any demonstration which might be calculated to cause surprise or alarm. For these motives, I gave an equivocal shape to the expression of my design, speaking of it in general terms, as being recommended by eminent politicians of the Atlantic coast, with whom I had conversed on this affair, and thus, by indirect suggestions and arguments, I inspired the people with my own views, without presenting them as such, because it would have been imprudent in me to divulge them under the existing circumstances, and I can give you the solemn assurance that I found all the men belonging to the first class of society in the district, with the exception of Colonel Marshall, our surveyor, and Colonel Muter, one of our judges, decidedly in favor of separation from the United States, and of an alliance with Spain. At first, these two men had expressed this same opinion with warmth, but now their feelings have taken a different direction, from private motives of interest and personal pique; for which reasons I have very little to dread from their influence; but, at the same time, I foresaw that they would avail themselves of the opposition made by some literary demagogues, who were under the influence of fear and prejudice. Nevertheless, I determined to lay the question before our Convention, and I took the necessary measures accordingly.

"I was thus occupied until the 28th of July, on which day our Convention met at Danville, in conformity with the ordinance you saw in the Gazette which I sent you by Major Dunn."*

Of the proceedings in the Convention he says:—

"The Convention was of opinion that our proposed independence and separation from Virginia not being ratified, its mission and powers were at an end, and we found ourselves in the alternative, either of proceeding to declare our independence, or of waiting according to the recommendation of Congress. This was the state of affairs, when the Honorable Caleb Wallace, one of our Supreme Judges, the Attorney-General Innis, and Benjamin Sebastian proposed a prompt separation from the American Union, and advocated with intrepidity the necessity of the measure. The artifice of Congress was exposed, its proceedings reprobated, the consequences of depending on a body whose interests were opposed to ours were depicted in the most vivid colors, and the strongest motives were set forth to justify the separation. The arguments used were unanswerable, and no opposition was manifested in the course of the debates. It was unanimously conceded that the present connection was injurious to our interests, and that it could not last any length of time. Nevertheless, sir, when the question was finally taken, fear and folly prevailed against reason and judgment. It was thought safer and more convenient to adhere to the recommendation of Congress, and, in consequence, it was decided that the people be advised to elect a new Convention, which should meet in the month of November, in conformity with the ordinance which you will find in the Gazette, No. 2."

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* Gayarre, p. 225.

On the meeting of the next Convention, Wilkinson found that Marshall and Muter had been scattering distrusts and apprehensions among the people, to such an extent, that his cause was greatly injured, and he therefore did not bring it before the Convention. He ascribed his defeat, in a letter to Miró, to the machinations of "silly demagogues."

Wilkinson's correspondence with Miró—given in full by Mr. Gayarre—shows that his reasons for a separation of Kentucky from the Union were different from those assigned by the people of Kentucky, who complained of heavy taxes, and above all, of the closure of the navigation of the Mississippi. Wilkinson urges upon Miró the necessity of the Mississippi being kept closed, as the only means that could render the separation of Kentucky possible; and he contends

> "That the true policy would be to keep the Mississippi closed, and to make of emigration the principal object to be obtained, and Spain would always have the power, through some agents of an eminent rank here, to draw to her the most respectable portion of the population of this district. Hundreds have applied to me on this subject, who are determined to follow my example, and I do not deceive myself, nor do I deceive you, sir, when I affirm that it is in my power to lead a large body of the most opulent and most respectable of my fellow-citizens whither I shall go myself at their head, and I flatter myself that, after the dangers I have run and the sacrifices which I have made, after having put my honor and my life in your hands, you can have no doubts of my favorable dispositions towards the interests of his Catholic Majesty, as long as my poor services shall be necessary.
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> "After having read these remarks, you will be surprised at being informed, that lately I have, jointly with several gentlemen of this country, applied to Don Diego Gardoqui for a cession of land, in order to form a settlement on the river Yazoo. The motive of this application is to procure a place of refuge for myself and my adherents, in case it should become necessary for us to retire from this country, in order to avoid the resentment of Congress. It is true that there is not, so far, the slightest appearance of it, but it is judicious to provide for all possible contingencies."

The events of the last Convention, held at Danville, Ky., in November, 1789, evidently filled Wilkinson with alarm, and he began seriously to look about for a place of safety. He writes to Miró that he knows that his proceedings are discovered, and that he suspects that it is through the correspondence of Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister. Wilkinson had also seen the following letter of General St. Clair to Major Dunn, dated December 5, 1788:—

"Dear Dunn," said he, "I am much grieved to hear that there are strong dispositions on the part of the people of Kentucky to break off their connection with the United States, and that our friend Wilkinson is at the head of this affair. Such a consummation would involve the United States in the greatest difficulties, and would completely ruin this country. Should there be any foundation for these reports, for God's sake, make use of your influence to detach Wilkinson from that party."

While Wilkinson was meditating what steps next to take, there arrived at his house in Louisville, Ky., on the 8th of November, 1789, a British Colonel named Connelly, an agent of the British government. Wilkinson, in his letter to Miró, says:*

"Suspecting the nature of the negotiation he had on hand, I determined, in order to discover his secret views, to be beforehand with him, and to invite him here. Consequently he came to my house on the 8th of November. I received him courteously, and, as I manifested favorable dispositions towards the interests of his Britannic Majesty, I soon gained his confidence —so much so, that he informed me that Great Britain, desiring to assist the American settlers in the West, in their efforts to open the navigation of the Mississippi, would join them with ready zeal, to dispossess Spain of Louisiana. He remarked that the forces in Canada were not sufficient to send detachments of them to us, but that Lord Dorchester would supply us with all the implements of war, and with money, clothing, &c. . . to equip ten thousand men, if we wished to engage in that enterprise. He added that, as soon as our plan of operation should be agreed upon, these articles would be sent from Detroit, through Lake Erie, to the river Miami, and thence to the Wabash, to be transported to any designated point on the Ohio, and that a fleet of light vessels would be ready at Jamaica to take possession of the Balize, at the same time that we should make an attack from above. He assured me that he was authorized by Lord Dorchester to confer honors and other rewards on the men of influence who should enter on that enterprise, and that all those who were officers in the late continental army should be provided with the same grade in the service of Great Britain. He urged me much to favor his designs, offering me what rank and emoluments I might wish for, and telling me at the same time that he was empowered to grant commissions for the raising of two regiments which he hoped to form in Kentucky. After having pumped out of him all that I wished to know, I began to weaken his hopes by observing that the feelings of animosity engendered by the late revolution were so recent in the hearts of the Americans, that I considered it impossible to entice them into an alliance with Great Britain; that, in this district, particularly in that part of it where the inhabitants had suffered so much from the barbarous hostilities of the Indians, which were attributed to British influence, the resentment of every individual was much more intense and implacable. In order to justify this opinion of mine and induce him to go back, I employed a hunter, who feigned attempting his life. The pretext assumed by the hunter was the avenging of the death of his son, murdered by the Indians at the supposed instigation of the English. As I hold the commission of a Civil Judge, it was, of course, to be my duty to protect him against the pretended murderer, whom I caused to be arrested and held in custody. I availed myself of this circumstance to communicate to Connelly my fear of not being able to answer for the security of his person, and I expressed my doubts whether he could escape with life. It alarmed him so much, that he begged me to give him an escort to conduct him out of our territory, which I readily assented to, and on the 20th of November, he recrossed the Ohio on his way back to Detroit. I did not dismiss him without having previously impressed upon him the propriety of informing me, in as short a time as possible, of the ultimate designs of Lord Dorchester. As this man was under the protection of the laws of nations, and as he carefully avoided to commit any offence against our government, I considered the measure I had resorted to as the most appropriate to destroy his hopes with regard to this country, and I think that the relation he will make on his return to Canada will produce the desired effect. But should the British be disposed to renew the same attempt, as it may very well turn out to be the case, I shall be ready to oppose and crush it in the bud.'

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* Gayarre, pp. 236–7.

In the same letter to Miró, he says:

"I deem it useless to mention to a gentleman well versed in political history, that the great spring and prime mover in all nogotiations is *money*. Although not being authorized by you to do so, yet I found it necessary to use this lever, in order to confirm some of our most eminent citizens in their attachment to our cause, and to supply others with the means of operating with vigor. For these objects I have advanced five thousand dollars out of my own funds, and half of this sum, applied opportunely, would attract Marshall and Muter on our side, but it is now impossible for me to disburse it."*

Thus far it did not appear that the Spanish Minister, Don Diego Gardoqui, had any designs further than to populate Louisiana; but, in Wilkinson's next letter to Miró, dated February 14th, 1789, the Spanish Minister is also implicated, together with a member of Congress. Wilkinson says:—

"Don Diego Gardoqui, about the month of March last, received from his court ample powers to make with the people of this district the arrangements he might think proper, in order to estrange them from the United States and induce them to form an alliance with Spain. I received this information, in the first place, from Mr. Brown, the member of Congress for this district, who, since the taking into consideration of our application to be admitted into the Union has been suspended, entered into some free communications on this matter with Don Diego Gardoqui. He returned here in September last, and, finding that there had been some opposition to our project, he almost abandoned the cause in despair, and positively refused to advocate in public the propositions of Don Diego Gardoqui, as he deemed them fatal to our cause. Brown is one of our deputies or agents; he is a young man of respectable talents, but timid, without political experience, and with very little knowledge of the world. Nevertheless, as he firmly perseveres in his adherence to our interests, we have sent him to the new Congress, apparently as our representative, but in reality as a spy on the actions of that body. I would myself have undertaken that charge, but I did not, for two reasons: first, my presence was necessary here; and next, I should have found myself under the obligation of swearing to support the new government, which I am in duty bound to oppose."

The failure of Wilkinson in the Kentucky Convention terminated his scheme of separating the great West from the United States. Miró was bitterly disappointed, and lost much of his confidence in him; he recommended, however, that the government of Spain retain Wilkinson as an agent, with a salary of $2,000; and that Sebastian be also retained, with a salary, to watch Wilkinson.

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* Gayarre, p. 239.

It would be an agreeable task to follow Mr. Gayarre's history to its close, for every page of it is replete with interest. But we fear that we have already exceeded the limits allotted to the pages of the REVIEW. The work has all of the absorbing interest of a romance, while it is, at the same time, veritable history—history too, that has never before been given to the world.

Art. II.—PROGRESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY M. F. MAURY, LL.D., LIEUT. U. S. N., AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY.

THE return of the period for the Annual Address suggests a review, though brief, of the progress which has recently been made in the science which it is the especial object of the American Geographical Society to promote.

These annual addresses, and the impressions which they make in the history of societies, serve, as we drift along down the stream of time, as landmarks, as points of departure, from which we may look back, and by looking back, judge the more wisely what tack to go upon, what new course to shape. The mariner watches the progress of his vessel from hour to hour upon the high seas. Although during the voyage he constantly looks ahead to his port of destination, he does not forget occasionally to glance back to the haven whence he sailed, that seeing how far he has come, he may the better measure how far he has still to go. When the retrospect is satisfactory, it is also encouraging—for by cheering the spirit it helps one along. So, too, on occasions like the present, when the friends of human progress, in this or in that department of knowledge, meet together at stated periods, it is good to glance back as well as to look forward. The co-laborers and friends in the cause of the American Geographical and Statistical Society are now assembled for the purpose of hearing the annual address of the Society.

If we now pass, though never so hastily, in review the progress that has been made in geographical discovery and improvement during the last year, the members of this Society, too, like the master of the well-managed ship upon the trackless ocean, will, I have no doubt, derive encouragement from the retrospect, and enter upon the labors of the new geographical year with stouter hearts and braver minds.

The geographical problem that for ages has baffled the world, has been solved during the past year.

Though no ship has yet actually made the Northwest Passage, yet navigators coming from the West, and navigators coming from the East, have met together, and shaken hands across the ice ; Lieut. Cresswell, of Her Majesty's Navy, entering the Arctic Ocean through Bhering's Straits in the "Investigator," has sailed and travelled, and sailed, until to him belongs the distinction of having been the first to put a girdle round about this great continent of the new world.

Commander McClure, of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," doubled Cape Horn in the spring of 1850, on a voyage to the Arctic regions, in search of Sir John Franklin and his companions.

Entering Bhering's Straits, he parted company with Her Majesty's ship "Herald," Capt. Kellett, off Cape Lisburne, July 31, 1850, and was last seen six days afterwards on that side, standing to the northward and eastward with studding sails set.

There Kellett left him to return to England.

The next time he was seen on the 6th of April, 1853, in the Bay of Mercy, by Lieut. Pim, who was serving under Kellett.

Thus Kellett and his officers were the last to bid McClure "God speed" on the West, and to give him the helping hand of welcome on the East.

To McClure belongs the high honor of putting to rest this vexed question of a Northwest Passage. On the 26th day of October, 1850, being on a travelling party, he established the fact, that the Strait between Baring Island and Prince Albert Land, which he calls Prince of Wales Strait, and in which his ship was, connects itself by water and ice with Baffin's Bay, through Melville Sound, Barrow Strait, and Lancaster Sound.

This is the question that has vexed old England for centuries.

The problem of a short cut to "Cathay," of a passage to the East, is the most important geographical problem that has ever engaged the attention of enlightened, civilized societies. It was this problem that led to the discovery of the New World, and after this continent was discovered, and portioned out among the kings of the earth, a passage Westward to the Indies was still the grand problem. At this very moment the subject of a railway to the Pacific, of canals across the Isthmus, and their bearings upon that self-same land of Cathay, fill a large space in the public mind. So that we have not yet done with this interesting problem, though nearly four centuries have elapsed since it was first taken up.

If a *bonâ fide* Northwest Passage, one that could be available at all times, and that would afford a passage to merchantmen, could really have been found, it would have placed England almost as near to China as she now is to the Isthmus of Panama. Accordingly we find her, whenever, during the last three hundred years, she has had a respite from war, pushing forward her expeditions for the discovery of this passage. Indeed, since the last European War, and during the long peace which has followed it, her efforts at a Northwest Passage have been, up to this hour, almost incessant. All honor, therefore, to Captain McClure for having settled this question.

It is true the whales of the sea, in their mute way, had signified that there was a water communication from one side of this continent to the other, for we find the same kind of whale in Baffin's Bay that is found in Bhering's Straits, and know that the Torrid Zone is to this animal as a sea of fire, through which he cannot pass. The right whale of Bhering's Straits, it was proved, never could double Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. In fact, he could not either cross over the Equator, or pass over into the Southern Hemisphere at all. Therefore, when the same whale that was found in Bhering's Straits was seen also in Baffin's Bay, the conclusion was almost irresistible that there was a Northwest Passage, and the whales knew of it.*

The currents of the sea also had indicated that there was water communication from one side to the other.

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* "Whales harpooned in the Greenland seas, have been frequently caught in the Pacific," and *vice versa*.

"A Dutch Captain, Jacob Cool, of Sardam, was informed by the Fiscal Zeeman, of India, that a whale, caught in the Sea of Tartary, had in his back a Dutch harpoon, marked W. B., which harpoon was identified as belonging to William Bastiaanz, Admiral of the Dutch Whaling Fleet; the whale had been struck in the Spitzbergen Seas.

"In Müller's Voyages, it is related that the crew of a Russian Discovery Ship, while wintering on the west coast of Kamschatka, found on the beach the carcass of a whale, in which was a harpoon of European workmanship, marked with Roman letters.

"Hendrick Hamel, in his *unfortunate voyage of the Yacht Sparwer*, corroborates Müller. He says that in the sea to the northeast of Korea, they take every year a great number of whales, in some of which are found harpoons of the French and Dutch, who practise the fishery at the extremities of Europe; whence we infer (A. D. 1653) that there is surely a passage between Korea and Japan which communicates to the Strait of Weigatz, separating Nova Zembla from the continent of Europe.

"In 1813 a whale was killed by the ship Volunteer, of Whitby, off Spitzbergen, in which was found part of a lance, made of a hard gray *stone*, of a flinty appearance, about three inches long, two inches broad, and 2-10 of an inch thick; with two small holes, as if for the purpose of lashing the stock or shaft.

"In 1812, in the Spitzbergen Seas, the Aurora, of Hull, took a whale having a harpoon of *bone* stuck in his back.

"The Esquimaux, from their frequent intercourse with Europeans, have long used iron implements; so that those of *stone* and *bone* must have belonged to some tribes on the unexplored Northern face of the American continent."—*Scoresby's Arctic Regions*.

And philosophers, consulting the agents which control the winds, and studying the developments of nature, had gathered data from those regions, tending to prove the same thing. Yet, notwithstanding these probabilities, and this amount of circumstantial evidence, the question of an open sea in the Polar Basin has been left as a scientific question, in the category of an unsolved problem.

McClure's track was, for the most part, along the coast; and, therefore, he could not throw much light upon the question of an open sea in the Arctic Ocean.

But as for the Northwest Passage, money, time, and the lives of many gallant sailors, had been offered up in the effort to find this communication. The problem was too important, the national mind of a self-relying and a proud people was too deeply interested, to admit, after such sacrifices, any other evidence as conclusive, short of that which appeals to the senses, and comes within the category of proof positive. All honor, therefore, to Commander McClure and his gallant crew, who have wrung from the iceberg and barrier, from privation and danger, this proof. I hope, and I am sure this Society will heartily join me in the wish, that, at our next annual address, your orator will have the pleasure of calling him "Admiral McClure," for I consider he has performed a most important work.

The geographical fact that he has established, viz., that there is no practicable way through the Northwest to the "Indies," is, next to the discovery of a practicable way, the most important discovery that it was possible to make in those regions. Call it a negative discovery, if you please; negative results are to him who is in search of truth, sometimes in the importance of their bearings, equal to and altogether as reliable, as positive.

Cui-bono?

Does any one ask the question? Why, the energies of Great Britain—of the most powerful nation that has ever yet culminated in its greatness, have been directed to a passage there. And they have been directed with an intensity and with an interest that have diverted the mind of a great people from other and perhaps more utilitarian enterprises. The money which that nation has expended from first to last in the search of that passage would, with its interest, nearly suffice now to connect the two oceans by a canal across the Isthmus. Her own officers have at last demonstrated that there is no practicable route to the Northwest. The attention, therefore, of that great nation and people will now, no doubt, be as earnestly directed to some practicable route, either by railway or canal across the continent, as it has been to an impracticable route.

The Northwest Passage is a subject which has, from peculiar circumstances, occupied a large share of attention before this Society. Its Vice-President has been munificent towards it. He has fitted out an expedition for search and discovery there, which has made his name respected and revered wherever true nobleness is admired or deeds of humanity cherished.

British officers and the British Admiralty have been charged, in the hearing of this Society, with wrong to this expedition.

The claims of Lieut. De Haven, it was alleged, have not only not been acknowledged in England, but the credit due for the discoveries of this expedition has been taken away from those on this side of the water, to whom honor is due, and given to those on that, who, rightfully, have neither part nor lot in the matter.

These charges were made by a member of this Society,* and not without show of reason; for I hold in my hand a chart published on the 14th of October, 1853, at the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, entitled,

"Chart showing the Northwest Passage Discovered by H. M. Ship Investigator; also the Coast Explored in Search of Sir John Franklin, by Sir James Ross, 1848–9; Sir John Richardson, 1848–9; Capt. McClure, 1850; Capt. Austen, 1850; Mr. Penny, 1850; Mr. Rae, 1851; Mr. Kennedy and M. Bellot, 1852; Capt. Inglefield, 1852–3; Capt. Sir Edward Belcher, 1852–3. By E. A. Inglefield, Commander H. M. Ship Phœnix. Hydrographic Office, Admiralty, 14th October, 1853."

In this chart Lieut. De Haven and the Grinnell Expedition are ignored, and the discoveries made by them given to Penny and Belcher.

The mere appearance of wrong from such a quarter, to an expedition fitted out under the circumstances which characterized the Grinnell Expedition, could not fail to attract the attention both of the government and people of the United States.†

It is a misfortune that matters of scientific concern should ever serve to excite international controversy, or whet popular jealousies and national animosities.

Men of science, as such, know no internationality. They owe allegiance to but one power, and that is Truth; and they are all fellow-citizens alike of the great Republic of Science.

That any British officer, from the highest Admiral down to the youngest midshipman, could find it in his heart to do any one the slightest wrong in the matter of this Grinnell Expedition, I never could imagine.

I am, therefore, the more happy to announce to this Society, that last night a newly revised Admiralty Chart was placed in my hands by a friend. It is entitled, "Discoveries in the Arctic Sea up to 1853," and has the stamp of the Hydrographic Office of Great Britain upon it.

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* See paper entitled "Grinnell Land" read before the National Institute, Washington, in May, 1852, by Col. Peter Force; also paper entitled "Supplement to Grinnell Land," read before National Institute, July, 1853, by Col. Force.

† See Remarks upon it made by the Secretary of the Navy in his last Annual Report to Congress.

Its actual date of publication is, I take it, subsequent to that of October, to which I have just alluded.

I have not had time to examine this new chart thoroughly; but as far as I have had an opportunity of looking over it, it gives me pleasure to say it is all right, with the single exception of the Grinnell Land and Mount Franklin of De Haven.

The Grinnell Land of De Haven has been on former Admiralty charts, called Prince Albert Land. On this chart, the name "Prince Albert Land" is omitted, but the name of Grinnell Land has not been restored.

I think it ought to be restored.

Mount Franklin was never reached by De Haven. It was simply seen bearing N. N. E. in the distance from the highest point in latitude reached by him. Whether it was twenty or sixty miles off, he knew not.

On this revised Admiralty chart, it is placed upon the shore of Wellington Channel, notwithstanding that Belcher reports as he went along up that channel, that he saw nothing of the Mount Franklin of De Haven on that shore.

But doubling around the peninsula which separates Wellington Channel from Jones' Sound, he travelled in a southeastwardly direction, and ascended a mountain 1,500 feet high on the opposite side of this peninsula.

This, I have no doubt, is the Mount Franklin of De Haven. It is in the direction that he gives it from the highest point of latitude reached by him; and as to its existence, he has said to me over and over again, "There can be no doubt, for it was as palpable before my eyes as your face now is. How far it was from me I cannot say, but far or near, upon that N. N. E. line it stands, and there it will be found by whomsoever it may be sought."

There is no evidence that there is any elevation deserving the name of "Mount" on the Wellington side of this peninsula, where this chart places the Mount Franklin. But upon the true line of bearing described by De Haven, a Mount has been found. I think, therefore, that Belcher's "Elevation of 1,500 feet" on this chart is what De Haven saw and named in honor of the lost navigator, and that it ought to be so called on all charts.

I have deemed it a duty to the science to which we render homage, to say thus much upon this subject. For I am sure all that is necessary to cause the Admiralty chart of October, 1853, to be entirely suppressed, and to cause what is right to be done touching the Grinnell Land and Mount Franklin on the more recent charts, is to invite, in a truth-loving spirit, the attention of the Royal Geographical Society, or any other English authority, to the subject.

That Society, like the great body of the English nation, is composed of men who love right and hate wrong, and in whose sense of justice I have great reliance.

I congratulate the Society upon the activity that has been and is now displayed by our own government and fellow-citizens in the various fields of geographical research. Kane, of the Navy, is now on a second expedition to the Arctic regions in search of Sir John Franklin and of Geographical lore. That expedition was, I may say, started here in this Society, and therefore, I need only remind you that our latest intelligence from it was 20th July, 1853, when it had safely arrived at Upernavik.

In 1850, Lieut. Wm. L. Herndon, United States Navy, was sent to explore the valley of the Amazon. He was directed to cross over the Andes from Lima, and reaching the head waters of that river, he was to follow it to the sea.

The object of this expedition was eminently practical and highly important. It was to ascertain the present resources and future capabilities for trade and commerce of that magnificent water-shed.

His Report has been published by order of Congress, and it will be found one of the most interesting, instructive, and valuable documents of the day. He ran a line of soundings from the sources of the Amazon, among the mountains, to its mouth under the line, and found it navigable for vessels of the largest class, from the sea to the base of the Andes, a distance of nearly 3,500 miles. This expedition, besides the notes of its leader, brought home a valuable collection consisting of specimens of the *flora* and the *fauna* and other matter, illustrative of the physical geography of that most interesting region of country. These have not been described for want of funds—$2,500. Surely the government will furnish this sum, for if this collection were worth sending for, it is certainly worth description.

There is a close relation between the fauna and the flora of every country. The animal kingdom is based upon the vegetable, and the flora, if you please, may be considered as the resultant of meteorological agencies—of heat and cold, of clouds and sunshine, of rain, dews, and the hygrometrical relations generally of the atmosphere. Now whatever is calculated to throw light upon these conditions, has a bearing upon your favorite science, for the fauna and the flora of a country constitute the most striking features in its physical geography.

The capacities of the country drained by the Amazon to sustain population are thought to be the greatest in the world, and with a population equalling that of Belgium to the square mile—

that river basin includes an area that is large enough to sustain a population of *Six Hundred Millions.* Its seed-time is perpetual, its harvests never end, and its capacity to sustain population has been computed to be fourfold that of Belgium.

The winds and currents of the sea are such as to place the Atlantic ports of the United States on the wayside of all nations, either going or coming from the mouth of the Amazon. Therefore, there is no region of country beyond our own borders, the physical geography of which is more interesting to the people of the United States.

Commerce, or rather produce, the basis of commerce, may be regarded as one of the exponents of physical geography; for explain to me the physical geography of a country, and I will tell you of what productions it is capable. In this sense, therefore, all South America is calculated to be peculiarly interesting to the American citizen, because it has in the future such powerful bearings upon the commerce of his country.

One of the most striking features about the Amazon is well described by a sailor boy that belonged to Herndon's expedition. It bears upon the geography of that country, because it is illustrative of its present condition, and therefore I may be excused for quoting it.

Richards is a young man, who, without the advantages of a liberal education, had been brought up on a farm in Virginia. He had shipped on board the U. S. frigate Raritan for a cruise in the Pacific. Leaving that ship, he joined Herndon's party in Lima. He had seen the waves in their majesty, and the storm in its grandeur, off Cape Horn. In his voyage to the Amazon, and across the Andes, he had visited the famous quicksilver mines of Huancavalica and had walked through its modern monolithic caves, whose pink-stained arches, groins and columns are of the richest myths—the classic Titicaca of the Incas—and crossed the river Desaguadero, running from it, and which the natives assured him, sometimes running back up stream, empties into it. He had crossed the Andes where the scenery was wildness itself.

Descending their Eastern slopes, he had been enabled at one view to comprehend the whole range of the vegetable gamut from the regions of eternal snow on the mountain peaks, to the luscious climes of everlasting summer in the plains below. And in these plains he had seen the vegetable kingdom rioting in new forms and teeming with new fruits—a tree whose fruit is bread, standing to the native in place of a bakery; another, which, with its juice, performs to him the office of a cow; and another, whose nuts stand him in the stead of candles; and another that grew and flourished in spite of the "Maine Liquor Law," for it was itself a natural distillery.

These were things, and objects, and scenes, well calculated to make powerful impressions upon a mind like Richards', and wondering which of them had made the strongest, I said, "Pray, Mr. Richards, what of all that you have seen during this most interesting expedition struck you as being the most strange?" "What struck me as the most strange and wonderful?" "Yes." "Why, that such a country as is the valley of the Amazon should, in the middle of the 19th century, be a wilderness."

To the glory of the Republic, be it said, no moves by the State are hailed with more enthusiasm by the popular voice than those which have for their object the opening up by the lights of science and the arts of peace, of new fields to commercial enterprise or the extending of those already opened. It is to be hoped that we may soon see properly equipped expeditions steaming up the Amazon, and its magnificent tributaries, for exploration and discovery; for Herndon was necessarily so restricted as to equipment, that he could do but little more than one can who should undertake to drift down that river on a log.

Some of the strongest contrasts in geography are, perhaps, to be found in the region of country drained by this mighty river. The late Gen. Illingworth, an Englishman, and a soldier of great worth, who joined the patriot cause of South America at its dawn, and who died but a few months ago, holding the office of Secretary of State in the Republic of Ecuador, mentions, in a letter written not long before his death, one of those mountain, plain, sea, and river contrasts, the like of which is, perhaps, nowhere else to be seen. In speaking of the Amazonian tributaries of Ecuador, he says:—

"I cannot, however, but repeat here, that a singular topographical phenomenon presents itself in the Ecuadorean section of the Andes. At the back, or to the eastward of Ambato, some unknown convulsion of nature has broken the chain of the Cordilleras, and opened a vast gap or chasm, from west to east, where the deep stream of the Pastaza is formed, receiving the waters of the peopled districts of Riobamba, Ambato, and Latacunga. It may be supposed, therefore, that a person on an elevated point, near Ambato, and with a favorable atmosphere, might see the Pacific Ocean, and the course of the tributary Pastaza, descending through the Amazon to the Atlantic Ocean. In the month of September, 1821, and on an elevation a few leagues to the westward of Ambato, I had the pleasure of viewing the above-mentioned gap in the Andes; and, on facing to the westward, I beheld, for a full quarter of an hour, the line of our coast, the Island of Puna, and the dark blue shade of the Pacific Ocean. The sun was setting, and the evening clear."

There, with the waters of a navigable river at his feet, coursing down to the Atlantic on one hand, he saw on the other the island of Puna, in the Gulf of Guayaquil, the great South Sea, and the Pacific shores of his own little Republic.

Lieut. Page, in the United States steamer Water-Witch, with a complement of most excellent officers, is engaged in an exploration of the Rio de La Plata, and its tributaries. This river is the Mississippi of the Southern Hemisphere. Lieut. Page is well supplied with instruments and means. He has with him a photographic apparatus, with all the appliances which ingenuity has lent to modern geographical research. He and his officers know what to do with them. They love work, and rejoice in their mission. I expect, therefore, when his survey is done, that we shall know much about the basin of that river, its commercial resources, active and dormant; its present capabilities and future capacities—in short, that the geography, in its widest sense, of that great hydrographic basin, will be then quite as well understood as that of our own Missouri.

My last letter from him is dated October 1st, **1853.** He was then with his steamer at the city of Ascencion, on the Paraguay River. He had not found a single bar, sand-bank, or sawyer, to interrupt his progress. On the contrary, he carried twenty feet of water up to the city, which is farther from the mouth of the Rio de La Plata than St. Louis is from the mouth of the Mississippi.

Lieut. Gilliss, U. S. N., is preparing for publication his labors as the Director of the Astronomical Expedition to Chili. He is an officer of the most untiring industry, and we may expect from him valuable contributions to our knowledge touching the geography and statistics of that interesting country.

Lieut. McRae, one of his associates, who returned to the United States, by crossing the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, has gone back to make further investigations. He too will, in due time, be ready with his mite, to cast it into the common geographical treasury of the world.

Lieut. Chas. H. Davis is diligently at work with the second number of the American Nautical Almanac. That work, so creditable to its conductor, so honorable to the country, so beneficial to its commercial and navigating interests, will be mighty in the cause of geographical science. That other great geographical problem, which has engaged the attention of the world as long as the Northwest Passage—and has been a day-dream with the men of England, has not escaped the attention of government in these stirring geographical times.

The project of a Ship Canal across the Isthmus of Darien has been renewed, and it is about to be presented to the world, under more favorable auspices than it has ever yet been. Lieut. Strain, U. S. N., sailed last December, with an excellent corps of young officers, in the United States steamer Cyane, for the purpose of examining that route thoroughly. There is, therefore, in store among the labors of that party, another valuable contribution to the general stock of human knowledge.

Anchoring in Caledonia Bay, on this side, he will, from that beautiful sheet of water, enter the valley of the river Caledonia, which discharges there, and tracing this water shed to the "divide" between the two oceans, he will cross over, and descend through the valley of the Savannah River, to the Bay of San Miguel—another fine harbor, through which the waters of this river reach the great South Sea.

America has done but little for the geography, in one sense, of the "grand ocean," as some of the early navigators called the Pacific, since Lieut. Wilkes was there about fifteen years ago. But fresh instalments to the geographical treasury of the world are already on their way home from those regions, and a new expedition is on its way out for more.

Commodore Perry, with his accustomed energy, has already had surveys made of several important places in the East, among them, the harbor of Jeddo, which is described by his officers as one of the boldest and most beautiful sheets of water in the world, not excepting the harbor of San Francisco, or of Naples, or of Rio, nor your own lovely bay. "We ascended," says Lieutenant Bent, of the Mississippi, in a private letter, "to within about seven miles (in a straight line) of Jeddo, carrying from 40 to 17 fathoms water all the way. This was nineteen miles nearer the capital than any foreign vessel had ever previously been. This occurred after the reception, (of which I will speak presently;) and as everything had gone on very successfully, the Commodore did not wish to do anything that would militate against the advantages we had obtained, or he would have gone, I imagine, in sight of the city, which was hidden from us only by a point of land some three miles ahead.

"This is the finest sheet of water in the world, not excepting Rio and San Francisco. Thirty-five by twenty-five miles in diameter, surrounded by numerous snug coves, and most lovely shores, it contains not a single island, except close along its borders, and seems perfectly clear from obstructions of any kind to navigation. It connects with the ocean by a strait, ranging from ten to fifteen miles in width, and forty fathoms in depth." He is constructing a chart of that harbor.

Ringgold, with his squadron, has just about this time entered fairly upon the field of his operations, which includes the North Pacific Ocean, with its arms, straits, and gulfs. That is the largest surveying squadron now afloat under any flag. And never has any nation sent forth an expedition in the cause of science better fitted and found than that is. For accurate work and practical results it has with all the means and appliances that government, in the indulgence of an enlightened liberality, could suggest, or that science, ingenuity, and the improvements of the age, could bestow. His squadron consists of five vessels. He is assisted by a corps of young and accomplished officers, who have entered upon this service with him *con amore*.

These constitute the element of success. We may expect, therefore, in the course of the next three years, much valuable information concerning the North Pacific Ocean; for discoveries and results, as fast as made and obtained, are to be sent home to the Hydrographical Bureau of the Navy, for publication.

Thus we have, or will have, to enrich our archives, De Haven and Kane in the Frozen Sea; Strain and Herndon, with Gibbon his companion, in the Torrid Zone; Perry and Ringgold in the East, with Page, and Gilliss, and McRae, in the West.

Nor should I forget the line of deep-sea soundings, especially, which was run last summer by Lieut. Berryman, commanding United States brig Dolphin, from the neighborhood of Newfoundland to that of Ireland. That line has important and practical bearings upon the question of a Submarine Telegraph between Europe and America. There is bottom for it.

From Newfoundland to Ireland the distance between the nearest points is about 1,600 miles, and the bottom of the sea between the two places is a plateau, which seems to have been placed there especially for the purpose of holding the wires of a Submarine Telegraph, and of keeping them out of harm's way. It is neither too deep nor too shallow. Yet it is so deep that the wires being once landed, will remain forever beyond the reach of vessels, anchors, icebergs, and drifts of any kind; and so shallow that the wires may be readily lodged upon the bottom.

The depth of this plateau is quite regular, gradually increasing from the shores of Newfoundland, to the depth of from 1,500 to 2,000 fathoms as you approach the other side.

The distance between Ireland and Cape Charles or Cape St. Louis, in Labrador, is somewhat less than the distance from any part of Ireland to the nearest point in Newfoundland.

I do not pretend to consider the question as to the possibility of finding a time calm enough, the sea smooth enough, a wire long enough to carry and lay a coil of wire 1,600 miles in length; though I have no fears but that the enterprise and ingenuity of the age, whenever called on with these problems, will be ready with a satisfactory and practical solution of them. I simply address myself at this time to the question, in so far as the bottom of the sea is concerned; and as far as the greatest practical difficulty will, I apprehend, be found, after reaching soundings at either end of the line, and not in the deep sea.

A wire, laid across from either of the above-named places on this side, would pass to the north of the Grand Banks, and rest on that beautiful plateau to which I have alluded, and where the water of the sea appears to be as quiet and as completely at rest as it is at the bottom of a mill-pond.

It is proper that the reasons should be stated for the inference that there are no perceptible currents, and no abrading agents at work at the bottom of the sea upon this telegraphic plateau.

I derive this inference from the study of a physical fact, which I little dreamed when I sought it, had any such bearings.

It is unnecessary to allude here to the rich germs which physical facts, apparently the most striking, are often found to contain. That great achievement which has harnessed the lightning and made one of the imponderable agents of the universe a messenger for man, has its root in the little physical fact that was first observed by a philosopher with regard to the legs of a dead frog.

So too with regard to these deep-sea soundings, and the carefully labelled specimens from the bottom. When asked, as I have often been, for the *cui bono* touching that last, I have found myself under the necessity of answering the question, by asking, with Franklin, "What is the use of the new-born babe?"

Berryman brought up, with Brooke's deep-sea sounding apparatus, specimens of the bottom from this plateau.

I sent them to Professor Bailey, of West Point, for examination under his microscope. This he kindly gave them, and that eminent microscopist was quite as much surprised to find, as I was to learn, that *all* these specimens of deep-sea soundings are filled with microscopic shells. "*Not a particle of sand or gravel exists in them.*"

These little shells, therefore, suggest the fact that there are no currents at the bottom of the sea whence they came; that Brooke's lead found them where they were deposited in their burial-place, after having lived and died on the surface, and by gradually sinking were lodged on the bottom.

Had there been currents at the bottom, there would have swept and abraded and mingled up with these microscopic remains, the debris of the bottom of the sea, such as ooze, sand, gravel, and other matter. But not a particle of sand or gravel was found among them. Hence the inference, that those depths of the sea were not disturbed, either by waves or currents.

Consequently a telegraphic wire once lodged there, there it would remain, as completely beyond the reach of accident as it would if buried in air-tight cases.

Therefore, so far as the bottom of the deep sea between Newfoundland, or the Northern Cape at the mouth of the St. Lawrence and Ireland is concerned, the practicability of a submarine telegraph across the Atlantic is proved.

But while the Navy has been thus occupied in winning laurels as green—may I not say as *green*, because they are won in times of peace and in the cause of knowledge and of truth, in the advancement of science and in aid of that progress which is upward and onward—may I not therefore say as GREEN as any with which it is possible for the hand of grim-visaged war to deck the brows of victors in his battles of heroes in his cause?

But while the Navy has been thus busied abroad, the Army and other branches of the public service have not been idle at home. The Coast Survey is a long-established institution. A report of its proceedings is annually made to Congress. Gentlemen are familiar with the value of its labors, and therefore it is only necessary in this connection to refer to it as an establishment that has done and is doing much for those departments of knowledge which it is the especial object of this society to cultivate.

In the same category comes the Hydrographic Survey, by the Army, of the great American Lakes. That work, too, is being pushed forward even with more than its wonted vigor. It has already enriched one department of geography with an important discovery. You know it has been said that the bottom of Lake Huron especially, was far below the level of the sea. Captain Macomb informs me that nowhere in that lake has he been able to find water more than 420 feet deep, which places the bottom of that lake far above the surface of the sea.

The Mexican Boundary Commission is busily engaged in bringing up its results.

Besides these there are various parties at work exploring routes across the wilderness for the Great Pacific Railway. Lieutenant Williamson is on the Pacific slope running his lines with the spirit level and the theodolite. Gov. Stevens is at the North, Lieut. Whipple is at the South: and Gunnison—alas, poor Gunnison!—was in the middle.

Science has its achievements and peace its triumphs, yet how much does it not sometimes cost to win them! Lieut. Bellot, of the French Navy, upon the ice of the Polar Basin, Lieut. Gunnison, of the American Army, upon the great "divide" which separates the waters of the Atlantic from the waters of the Pacific, have each fallen victims to the cause of that science whose achievements we celebrate. Though far apart, they were fellow-laborers in the same cause. They both were in search of a commercial route to Cathay.

Two more gallant spirits, two men more richly endowed with the accomplishments of officers, and the qualities of gentlemen, never fell before the ruthless hand of the savage, or the remorseless billows of the sea. The English have resolved to erect at Greenwich a monument to Bellot. Shall we be less mindful of our own than they are of strangers? No. Let us resolve, when this railroad is finished, to erect in the middle of it, and on some towering mountain-peak, a monument to that gallant young soldier. Place it on the summit of the highest hill-top, where it may catch the first rays of the morning sun as he rises from the Atlantic, and where his parting beams, as he sinks to rest in the Pacific, may linger longest.

Nor should I omit to mention among the valuable labors of the officers of the army, the very successful and interesting exploration of the Zuni River, by Captain Sitgreaves, U. S. Army, and his party. Much of the ground that this officer travelled over is new.

Besides these, Fremont and Beale have also been striving with the Indians, and struggling with the snows of that great "divide,"—the latter with that daring and gallantry which has challenged our admiration on former occasions, the former with a degree of zeal and energy that has seldom been equalled, never surpassed.

We owe to him much of our geographical information concerning that region of the country, and he has made contributions which have been acknowledged and appreciated wherever geography is cultivated as a science. An enthusiastic amateur, that brave explorer is now there at his own risk and expense, for the purpose of solving certain questions which in his former expeditions he was unable to resolve.

From this hasty review of what has been recently done and of what is doing for geography by the government and the people of the United States, it appears that few countries have ever at any time been able to boast of more activity in this department of scientific research and discovery. And which of these expeditions has not the public mind followed with interest, and pleasure, and profit? To the honor of our free institutions and of a free people be it said, not one. The popular will is in favor of them all.

But though much has been done, these researches and these expeditions have, as they have made their advances, served to extend the horizon, have given us new lights, and show us that much yet remains to be done. Prominent among the *agenda* of this society during the coming year, is to foster by its influence and its counsels another expedition up the Amazon like Page's in the La Plata. The Amazon is at our own doors, and we begin with it. I shall only allude to one other which cannot fail to commend itself to the good offices and favorable consideration of this society, and that is the exploration of the Valley of the Amour in Mantchouria. This river I believe belongs to Russia, though its navigation was ceded to China by Peter the Great in 1689. That was before modern science and enterprise could have been brought to bear upon it; consequently, unless a party be sent to explore it from some of the States of Christendom, it will continue to rest in its present darkness for other centuries.

"In almost every point of view," says Findlay, in his Directory for the Pacific Ocean, published in 1851, "the Amour is the most valuable stream in Northern Asia. Of all the large rivers of that boundless region, it is the only one that empties itself into a navigable part of the universal ocean. It is, in fact, the only highway of nature that directly connects the central steppes of Asia with the rest of the world. But the political arrangements of man have decreed otherwise; and at this moment the Amour is infinitely less useful as a channel of traffic than almost any one of the land-locked rivers of Siberia. The navigation of the Amour was given, it is understood, for the privilege of holding a fair at Kiakhta, or establishing a factory at Pekin, which, according to Sir George Simpson, has turned out a poor compensation for the loss of this valuable artery to Central Asia; and by which cession the Russian possessions of Kamschatka and the islands beyond are reduced to half their value.

The researches concerning the winds and the currents of the sea, which have been carried on at the Observatory, enable me to say that the climate of that river basin corresponds to that of our lake basin, including the valley drained by the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, and the rivers of the New-England States generally. And what the commerce between these States and river basins with Europe is, such may be, and, in time, will be the commerce between the Amour and the Pacific States of this Union. China is in a state of revolution, and one of the first things after the revolutionists get firmly seated in power, will be, no doubt, an attempt on the part of the United States to form a commercial treaty with that people upon more liberal principles. And that this treaty might be made with eyes open, how important is it that our diplomatists should have full and complete information as to that immense Amour country, as to the navigation and navigability of that river, and as to its present capabilities and future capacities for trade and commerce. It is to be hoped that the enlightened statesman at the head of the Navy Department will, ere long, feel himself at liberty to organize such an expedition.

There has been set on foot during the last year another move by the United States, which, in the judgment of many, is calculated to have important and wholesome bearings upon the physical geography of the world. I allude to the Maritime Conference at Brussels, which was held by invitation of this government, and in which were represented, in the persons of twelve delegates, the principal maritime powers.

The labors of those twelve men, as they sat in conference around the table at Brussels, had for their object to convert every well-appointed ship, as she sails across the ocean, into a floating observatory, and to unite the whole sea-faring world into one general system of physical research. And thus an attempt, a well-directed attempt, has been made to bring the sea regularly within the domains of philosophical research. But the atmosphere embraces the land as well as the sea. It is a whole, and as such, its agencies, its phenomena, and its laws ought to be studied. And why should not the same concert of action and uniformity of observation which Holland, and Denmark, and Spain, and Portugal, Sweden, Russia, Norway, Belgium, Prussia, England and the United States have agreed, at the recommendation of the Brussels Conference, to extend to the sea,—why should not the same uniformity and concert be extended also to the land?

It is now proposed to convoke in Brussels a general Meteorological Congress, which shall consist of one or more delegates from every Christian nation, and that it shall be the duty of this assemblage to devise a plan of meteorological research, which, including both sea and land, may become universal. Quetelet and Kreil, Hanstein, Kupffer, Buys Ballot, Airy, Secchi, Lamont, Sabine, James, and Jansen, and Beechey, with a host of others, have expressed themselves in favor of it.

But, for it to commend itself to the favorable consideration of this society and to its active supporters, it is only necessary to say that the proposition is one which promises many highly important and useful results. Nor does it call either upon the government or individuals for any heavy expenditure.

As a consequence of the discoveries to which the investigations made by the Navy, touching the phenomena of the sea, have given rise, a new department of science has been added to the stores of human knowledge. Perhaps the expression is too strong; therefore, I will say the corner-stone for a new department of science has been laid, and I quote Humboldt for authority.

According to that great and wise man, a new branch of science has recently sprung up on this side of the water. It is styled Physical Geography of the Sea, and to the American Navy he ascribes the honor of originating it. As some of the first fruits of it, I have the pleasure of exhibiting to you two plates,* one showing the shape of the basin which holds the waters of the Atlantic. This delineation is to the solid part of the earth's crust, which is under the water, what a map of the country is to its mountain ranges and other contrasts on the same solid crust above the sea level. The other is a vertical section from one side of the Atlantic to the other. These two delineations are the results of deep-sea soundings made by officers of the Navy.

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* Vide Plates XIV. and XV., 6th Edition Maury's Sailing Directions.

These soundings were at first unsatisfactory, because the plan upon which they were conducted never contemplated bringing up the plummet; indeed, to bring it up from great depths was considered impracticable; therefore there was an uncertainty about them;—there was a feeling in the public mind of vagueness with regard to their results. How do you know that the plummet has reached the bottom? Let us have specimens, was the cry.

In this stage of the undertaking, a clever young officer of the Navy—Passed Midshipman J. M. Brooke, who was at the time serving with me at the Observatory, came to my relief, and supplied by his ingenuity the very desideratum which was so much wanted. He arranged a deep-sea sounding apparatus, so that when the plummet struck the bottom, it would become detached from the line, leaving attached to the latter a small iron bolt, which would bring up specimens from the bottom.

Last summer and fall Lieut. Berryman, of the Dolphin, gave this apparatus a fair trial, and brought up with it specimens from the bottom at the depth of 12,000 feet. Samples of these specimens were sent to Professor Bailey, of West Point, for examination under his microscope. He kindly undertook the study of them, and as his letter, reporting the result, is short, perhaps you will permit me to read it:—

"West Point, *Nov.* 29, 1853.

"My Dear Sir—I am greatly obliged to you for the deep soundings you sent me last week, and I have looked at them with great interest. They are exactly what I wanted to get hold of—the bottom of the ocean at the depth of more than two miles! I hardly hoped ever to have a chance of examining—yet, thanks to Brooke's contrivance, we have it clean and free from grease, so that it can at once be put under the microscope. I was greatly delighted to find that all these deep soundings are filled with microscopic shells; not a particle of sand or gravel exists in them. They are chiefly made up of perfect little calcareous shells (Foraminifera,) and contain, also, a small number of silicious shells (Diatomaceæ.)

It is not probable that these animals lived at the depths where these shells are found, but I rather think that they inhabit the waters near the surface; and when they die their shells settle to the bottom. With reference to this point, I shall be very glad to examine bottles of water from various depths which were brought home by the Dolphin, and any similar materials, either 'bottom' or water from other localities. I shall study them carefully. * * The results already obtained are of very great interest, and have many important bearings on geology and zoology. * *

"I hope you will induce as many as possible to collect soundings with Brooke's lead in all parts of the world, so that we can map out the animalculæ as you have the whales. Get your whalers also to collect mud from pancake ice, &c., in the polar regions—this is always full of interesting microscopic forms."

Truly, these results are suggestive: they seem to form but a slender clue, indeed—do these little mites of shells, by which the chambers of the deep are to be threaded, and mysteries of the ocean revealed; yet in right hands and to right minds, they are sure guides to both light and knowledge.

The first noticeable thing the microscope gives of these specimens is, that all of them are of the animal, not one of the mineral kingdom.

The ocean teems with life, we know. Of the four elements of the old philosophers—fire, earth, air and water, perhaps the sea most of all abounds with living creatures.

The space occupied on the surface of our planet, by the different families of animals, and their remains, is inversely as the size of he individual.

The smaller the animal the greater the space occupied by his remains. Though not invariably the case, yet this rule, to a certain extent, is true, and will, therefore, answer our present purposes, which are simply those of illustration.

Take the elephant and his remains, or a microscopic animal and his, and compare them. The contrast, as to space occupied, is as striking as that of the coral reef or island with the dimensions of the whale. The graveyard that would hold the corallines is larger than the graveyard that would hold the elephants.

As Professor Bailey remarks, the animalculæ, whose remains Brooke's lead has brought up from the bottom of the deep sea, probably did not live or die there. They would have had no light there, and their frail little textures would have been subjected in their growth to a pressure upon them of a column of water 12,000 feet high, equal to the weight of 400 atmospheres. They probably lived and died near the surface, where they could feel the genial influences of both light and heat, and were buried in the lichen caves below, after death.

Brooke's lead and the microscope, therefore, it would seem, are about to teach us to regard the ocean in a new light. Its bosom, which teems with animal life, its face, upon which time writes no wrinkles, makes no impression, are, it would now seem, obedient to the great law of change as is any department whatever, either of the animal or the vegetable kingdom. It is now suggested that, henceforward, we should view the surface of the sea as a nursery, teeming with nascent organism; its depths, as the cemetery for families of living creatures that outnumber the sands on the sea-shore for multitude.

Where there is a nursery, hard by there will be found also a graveyard—such is the condition of the animal world. But it never occurred to us before, to consider the surface of the sea one wide nursery, its every ripple as a cradle, and its bottom as one vast burial-place.

On those parts of the solid portions of the earth's crust which are at the bottom of the atmosphere, various agents are at work, levelling both upward and downward. Heat and cold, rain and sunshine, the winds and the streams, all assisted by the forces of gravitation, are unceasingly washing away the high places, and as perpetually filling up the low.

But in contemplating the levelling agencies that are at work upon the solid portions of the crust of our planet which are at the bottom of the sea, we had come, almost, to the conclusion that these levelling agents are powerless there.

In the deep sea there are no abrading processes at work; neither frosts nor rains are felt there; and the force of gravitation is so paralyzed down there, that it cannot use half its power, as on the dry land, in tearing the overhanging rock from the precipice and casting it down in the valley below.

When, therefore, I was treating of the basin of the Atlantic on another occasion, the imagination was disposed to regard the waters of the sea as a vast cushion placed between the air and the bottom of the ocean, to protect and defend it from these abrading agencies of the atmosphere.

The geological clock may, thought I, strike new periods; its hands may point to era after era; but so long as the ocean remains in its basin, so long as its bottom is covered with blue water, so long must the deep furrows and strong contrasts in the solid crust below, stand out ruggedly and boldly rugged. Nothing can fill up the hollows there; no agent now at work, that we know of, can descend into its depths and level off the floors of the sea.

But it now seems that we forget these oceans of animalculæ, that make the sea sparkle and glow with life. They are secreting from its surface solid matter for the very purpose of filling up those cavities below.

Those little marine insects are building their habitations at the surface, and when they die, their remains, in vast multitudes, sink down, and settle upon the bottom. They are the atoms out of which mountains are formed—plains spread out. Our marl beds, the clay in our river bottoms, large portions of many of the great basins of the earth, are composed of the remains of just such little creatures as these, which the ingenuity of Brooke, and the industry of Berryman, have enabled us to fish up from the depth of more than two miles below the sea level.

These foraminifera, therefore, when living, may have been preparing the ingredients for the fruitful soil of a land that some earthquake or upheaval, in ages far away in the future, may be sent to cast up from the bottom of the sea.

The study of these "sunless treasures," recovered with so much ingenuity from the rich bottom of the sea, suggests new views concerning the physical economy of the ocean.

I have endeavored to show how sea-shells and marine insects may, by reason of the offices which they perform, be regarded as compensations in that exquisite system of physical machinery by which the harmonies of nature are preserved.

The treasures of the lead, and revelations of the microscope, present the insects of the sea in a new light. We behold them now, serving not only as compensations by which the motions of the water in its channels of circulation are regulated, but also acting as checks and balances, by which the equipoise between the solid and the fluid matter of the earth is preserved.

Should it be established that these microscopic creatures live at the surface, and are only buried at the bottom of the sea, we may then view them as conservators of the ocean; for, in the offices which they perform, they assist to preserve its status by maintaining the purity of its waters.

It is admitted that the salts of the sea come from the land, and that they consist of the soluble matter which the rains wash out from the fields, and which the rivers bring down to the sea.

The waters of the Mississippi and the Amazon, with all the streams and rivers of the world, both great and small, hold in solution large quantities of lime, soda, iron and other matter. They discharge annually into the sea an amount of this soluble matter, which, if precipitated and collected into one mass, would no doubt surprise and astonish the boldest speculator with its magnitude.

This soluble matter cannot be evaporated. Once in the ocean, there it must remain; and as the rivers are continually pouring in fresh supplies, the sea, it has been argued, must continue to become more and more salt.

Now the rivers convey to the sea this solid matter mixed with fresh water, which, being lighter than that of the ocean, remains for a considerable time at or near the surface. Here, the microscopic organisms of the deep-sea lead are continually at work, secreting this same lime and soda, &c., and extracting from the sea-water all this solid matter as fast as the rivers bring it down and empty it into the sea.

Thus, we haul up from the deep sea specimens of dead animals, and recognize in them the remains of creatures which, though invisible to the naked eye, have nevertheless assigned to them a most important office in the physical economy of the universe, viz.: that of regulating the saltness of the sea.

This suggests many contemplations. Among them, one in which the ocean is presented as a vast chemical bath, in which the solid parts of the earth are washed, filtered, and precipitated again on solid matter, but in a new form, and with fresh properties.

Doubtless, it is only a readaptation, though it may be in an improved form, of old, and perhaps effete matter, to the uses and well-being of man.

These are speculations merely; they may be fancies without foundations, but idle they are not, I am sure; for when we come to consider the agents by which the physical economy of this our earth is regulated, by which this or that result is brought about and accomplished in this beautiful system of terrestrial arrangements—we are utterly amazed at the offices which have been performed, the work which has been done by the animalculæ.

But whence come the little calcareous shells, which Brooke's lead has brought up in proof of its sounding from the depth of two miles and a quarter? Did they live in the surface waters immediately above? or in their *habitat* in some remote part of the sea, whence, at their death, the currents were sent forth as pall-bearers, with the command to deposit their remains where the plummet found them?

In this view, these little organisms become doubly interesting. When dead, the descent of the shell to its final resting-place would not, it may be supposed, be very rapid. It would partake of the motion of the sea-water in which it lived and died, and probably be carried along with it in its channels of circulation for many a long mile.

The microscope, under the eye of Erenberg, has enabled us to put tallies on the wings of the wind, to learn of them somewhat concerning "its circuits."

Now, may not these shells, which were so fine and impalpable that the officers of the Dolphin took them to be a mass of unctuous clay—may not, I say, these, with other specimens of soundings yet to be collected, be all converted by the microscope into tallies for the waters of the different parts of the sea, by which the channels, through which the circulation of the ocean is carried on, are to be revealed?

Suppose that the dwelling-places of the little shells which compose this specimen from that part of the ocean be ascertained, by referring to living types, to be the Gulf of Mexico—and of that from this part of the ocean, the regions about Cape Horn—of another, the Arctic Ocean, &c. The *habitat* and burial-place, in every instance, we will suppose, are far removed from each other. By what agency, except through that of currents, can we suppose them to come from the place of their birth, and to be transported to that of their burial?

It is in vain to attempt to answer the *cui bono* in all the bearings of facts like these. Suffice it to say, they are physical facts; and in them, therefore, there is knowledge. They are facts which concern our planet, and touch the well-being or the rightly-knowing of its inhabitants; and, therefore, renewed attention to this subject of deep-sea soundings, and the specimens of the bottom that may be brought up, cannot fail to be regarded with increasing interest.

There is something peculiarly attractive and interesting about the mysteries of the sea. There is a longing desire to know more of them.

Man can never see, he can only touch, the bottom of the deep sea, and then only with the plummet. Whatever it brings up thence is, to the philosopher, matter of powerful interest; for by such information alone as he may gather from a most careful examination of such matter, the amount of human knowledge concerning nearly all that portion of our planet which is covered by the sea, must depend.

Every specimen of bottom from the deep sea is, therefore, to be regarded as a valuable contribution to the sources of human knowledge. And it is, in the judgment of right-minded men, a glorious privilege to have an opportunity of increasing the stock of human knowledge.

As it regards the subject before us, the officers of the American Navy are peculiarly favored.

They, especially, have the means and implements for sounding the ocean to its greatest depths, for collecting specimens from its bottom, as well as from its surface, and for trying its currents and its temperatures, both at and below the surface.

The means of doing this are not only placed at their disposal by an enlightened government, but it is by that government made their duty, as I am sure it will be their pleasure, to use them.

I hope soon to have this interesting department of the physical geography of the sea enriched, not only by specimens of bottom and soundings, but with various other materials and data collected by our ships afloat in the Indian and Pacific oceans, the China seas, and elsewhere.

I cannot find terms too strong to express my ideas as to the sublime spectacle, which the world is about to afford, touching this united effort to investigate the laws which control the winds and currents of the sea.

The observations that are to be made for this purpose are to be placed beyond the casualties of war. When Capt. Cook was on his celebrated voyage of discovery, war broke out between France and England, and the French Government was asked, for the sake of his mission, not to molest him.

The reply of the French King was: "I war not against science;" and orders were given to officers of the French Navy, that if any of them should fall in with Capt. Cook, to recollect that he was the enemy of no man, but the friend of the human family; and they were commanded to treat him as such.

The Brussels Conference has recommended a like immunity for the observations that are to be made under this general system of co-operation, of vessels of all nations at sea, and the government of the United States has endorsed it.

By such a corps of observers—for, in addition to our own, the marine, both commercial and naval, of Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden; of Belgium, Bremen, Hamburg, Russia, Portugal, and Spain, of Chili, Brazil, and Great Britain, are enlisted, and are actually at work.

By the labors of such multitudes, all catechizing nature to the same point, and questioning the winds and the waves for their secrets, we may expect many an answer that will have a bearing for man's good, as to which we little dream.

I may be pardoned for illustrating this position by an incident of recent occurrence.

The national heart is yet grieving for the terrible calamity, and dreadful loss of life, which has recently occurred on board the steamer San Francisco, as she was bound hence to California, with seven or eight hundred souls on board.

She was reported to have been seen on the 25th and 26th of December, in a completely disabled condition. There was anxiety in the public mind, and a desire and readiness to send relief to those gallant men. But which way or where to send vessels and relief, who could tell?

I was called on. After consulting that chart* on the wall, on which the temperature of the surface-water of the ocean is shown for each month, I was surprised to find that the limits of the Gulf Stream for the month of January were what that chart shows them to be.

I discovered from this examination, that the San Francisco, when seen on the 25th and 26th of December, instead of being on the southern edge of the Gulf Stream, as was generally supposed, and as the common charts of navigation would seem to indicate, was actually north of the middle.

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* Maury's Wind and Current Charts—Thermal Chart, North Atlantic Series.

The diagram there is taken from a chart, on which, for the information of the Navy Department, I described the position of the Gulf Stream for January, and drew lines to show the direction in which the wreck had probably drifted, and the place where she would be most likely to be found.

Happily, before any of the vessels sent in search of her had sailed, the Kilby, the Three Bells, and the Antarctic, had fallen in with, and relieved her. But this was not known at the time, and the instructions which, by request of the Secretary of the Treasury, I gave to the Revenue Cutter from New-London, and which instructions were derived entirely from that chart, directed the vessel to pass so near the place where the San Francisco went down, that had the Cutter been in time, she would have been in sight of the steamer when she went down.

There has been recently commenced at the Observatory a chart, which it may be worth while to mention, as it bears upon the subject before us. It is what may be called a topographical chart of the sea. The object of it is, by means of the materials which are afforded by the large corps of observers, who are co-operating with me in researches concerning the phenomena of the sea, to show those parts of the ocean where icebergs are seen, where snow falls, where water-spouts rise, where drift wood is found, where sea-weed, flying-fish, &c., are seen.

Art. III.—PACIFIC RAILROAD—PLAN OF THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

The following paper was prepared by Albert Pike, of Arkansas, as Chairman of this Committee, and is intended as a memoir to the several State Legislatures:—

It is not intended by the Committee, in this communication, to enter at large upon the consideration of the necessity to the South of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean; or of the probable pecuniary profits of such a road to the shareholders. We have reached a point (and so the action of the Convention indicates) when these matters may be taken for granted. They have become self-evident propositions, assuming which as true, we may proceed to the discussion of the *means* by which the desired object is to be effected.

Nevertheless, as the plan suggested by the Convention proposes an organization of the Southern and South-western States, and the nations on the frontier, identified with them in interest and institutions, there are some considerations in regard to the necessity of this road to the slaveholding States, to which it is but proper that the Committee should very briefly allude.

Power has never dwelt long anywhere, without first being used and afterwards abused. The temptation to him who possesses it, to use and abuse it, is irresistible. The Northern States now have, and must always hereafter have, a continually increasing majority in both branches of the National Legislature. It is only by a perfect harmony and concert of action among themselves, that the Southern States can be enabled to maintain their just rights and their dignity in the Union.

The constitution forbids their forming any *political* league or compact among themselves. They can make no treaties with foreign powers, coin no money, emit no bills of credit, maintain no navy. Up to this time, each has been isolated from the other, with no alliances of any kind to knit them together and enable them to present a firm front against aggression.

To demonstrate to the Northern States that there are modes by which the Southern States can unite themselves together as one man, strictly within the Constitution, for a legitimate, peaceful and laudable purpose, calculated illimitably to increase their wealth, prosperity and power; that they can do this by becoming, as no one can deny they have the right to become, stockholders in a corporation chartered by one of themselves; by devoting to a great object their united means, and those of their citizens, and by finding a way to the trade of China and the Indies, over foreign soil, if need be, purchased and owned by the corporation,—would be worth to the South ten times the cost of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean.

It would be not only illiberal and unjust, but absurd, to argue that a large proportion of the people of the Northern States is not sincerely and from patriotic considerations, attached to the Constitution and Union of the United States. But that feeling unfortunately does not gain strength as generation follows generation. The children do not revere the Union as their fathers did. And in the stream of foreign emigration, ever flowing, broad and deep, like a mighty oceanic current from the shores of Europe to those of America, and pouring into the open and inviting northwest, the most skilful analysis would detect scarcely a trace of veneration for the Constitution or love and affection for the Union.

We should be insane, to close our eyes to the important fact, that it is only by convincing the people of the North that union is profitable, and separation will involve disaster and loss to *them*,—that in that separation we should win and they would lose,—that we can hope for any length of time to maintain the union of these States.

If the South is powerful and united, then, holding the balance of power, and taking advantage of the divisions and dissensions which always agitate a majority, she will be secure, and her rights remain inviolate. The dream of an equal vote in the Senate is gone forever. It never was anything better than a dream.

It is everywhere seen and understood that the effects of a railroad to the Pacific, upon the commerce of the country, will be incalculable. Wherever *it* goes, political and commercial power will go as its inseparable companions. The commercial interests of the great cities, identical with those of not only the States in which they are situated, but of those adjoining, and even those at remote distances, on the great highways of trade leading to such cities, exercise a vast, steady and increasing influence upon the National Legislature. They make such legislation sectional in its character and consequences; they give shape and color to our foreign policy; they extend aid to works of internal improvement for the benefit of particular divisions of country, and give liberal gratuities to ocean steamships carrying the mails; they control in the acquisition of new territory and the creation of new States. For here, as elsewhere, "commerce is king."

The trade of the Pacific, the Indies and China, is the great stake now to be played for. Nations never played for one more magnificent. In that game, as in others, coolness, energy and sagacity will win. The Northern States and cities, always sagacious, resolute and energetic, and gifted with the faculty of *silence* withal, in what regards their commercial interests and their public and private prosperity; liberal with their own means, and having no constitutional scruples to prevent their pressing Federal legislation into their service, are pushing rapidly westward on Northern ground, the iron ribs that are to convey to the Northern Atlantic ports the commerce of the world.

Not content with the natural and regular growth towards manly stature of the great country lying in the North-west, they have resorted to the system of *forcing*, as men use hot-beds in horticulture; and we see new territories, of vast size, and comparatively unpeopled, organized and established on the line of a Northern Pacific Railroad,—Oregon and Washington standing on the shores of the Pacific, and Nebraska and Kansas on those of the Mississippi,—each clasping hands with the other on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. It needs no prophetic eye to see in the future a cordon of free States carved in succession off from these Territories, extending with a continuous and swarming population across the continent, giving such power to the Northern vote in Congress as has hitherto been only dreamed of, and securing to *their* road, the Nile of this new Egypt, aid from the National Treasury, and countenance and encouragement from the general government.

It will be well for the South to reflect whether, in the struggle for this great stake, she contends with the North on equal terms. What proportion of the foreign emigration will be brought within *her* borders, if the law passes that shall hire them with one hundred and sixty acres of land each, to settle on the public lands of the United States; when they are offered the additional compensation of a right to vote, if they will settle on the line of the Northern road?

It is too painfully evident that passion, rashness and folly will always endanger the continuance of the Union. That is an event on which a patriot ought most reluctantly to speculate. With the idea of disunion he ought never to become familiar. But it is at least *possible,* and the chances of it by no means diminish. To provide for all that is possible, though improbable, is the part of true wisdom; and he alone is entitled to be called a sagacious statesman, who is unprepared for *no* emergency, however remote. It is by precautions taken long in advance that we prevent the lightning from smiting our habitations.

It is therefore not improper for us to suggest, that, much as we need a Southern railroad to the Pacific now, while *in* the Union, we should need it infinitely more, it would be absolutely and literally indispensable, if the North and the South were to separate. Thus only could we maintain a foothold upon the Pacific coast. Thus only could we pretend to rival the North in the struggle for commercial pre-eminence. Offering the shortest, the most practicable and the cheapest route from the Pacific to the Atlantic, a Southern road would bind California to us with hooks of steel; and making separation an incalculable loss to the North, it would go far to render a dissolution of the Union impossible.

We are satisfied that the Pacific railroad neither can be nor ought to be built and owned by the general government. If it were, it would, in our opinion, be a great public calamity. The *legitimate* powers of that government are already quite large enough for the welfare and security of the Southern States. Add to them the patronage, the wealth, the influence, the power over the commerce of the country, which that road would give, and State sovereignty would be no more than a name.

And, whatever may be the true doctrine as to the constitutional power of Congress to build the road, as a military work or otherwise, it is at least certain that that power is, and always will be, denied by so large a number of our statesmen as to prevent its construction by appropriations from the Treasury of the United States.

Nor does it seem consistent with the public welfare that such a work should be heedlessly given in perpetuity to any foreign company, alien in feeling to us, and in no way identified with our interests and institutions. Such an act could not but be followed by long ages of ever-increasing repentance and regret.

If it were practicable, the road should, in our opinion, be built by and belong to the States as partners. Then there would be no risk of abuse; and we should avoid the two great and equal dangers of governmental and corporation monopoly.

We are entirely satisfied that if the South wants the road, she may as well make up her mind that *she* has in some way or other to build it. We are more and more confirmed in the opinion that no substantial aid is to be looked for from the general government. Nor do we think that the respectability and dignity of the South is at all advanced by continually beseeching such aid. It was the opinion of the Convention, and we hope and trust it may come to be the settled opinion of the whole South, that two courses only are consistent with a proper, decent, manly self-respect: the one, to say that we *can* build the road ourselves, and with God's help we *will;* and the other, to say nothing about it whatever, and rest satisfied without the road, until it builds itself.

The plan proposed by the Convention, and developed by the draughts which are herewith presented, is for the Southern States, corporations and people to build this road themselves. It proposes to make the States interested as stockholders, as far as practicable, and the residue of the stock to be taken by cities, counties, the nations upon our frontier, corporations and individuals, in the South or elsewhere.

No reason is perceived why such a company cannot be formed under a charter granted by a Southern State. No reason is perceived why one hundred millions of dollars cannot be raised from the united wealth of the Southern States and people; nor why capitalists in the North and elsewhere should not be as willing to embark their capital in this great enterprise under *such* a charter, as under one granted by the Legislature of New-York.

It is not proposed to interfere with any company already chartered for the building of a road west of the Mississippi. Where they stop, this plan proposes to begin, unless they choose, of their own free will, to become a part of this company. It is not proposed in any way to thwart or injure the New-Orleans and Opelousas road, the Vicksburg and Shreveport road, the Memphis and Fulton road, the Cairo and Fulton road, or any other which points westward in the direction of El Paso. It is indeed hoped that interest will induce them to unite with the company to be formed under this plan; but that is for them alone to decide.

Texas offers a vast and valuable body of lands to any company that will build a road from a point not north of Fulton, to El Paso. It is hoped that she will not dispose of those lands, until the company to be formed under this plan is able to compete for them. Her interests as a Southern State will undoubtedly induce her to unite in this great scheme, with all the means she can command, and all the energy she possesses—for it is a measure of provision for the common defence and welfare of that South of which she is a part; whose interests are her interests, and whose fate must be her fate.

And moreover, any other company, taking her lands under her law, will be bound to build the road only to El Paso. She gives the lands in consideration of that alone. She will make a far better bargain if she gives them to a company which contracts to build it to the Pacific or Gulf of California. It is west of El Paso that the great difficulties on the route are to be encountered. From that point there are no lands of much value, but deserts and mountains only; and if a company, taking her lands, builds the road to El Paso, and there stops short, it may be almost said that the *Pacific* Railroad is as far from being built as ever.

The Committee entertain the most sanguine hopes that the plan here proposed will be carried into complete and successful operation; and that under it roads from New-Orleans by Opelousas, from Vicksburg by Shreveport, from Helena, Memphis and Cairo by Fulton, and from St. Louis through the Cherokee, Choctaw and Creek country, will unite and form one great trunk, connecting those several points with the Pacific ocean. Such a work as that the world never yet saw. Its influence upon the destinies of the South is incalculable. It can be built only by the united energies of the South, and it is worthy to tax those energies to their utmost.

As the Legislatures of the different States now appealed to, convene at different times between the first of October and the first of January, it is exceedingly desirable that the charter should be enacted so early in October that it may, if possible, be laid before the other Legislatures, as a law enacted and in force. This is particularly important, in order that such action may be obtained from the Legislatures of Arkansas and Texas, as will give the company an opportunity to compete for the lands granted in those States in aid of railroads.

The Legislature of the State of South Carolina is therefore most respectfully but very earnestly and urgently solicited to act at an early day of its approaching session on the draught entitled "A Bill to create and incorporate the Southern Pacific Railroad Company;" making such changes, additions and amendments, as to it in its wisdom shall seem proper; and the Legislatures of the other States and the Councils of the Cherokee, Creek and Choctaw Nations, to act upon the draughts of bills to recognize the existence of the company, and to invest it with certain powers, immunities and privileges.

It is hoped that the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Texas and California, will make to the company such grants of lands as may to their Legislatures seem wise and proper; and that all of the States and the several Nations mentioned will take measures to become stockholders in the company to the utmost of their means and abilities, either by direct subscription, by some plan like that suggested in the draught, entitled "A Bill to provide for a subscription of stock in the Southern Pacific Railroad Company," or by some other plan by their wisdom and experience to be devised.

The undersigned refrain from further enlarging on this subject. They respectfully submit, in the language of the Convention, that it is the duty of every Southern man, to himself, to his children and his country, to engage earnestly in this great and indispensable measure of security, as well as of wealth, and of political and commercial power, to the South.

And they urge that the Southern States, in their corporate and sovereign capacities, are more especially called upon to enter with all their might upon this work. The question is now fairly presented, whether the Southern States *can* unite together to do a great work, to the performance of which they are invited by every consideration. Upon the verdict, to some extent, depends the world's respect. To fail, if no dishonor, will be to discourage and dishearten our own citizens, and invite renewed aggression, with which weakness never fails to be insulted. Every Southern State has the ability, if it will but believe it, to become a large stockholder in this company; and they and their people have ample means to build the road. It remains for the States to do their duty manfully. The prosperity and welfare of their cities and people require it. Their duty to the South as a whole requires it. Their own honor, and dignity, and self-respect demand it; and for it their people and the generations which are to come after us will thank and honor them.

Art. IV.—DONATION OF LANDS FOR RAILROAD PURPOSES.

We shall not pause to argue the constitutionality of grants to railroad companies. They are but a mode of administration exclusively in Congress, as much so as that of surveying and mapping the lands, or of establishing offices for their record or disposition. All of these involve expenses which are for the benefit of the lands, and to create or increase the revenues from them. It is practically to part with a portion of the lands, or their value, which is the same thing, for the benefit of the remainder. The case is identical with that of the railroad. Experience has proved that a certain amount of benefit is conferred upon lands by their vicinage to railroads, which is appreciable in market. Private individuals understand this so well, that, owning lands upon the route of a road, they will invest in its stock with no other prospect of dividends than in the enhancement of the value of their property, and there are instances of roads organized upon the principle of land subscriptions of individual proprietors. States understand this, as witness Texas in her late munificent grant to the Pacific Road.

Upon this principle, up to 30th June last, the federal government had donated 8,006,013 acres to railroad companies in the States of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas, of which more than half was to the two first named States. What has been the experience in these States in regard to the reserved sections? Was it not the means of bringing into demand lands long in the market without a purchaser? Have the increased value of the reserved sections not reimbursed the donation? We may turn to the report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1853 for the facts.

Thus has a market been created for lands which they could not otherwise have had, and thus has the government been enabled to derive a revenue in districts where there was previously none at all.

It is not easy to understand upon what principle of justice the government as a landed proprietor could stand by and derive upon its untaxed lands all the advantages which the enterprise of States and individuals can give to those lands, without parting with an equivalent.

It is not doubted that some of the roads which have been asking aid from government could be carried through without it. Notwithstanding this fact, the advantage to the government is none the less considerable; and although private individuals—speculators, if we please—are largely the gainers, the government loses nothing, and the public, while a greater price is exacted for the lands, have nothing to complain of, but prefer even this enhancement than to purchase lands at lower rates in other quarters. The increase in the population and wealth along the route of railroads compared with other parts of States will show this.

Congress have power under the Constitution to dispose of and make all needful rules respecting the territory of the United States. This power is either absolute or that of a trustee. If absolute, then it covers entirely the present case, and upon no other principle than that it has been held to be absolute through every administration, can the grants which have been made to schools, colleges, seats of governments, roads, public buildings, private individuals, deaf and dumb asylums, etc., be sustained. If that of a trustee, then it is clearly a case of administration for the benefit of the lands, and it would only be necessary to prove a benefit to the extent of the donation to justify the grant. In either case it is a matter of expediency more than of constitutionality. Are these grants expedient? Do they increase the value of contiguous lands to an equal or greater extent than the value of the grant? or if the facts are not sufficient to demonstrate this, do they bring into demand lands which otherwise had proved to be unsaleable?

The majority of the roads which ask for these donations must be either entirely defeated or greatly delayed if they are disappointed, and thus the development of whole sections of country will be interrupted for the want of that action upon the part of government which it has been already seen neither injures the treasury nor violates the Constitution.

It will not do to say that the interests of trade will create through private revenues all the railroads which are really required, and the fact of any additional aid being required is a proof that the road is unnecessary. This is the argument of a late number of the *Railroad Journal.* It is met and refuted by the whole policy of the country. Our railroads have been built by the aid of cities, towns, counties, States, no less than by individuals. If dependent upon individuals, they could not have been built at all. They have created trade and travel rather than followed in their wake. They are carrying these further and further into the wilderness, rather than following them there.

It is very well for the *Railroad Journal,* speaking in behalf of the old States, where capital and labor are plentiful, and where railroad works are already completed, to say that the disposition to build railroads should be checked rather than encouraged by Congress, and that they should be left entirely to private enterprise.

The new States have neither capital nor labor in excess. It is for the interest of these States that population should be attracted and wealth increased. They ask no boon, but simply a right. They can benefit you while they benefit themselves, and only ask that they shall not be at the whole expense of incurring that benefit.

We know that the applications before Congress for grants are so numerous as to excite the apprehensions of many persons. That upwards of 100 were before the Committee of Public Lands, requiring, perhaps, 100,000,000 acres, to be satisfied. Many of these are the mere tricks of speculators. Some again are merely introduced for what is called *bunkum,* without any expectation or perhaps desire of passing them. Many are bonâ fide, substantial applications, based upon solemn charters, heavy subscriptions by States and individuals. It will not be difficult for a Congressional Committee to separate these; and even if some mistakes are by chance made, better such than an indiscriminate refusal of all for the difficulty of selection. The charters of some roads have been obtained, subscriptions have been received, upon the assumed policy of the government to make such donations. A refusal to do this would greatly delay, if not entirely arrest the construction of these works.

All danger that the lands may be given away without the road being constructed can easily be obviated by restrictions and regulations in the grants.

With these brief remarks, which have been for some time upon our desk in manuscript, we introduce an interesting paper from the pen of Mr. Kettell, of the *United States Economist.*

WESTERN LANDS AND RAILROADS.

Indiana and Illinois are financially, in some respects, similarly situated. Both States commenced, in 1836–7, a system of internal improvements on credit; both partially completed them, and both failed, leaving large debts which they had no other means of paying than by taxation. Both were new countries, sparsely settled by persons whose only resources were the sales of their produce, and these, in the incomplete state of the works for which they were to be taxed, were not marketable. Taxation was felt to be impossible, and repudiation was inevitable in 1841. There were not a few persons who supposed that resumption would be impossible, on the ground that the arrearage interest would accumulate as fast as the means of even those fertile States. There were, however, public-spirited men who set about the work of redemption, and few States are now more prosperous. The area of the two States, the population, debts, and assessed valuations, are as follows:

	Indiana.		Illinois.	
	1840.		1840.	
Area ....acres.	21,478,760		34,118,000	
Population...............	685,866—1850.	988,416	476,183—1850.	851,470
Assessed Value.........	$115,590,065—1853.	266,097,614	76,120,230—1853.	224,715,963
Debt....................	14,057,000—1853.	6,201,617	11,042,225—1853.	10,140,270

The two States together have increased from 1,162,049 inhabitants to 1,839,886, and the assessed value from $191,710,295 to $490,813,577, or from an average value of about $190 per head to $272 per head, while the debts have been mostly arranged so as to be in rapid process of settlement. In the case of Indiana, she had, in 1841, the unfinished Wabash and Erie Canal, designed to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio River. On this canal had been expended some $3,000,000, and it possessed about 1,000,000 acres of land donated by Congress to aid in its completion. It was then proposed by Mr. Charles Butler, of New-York, that the holders of the unpaid bonds of the State should advance, on security of the canal and its lands, $800,000 to complete it, in the hands of trustees; that the State debt, amounting with the arrears of interest to $16,254,592, should be divided by two; that holders of one-half should look to the canal and its lands *only* for their pay, and to meet the other half the State should levy a tax. This proposition was accepted, and the canal has been completed by the means pointed out, under the direction of Mr. Butler. The proposition was made in 1845, and the prosperity which Mr. Butler estimated as the probable result has been outrun by the facts. The assessed value of real estate has risen as follows:

	Assessed value.	Taxes.
1845	$118,870,251	$763,051
1853	266,097,614	1,620,943
Increase	$147,227,353	$857,892

By the funding operation the liabilities of the State for debt were reduced from $743,000 annual interest on debt to $310,000. That is to say, the annual tax of 1845 was hardly sufficient for the interest, and in 1853 it exceeds it by $1,310,000. Yet, in proportion to the means of the people to pay, the taxes are now far lighter than then.

Illinois, in 1841, was possessed of her unfinished canal, running from Chicago 100 miles to the Illinois River. The canal owned 234,370 acres of land. This canal and land were placed in the hands of David Leavitt, Esq., as trustee for the bondholders, who loaned $1,600,000 to complete the canal. That has been perfected, the lands sold, and the loan of $1,600,000 reimbursed. The balance of the lands and tolls are now being applied to the payment of the canal bonds. With the progress of the canal to completion there have been constructed numerous railroads concentrating in Chicago. One of these, the Chicago and Galena Road, has been in operation some time through a country dependent upon it for transportation. The influence of that road upon the population and valuation of the counties through which it runs is conspicuous in the following compilation from official documents:

Trade of the Galena and Chicago Railroad.

	Population		Valuation.		
Counties.	1840.	1850.	1840.	1850.	1853.
Gov. Davis	6,180	18,767	$383,715	$2,785,225	$4,294,573
Winnebago	4,609	11,737	222,630	1,564,617	3,000,339
Lake	2,634	15,134	95,385	1,222,088	1,955,651
Kane	6,551	16,242	289,565	1,442,001	3,247,846
Dupaye	3,535	9,290	196,290	943,503	2,104,145
Cook	10,201	43,280	1,864,205	7,617,102	22,929,637
Boone	1,705	7,627	55,990	717,192	1,492,255
Kendall	new	7 730	—	1,205,732	1,767,135
Carroll	1,023	4,586	—	—	—
Ogle	3,479	10,020	175,555	971,230	2,201,612
Total	39,917	143,407	$3,346,680	$18,839,169	$44,113,199

One year's interest on the enhanced valuation would build the railroad, which delivered from the farms it traverses, last year, a value of farm produce more than equal to its cost. The enhanced valuation on the track of that road has given $140,000 per annum towards the payment of the State interest. The increase in the canal counties has been nearly as large, and the influence of the other railroads over the districts through which they run will be as great. The Galena and Chicago Railroad was projected at a cost of $2,432,000, over a route on which the whole valuation in 1840 was $3,346,680, and a population under 40,000. The results have been wonderful.

The Illinois Central branch, running south from Chicago to meet the main trunk at Centralia, which extends to Cairo, runs mainly through twenty-four counties, of which the present valuation, exclusive of Chicago, is $41,647,204, or *three times* the cost of that portion of the road. The experience of the Galena road shows that as the population becomes more dense, the wealth has increased in a double ratio. That is, in round numbers, 40,000 persons in 1840 owned an average of $80 each; in 1854 143,000 persons owned rather more than $130 each. The numbers increased 250 per cent., and the wealth of each increased 62½ per cent. The same results on the line of the Central road, within five years, carry the valuation of those counties to $120,000,000.

It is to be borne in mind that a great portion of this immense prosperity has been derived directly from the proper application of the lands of the federal government. By their aid alone did Indiana and Illinois, during the dark days of their finances, procure as much money as would complete their canals. The expenditure of that money developed a local prosperity on which the railroad impulse was based. The attraction of settlers, who brought lands within the tax list, aided the States in resuming payments. It was a far more direct mode of restoring national honor than by assuming the debts, because the States now pay their own debts.

The pretended donation of land to the State of Illinois, in aid of the Central road, amounts to this, and no more: On the tract of that road the Government had 12,500,000 acres, which it had tried during fifteen years in vain to sell. It was most fertile land, but worthless to the settler, because inaccessible to market. The Government gave away one-fourth in order to make the other three-fourths more valuable than its best lands. The Central road undertook it, and has *paid the government* $800,000 *duties on* 70,000 *tons of iron;* a sum more than equal to the whole value of the land; and the government, in addition, gets $6,000,000 for the remainder of its land more than the *minimum* price. Thus, for 2,500,000 acres of land, which it before could not sell at all, it gets $6,800,000 cash, or $2,50 per acre, and calls it "a gift." There is not a land-holder in the country but would like to make just such "gifts" of his property.

If now we suppose that the lands had been given to settlers, as proposed under the new land bill, and fools enough had been found to go on to the inaccessible lands, when would the road ever have been built, or the lands ever have repaid the labor of breaking them up? Most undoubtedly the great national interests require that one portion of the land should be applied to the improvement of that held by settlers, through the construction of public works.

Art. V.—THE NEW-ORLEANS ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

We have just received the first volume of the *Transactions* of this flourishing institution, embracing a number of highly interesting and valuable papers on various branches of science. The volume is an earnest of the success and future prospects of the institution, which already includes among its Fellows the most distinguished scientific and literary men of the South.

Among the papers published in these Transactions, we notice the following:—*On Indian Antiquities,* by Prof. E. Everett, President of Orleans College, La. *On Roman Coinage,* by Prof. Chilton, of the Louisiana University. *On the Mineral Waters of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas,* by Dr. W. P. Riddell. *On Allotropic Phosphorus,* by Dr. Crawcour, of New-Orleans; also contributions on various subjects, too numerous to mention, by Prof. Riddell, of the University of Louisiana, Prof. Forshay, Maj. Blanchard, Rev. Dr. Campbell, Dr. Copes, Dr. Benedict, the Permanent Secretary, and other members.

The New-Orleans Academy of Sciences owes its existence to the exertions and love of science of a few scientific gentlemen of New-Orleans, whose names appear in the Transactions. The first President of the Academy was Dr. Josiah Hale, of New-Orleans. Its present President is Dr. E. H. Barton, of New-Orleans. The present number of Fellows is about fifty. The Academy embraces all branches of science, and is divided into eleven sections. The following are the sections, with the present Chairmen and Committees of each:—

1st.—Natural History of Animals.—Chairman, Dr. Smith. Committee, Lindsay, Crawcour, Dowler.

2d.—Botany.—Chairman, Dr. Hale. Committee, J. L. Riddell, Bolton, Blanchard.

3d.—Geology.—Chairman, Prof. Chilton. Committee, Hale, Copes, Mitchell, W. P. Riddell. Henderson, Simonds, Blanchard.

4th.—Chemistry and Natural Philosophy.—Chairman, Professor Riddell.

Committee, Macgibbon, W. P. Riddell, Copes, Crawcour, T. C. Copes, Mac Nair and Corry.

5th—Astronomy and Mathematics.—Chairman, Maj. Blanchard. Committee, J. L. Riddell, Campbell, Scott, Simonds, Mac Nair.

6th.—Antiquarian Researches and Ethnology.—Chairman, Dr. Dowler. Committee, Crawcour, Parmele, Benedict, Scott, Henderson.

7th.—History, Biography and Philology.—Chairman, Mr. Parmele. Committee, Hughes, Gordon, Mitchell, Campbell, Scott, Henderson.

8th.—Medicine.—Chairman, Dr. Crawcour. Committee, Macgibbon, Lindsay, Barton, Dowler, Smith.

9th.—Geography, Statistics and Political Economy.—Chairman, Dr. Baron . Committee, Lindsay, Blanchard, Chilton, Gordon, Everett.

10th—Psychology and Æsthetics.—Chairman, Dr. Campbell. Committee, Hughes, Blanchard, Benedict, Lindsay.

11th.—Agriculture. Chairman, Dr. Lindsay. Committee, W. P. Riddell, Baldwin.

The New-Orleans Academy of Sciences bids fair to become one of the most important institutions of the kind in this country. It is the most southern of any on the globe, and in a section of this continent which affords a wide and but partially explored field for scientific research. The South needs such an institution, as a nucleus about which its numerous scientific men may cluster, and make known the results of their labors. There is no city in the Union, of its size, containing a greater number of scientific men than New-Orleans; and no other city affording greater facilities for scientific research. The characteristic liberality of the South, and especially that of Louisiana, will encourage this rising institution, and nothing will be wanting—with a continuance of the present zeal and industry of its members—to insure its complete success, and to rank it among the first of the scientific institutions of the day.

Art. VI.—SOUTHWESTERN CITIES.

1. Memphis.—In 1850 there were 5026 persons born in the United States, and 1401 foreign born, white and free colored, residing in Memphis. Of the foreigners, 704 were Irish, 341 Germans, 69 French. Of the natives, less than one-half were born in the City or State. By a census the present year there were in Memphis 9670 whites, 2858 slaves, 159 free colored; total, 12,687. The value of taxable property has thus progressed:

1851	$4,978,000
1853	6,377,000
1854-5	8,266,500

The receipts of cotton for the last two years average 200,000 bales each. A report to the Common Council states:

I now lay before you my report of the City Census, showing total population 12,687, within the city limits, being an increase of 25 per cent. in the last year. According to an estimate made by me, the population in the immediate suburbs of the city is 2,960. Doubtless it exceeds 3,000, giving us a permanent population of at least 16,000. If to this be added that large class of persons who, though not properly citizens, are engaged in business pursuits and avocations here during every winter, it will be seen that the population of Memphis reaches an amount equal to that claimed by its most sanguine friends. Persons unacquainted with the facts may be disposed to sneer at this estimate of those without the city limits, as an attempt to over estimate our population. All who are acquainted with the facts are well aware that the proportion of this class is larger with us than in any city of the southwest, embracing as it does a large proportion of our business men. If there had been any disposition to misrepresent the facts, it is evident this class would have been included in the estimate, without stating that they were not within the present city limits; and the census would have been taken in the winter, when every one knows our population is much larger than in the summer. Some of our citizens strongly object to the census being taken in the summer; but it must be admitted that if the object is to obtain the amount of permanent population, it can be much more correctly arrived at then than in the winter. Two causes have tended to produce this disposition to spread without the city bounds—the beauty and adaptedness of the country in the immediate vicinity for resident purposes, and the somewhat high rate of taxes it is found necessary to impose, in order to carry on those improvements required by our rapidly growing city. Hitherto there have been no counteracting causes to prevent this; but not to mention others, there is now one in active operation which will have a strong influence to confine our citizens within more narrow bounds. I refer to our public schools. The experience of the last year has already demonstrated that they have now reached a state of excellence far surpassing the usual character of our private schools, producing results which could not have been expected from them in so short a time, even by their most enthusiastic friends.

For these results we are mainly indebted to our worthy President of the Board of Public Schools, Dr. A. P. Merrill, assisted by an excellent superintendent and accomplished teachers. Since his residence here he has devoted nearly the whole of his time and talents to the building up of our public schools, gratuitously at that, with an amount of ability and perseverance seldom equalled, as is clearly shown by the state of perfection and excellence which they have already attained.

A word here with reference to our manufactories may not be uninteresting. Not to be too prolix, suffice it to say that we have three extensive founderies, machine shops and boiler yards, establishments for the manufacture of railroad cars, ploughs, wagons, carts, wheel-barrows, carriages, cotton gins, horse mills, sash, doors and blinds, and every description of wood work, soap, candles and lard oil, furniture, saddlery and harness, hats, watches and jewelry, an extensive cotton mill, planing mill and flouring mills, each and all turning out an amount of work much larger than is generally supposed, and of a quality much superior to that generally brought from abroad. All these establishments have sprung up within a few years, and though laboring under disadvantages incidental to every new enterprise, the experience of the last year has clearly demonstrated that they are not only advantageous to our city, but also conducive to the wealth and prosperity of their respective owners.

The superior advantages of Memphis for a boat yard, for the construction, and a dock for the repair of steamboats, cannot longer be overlooked. Doubtless we shall soon have an establishment of this kind; and though the pioneers in such an enterprise will have some difficulties to encounter, yet a very short time will demonstrate (as in the case of the others) that such an establishment will be not only conducive to the prosperity of Memphis, but also to the wealth of whoever may have the boldness to engage in such a work.

At the same ratio of increase as has taken place during the past year, in five years Memphis would have a population of 50,000. Who can doubt but that the rate of increase will be even greater? Memphis is but just awakening to a sense of her superior advantages. We have now four extensive and important lines of railroad in course of construction, having ample means secured for their speedy completion. A few years will clearly demonstrate that her future is even more bright and glorious than is claimed by her most enthusiastic citizens.

VICKSBURG, MISS.

Statement of Cotton delivered at Vicksburg, by the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad, for each year ending September 1.

MONTHS.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.
September	1,602	2,315	5,658	1,143	2,079	4,711	8,224	2,316
October	5,996	7,261	10,881	4,895	11,811	12,665	20,316	10,610
November	8,456	7,717	9,238	5,369	12,896	10,957	22,273	17,802
December	7,358	6,609	8,470	5,313	9,672	17,215	14,704	20,706
January	4,995	10,673	7,013	3,329	10,710	9,832	14,084	13,915
February	3,310	7,973	7,622	4,463	2,554	6,754	9,131	8,837
March	1,102	5,179	6,822	2,439	878	4,479	4,276	5,751
April	1,302	2,030	2,229	1,362	1,653	1,791	2,493	3,956
May	470	577	1,015	1,200	2,191	1,076	1,241	1,556
June	151	481	235	205	874	272	581	595
July	21	325	322	95	210	246	307	784
August	138	657	177	65	352	525	252	1,350
Total	34,901	51,797	59,682	29,878	55,880	70,523	97,868	88,378

Amount of Cotton received at Vicksburg, by Railroad, and Amount from each Depot—Year ending 1st *September.*

DEPOTS.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.
Brandon	7,561	7,856	12,445	12,336
Jackson	8,297	9,382	14,518	10,370
Bailey's, Jackson	13,345	15,194	26,469	21,908
Clinton	10,233	11,961	16,117	15,681
Bolton's	5,030	6,396	6,636	5,872
Raymond	1,117	4,729	6,995	5,530
Edward's	8,176	11,259	11,273	10,572
Way Stations	2,121	3,746	3,415	6,109
Total	55,880	70,523	97,868	88,378

* * *

Art. VII.—THE VIRGINIA STATE FAIR.

In our next issue we hope to be able to present a sketch of the Agricultural Fair which is now attracting such crowds of Virginians to their beautiful Capitol. Such indications of progress at the South are cheering. Already have we the annual exhibition in Georgia, the South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanics' Institute, with its fine building in progress at Charleston, the Southern Agricultural Convention, meeting alternately in each of the States, and next in order at Raleigh, North Carolina, even Louisiana has woke up again and re-established her State Society.

The following is extracted from the report of the Virginia Executive Committee:

> The Executive Committee cannot, in justice to the city of Richmond, omit to state that by her council and citizens individually, she has contributed to the society in land and money the sum of $54,000, or even more than that by several thousand, if we take into view the enhanced value of the beautiful lot which she has placed at our disposal as long as we choose to occupy it, and farther, to say that the skill and taste of one of her most useful citizens (Mr. T. T. Giles) have adorned the grounds and fitted them for our use and reception as no other grounds in the Union are fitted up. It is to be hoped that this liberality to an institution whose benefits are but secondary to her, will not be without its influence on those whose direct interest it is to foster and promote it.
>
> The Executive Committee are fully conscious that for the want of adequate means they have been unable to carry out many important measures which, in the ardor of their zeal, they had fondly hoped to accomplish. Yet, so far from being discouraged, they cannot, on reviewing the brief history of this society, repress a feeling of gratification at the eminent success of their labors.
>
> It is believed that the records of no similar institution in the world, exhibit an instance of success at once so speedy, complete and brilliant. Less than three years ago, when all former efforts to establish a State Agricultural Society had signally failed, on a dark and gloomy winter's evening, a small band of determined patriots, numbering little more than one hundred, still hopeful, and undismayed, assembled at the capital of their State, to make a last effort to rouse the dormant energies of Virginia, and to establish a society that should be worthy of the intelligence of her farmers, and the ancient renown of this noble Commonwealth. The meeting was continued from day to day, a constitution adopted, officers elected, and the society put in successful operation. Its members and resources rapidly increased. New zeal was infused into the Agricultural community, and aided by the magnificent liberality of the city of Richmond, we were enabled before the close of the second year of its existence, to hold the first annual exhibition of the society—an exhibition which, in taste and magnificence, has scarcely been equalled in any part of the world, and which not only gratified our State pride, and interested our own people, but attracted the attention of the whole Union to the vast undeveloped resources of the Commonwealth, and called forth the admiration of the enlightened strangers from all quarters, at the moral, physical, and intellectual sublimity of the spectacle. The farmers of the State and the citizens of Richmond seemed to catch inspiration from the scene, and promptly contributed from their own means a sum sufficient to place the society on a permanent footing.
>
> Since that memorable meeting, the effects of which on the fortunes of the State none can estimate, much practical information has been diffused through the instrumentality of the society; new zeal for improvement had been awakened; and, notwithstanding a partial failure of the crops of the State, through Providential visitations, the resources of our people are considerably increased; emigration has ceased, and immigration has commenced; the price of lands has rapidly advanced, our schools and colleges

are crowded to overflowing; so that it may probably be said with truth that Virginia has now, in proportion to population, more youths in a course of thorough education than any other State in the Union. Over these beneficent results, in part at least to be attributed to the success of our society, we have just cause to rejoice. The close of another year finds us on the eve of a still grander exhibition. With our grounds greatly enlarged and improved, a most liberal premium list, zealous preparations for an extensive exhibition, and a vast throng of our enlightened farmers in attendance from every part of the Commonwealth, numbering thousands beyond those present on the former occasion, we have every reason to expect a most brilliant and attractive spectacle. With these cheering evidences in the past, how can we doubt our future success? Let the farmers of Virginia come up to the annual exhibition with their votive offerings, forgetting all local and party distinctions, remembering that they have a common home and a common destiny, and cordially and harmoniously co-operating in our glorious cause, and the beneficent effects of our labors will descend to distant generations, and our latest posterity will have cause to bless the day that inaugurated the Virginia State Agricultural Society.

Art. VIII.—PESTILENCE AT THE SOUTH.

At the opening of another wintry season, how many hearts will be lightened in the prospect of returning healthfulness throughout the stricken regions of the South! How many homes have been visited with sorrows—how many hearths have been made desolate, by the pestilence which has so long and so cruelly indulged undisputed sway! Alas, the memory of scenes that have been witnessed will linger long among us!

Confined no longer to its accustomed haunts, yellow fever, that scourge of the tropics, has found new fields for the exercise of its deadly power. It has swept up from the sea-coast into the interior, and desolated rural provinces far removed even from navigable streams. Surely this is some other enemy introduced among us, and not that ancient one with which we were accustomed to combat. Never before have such phenomena presented themselves. Never has it seemed that all classes and all places were to be swept alike within the vortex of the destroyer.

It is even so. The admonition is too strong to be disregarded. The pestilence that has come in upon us has no abiding place. It passes hither and thither. Now in New-Orleans, in the summer of '53 it appears in Mobile, and almost simultaneously makes havoc throughout Louisiana, and far into the hearts of Alabama and Mississippi. Another summer, and Charleston, Augusta, Montgomery, Beaufort, are sorely and sadly visited, and Savannah is devoured by a plague which has scarcely any parallel. Yet another summer, and who shall say that Wilmington and Raleigh, Richmond and Washington, Baltimore, New-York, and even Boston, may not constitute footstools in the march of this colossus of desolation? Science already proclaims it. The past is not without its precedents. No section can expect immunity. Let us be vigilant, yet manful, in the prospect. The coward dies every day—the brave but once. There is a providence protecting those who do their duty in every crisis, like that which carried the Hebrew youth through the fiery furnace.

Dr. Barton, from some statistics furnished him by the Census Office, with the aid of local reports, was enabled to form the following table, showing the proportion in which persons in New-Orleans of different nativities were subjects of Yellow Fever in the summer of 1853, which may be considered a type for every season:—

COST OF ACCLIMATION,

Showing the Life Cost of Acclimation; or Liabilities to Yellow Fever from Nativity, as exhibited by the Epidemic of 1853, *in New-Orleans.*

	NATIVITIES—STATE AND COUNTRY.	Population in 1850.	Estimated population in 1853.	Estimated mortality from Yellow Fever.	Ratio per 1000 of the population.
	New-Orleans State of Louisiana	38,337	46,004	140 25	3.58
Southern States.	Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama Georgia, South Carolina	2,655	3,176	42	13.22
Northern Slave States.	North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland Tennessee, Kentucky	4,160	4,984	153	30.69
Norrhern States.	New-York, Vermont, Massachusetts Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware	8,898	10,751	353	32.83
N. Western States.	Ohio, Indiana, Illinois Missouri	1,693	2,030	92	44.23
	British America	318	381	20	50.24
			66,945	825	12.32
	West Indies South America Mexico	1,693	1,790	11	6.14
	Great Britain	3,832	4,598	240	52.19
	Ireland	22,093	26,611	3,569	204.97
Northern Europe.	Denmark Sweden Russia	491	588	96	163.26
Middle Europe.	Prussia Germany	14,765	17,718	2,339	132.01
L'w Western Europe.	Holland Belgium	127	152	50	328.94
Mountainous Europe.	Austria Switzerland	663	797	176	220.08
	France	8,306	9,967	480	48.13
Southern Europe.	Spain Italy	1,848	2,217	61	22.06
		109,679	62,648	7,011	111.91

Thus, of citizens of Louisiana, but **3** in **1,000** died, (it was impossible to separate the population of the City and State, of those born in the South, **13** in **1,000**;) in the Northern States, 32; North West, 44; Ireland, 204; Holland and Belgium, 328. Dr. Barton estimates the population of New-Orleans during the season at 125,000, as he cannot find that more than 36,000 had left. The deaths by yellow fever were 8,101, or 1 in about 15. The unacclimated portion of the population he estimates at 60,000, of whom one-seventh would then have died. The total mortality during the year in New-Orleans, from all diseases, 1 in 10.23. The total number of cases of yellow fever was 29.020, of which the deaths were nearly 28 per cent. This is the largest number of cases and the greatest mortality from yellow fever that ever afflicted our city. But it is the least mortality to the number of cases that has ever occurred in a great and malignant epidemic.

Art. IX.—THE SLAVE TRADE—CALIFORNIA.

Driven by the fanaticism of the North, the subject of the Slave trade has again been opened by some of the Southern presses, and it is argued that much has been lost and little gained by its abolition. It is very certain that but for the cheerful acquiescence of the South, this trade could have been prosecuted as successfully as it has been in Cuba and in South America of later years. Between 1840 and 1847 249,800 Africans were taken into Brazil, and 52,000 into the Spanish Colonies. The annual number exported from Africa is supposed, even now, to average 70 to 80,000. The whole number of Africans imported altogether into the United States is estimated, by Mr. Carey of Philadelphia, on reliable data, at 333,000. This number, under the wholesome system of slavery, has swelled to over 3,000,000, whilst of the 1,700,000 which were imported into the British West Indies, after nearly two centuries, but 660,000 remained to be emancipated. The *Charleston Mercury* asks:

> Is it not time to look at this matter as involving questions which, stretching beyond the narrow vision of dreamers, demand for their solution calm inquiry and sober discussion? Does not the Slave Trade, in supplying to many flourishing Ssates the labor needful for their development, in abundantly furnishing to the world the most useful products of human labor, in bringing the savage within the pale of civilization and Christianity, and lastly, by still progressing in its work, in defiance of all attempts at its suppression, by all these titles, rightfully claim for itself an origin higher than mere avarice, and a recognition at the hands of Government other than is accorded to the buccaneer and pirate? We desire to see this question taken out of the hands of empty-headed fanatics, who have all along usurped its control, and when this is done, we confidently expect to see the Slave Trade classed among those mysteries which, however repulsive to fastidious eyes, are yet, in the hands of God, the instruments of man's progress.

-The *Richmond Enquirer* finds reason to predict another slave State in California:

Happily, the result of the recent elections is not altogether disastrous to the South. Even from the gloom of defeat in the North, comes a ray of hope that the insolent triumph of the abolitionits may stimulate the zeal of the apathetic and rouse the resentment of the submissive, so that men of all parties and of every disposition in the South may perceive the necessity of united and energetic action in defence of their rights.

Besides this general effect, there is a significance in the result of the California elections which the South observes with satisfaction, and with a presage of good fortune. In addition to the ordinary political issues, parties in California are distinguished by diverse and conflicting views of slavery. The Democratic party is split into two factions, one of which professes the fashionable free-soil notions of slavery and of its evil influence on the welfare of society; while the other understands its true nature, and proposes to introduce and establish it in the State. The struggle between these parties has been fierce and arduous, and it was long doubtful for whom victory would pronounce. But the vulgar energy of a brutal *rowdyism* was unequal to the contest with talent and character, and we witness, at last, the complete triumph of the "Chivalry."

The unseen but active issue between these factions is, whether the southern portion of California shall be organized into a separate State, with a constitution recognizing and establishing slavery. The recent success promises a satisfactory solution of this problem. And thus may the military violence by which California was devoted to free-soil be avenged, and the South be yet restored to an equal participation in the wealth of that splendid empire. For, if the people of California choose to divide their domain, and to set up another State with Southern institutions, of course Congress will not presume to interpose any objection. Southern California is peculiarly propitious to negro labor, and its inhabitants are very anxious that slavery should be introduced amongst them.

Art. X.—COMMERCE OF NEW-ORLEANS.

[In our last number appeared the aggregate results of the commerce of New-Orleans, for the last three years.

To these statistics we now append a part of the detailed report published by the *New-Orleans Prices Current*, and will furnish the rest of it in our next number. For the reports of previous years, the reader will refer to other volumes of the REVIEW. The results of New-Orleans commerce have an immediate and practical value with the planting interests of at least a dozen States, and no apology can be needed for the space which they occupy in our pages.]

COTTON AND SUGAR.

As a general observation, it may be remarked that the past season has been a period of unusual fluctuations in our leading commodities, the long apprehension and uncertainry of a formidable European war, and the final resort to arms, having powerfully influenced the course of many of our most prominent articles of export and consumption. Thus cotton and tobacco, with a highly favorable combination of circumstances merely commercial, have been adversely influenced by the disturbing forces of political agitation and belligerent movements, while the same causes have produced an unwonted demand for breadstuffs, and to some extent pork, lard, &c., for European export, with a speculative enhancement of prices, and the usually attendant fluctuations. As affecting the whole, however, and bearing heavily upon all articles taken for transportation to other markets, we feel called upon to notice the lack of adequate shipping facilities, and the consequent unusually high rates of freight. This difficulty has been so formidable that at several periods during the season operations in our leading staples have been absolutely suspended, from the impossibility of effecting immediate shipments, *at any rate*. We trust that the munificent profits which have been garnered by the navigation interest will prove an incentive to the construction of a more ample supply of tonnage for the coming season, when we hope to have such abundant crops as will furnish full and profitable employment to such a fleet of noble ships as even New-Orleans, prominent as she has long been among the sea-ports of the world, has never before witnessed. That abundant crops will be the reward of the labors of the planter and the farmer there seems now to be a fair prospect, and we sincerely hope that their products will meet with a favorable market, though a state of war such as now exists, and which is likely to become still further complicated, is a condition of things not at all favorable to the stability of commercial calculations.

The railroad enterprises, to which we made reference in our last annual review, may be said to have made fair progress, considering the nature of the country traversed and incidental obstacles which could not well be foreseen; and we sincerely hope that before the lapse of another year such further advances will be made, and such results presented, as will furnish substantial and marked evidence of the advantages of these artificial connections with the interior.

The value of products received from the interior since 1st September, 1853, is $115,336,798, against $134,233,735 last year; showing a decrease of $18,896,937, which is mainly attributable to the reduced crops of cotton and tobacco. According to the Custom-House records, the total value of the exports from this port, for the year ended 30th June last, was $83,926,728, against $98,988,186 the year previous, or a decrease of $15,061,458. Of the above amount $83,651,383 was American produce, of which $60,656,785 was exported foreign, and $22,994,598 was shipped to coastwise ports. Of foreign merchandise the value exported was only $275,345.

The operations of the Branch Mint at this place, which had rapidly fallen off since 1851, show an increase as compared with last year, the total receipts of gold and silver for the year ended July 31st, 1854, being $5,624,708, against $4,485,865 the year previous—increase $1,138,842. The coinage during same time has been, of gold $1,720,000, of silver $2,892,000—total $4,612,000, against $2,857,000 last year—increase $1,755,000.

Cotton.—Another season in the cotton market having been brought to a close, and a new one entered upon, we take occasion to present our usual review of the past year's operations in this leading article of our country's commerce; a year, by the way, that has been marked by more fluctuations, obstructions and irregularities in the disposal of the cotton crop, than any previous one that has fallen under our review for some years past.

The first bale of the *new crop* did not reach market until the 9th August, and up to the 1st September only 74 bales had been received, against 5,077 bales to same date the year previous; a marked deficiency, which continued to be shown in the progress of the season, until in the early part of March the receipts at this point, as compared with the year previous, showed a falling off of 440,000 bales, while the deficiency in the arrivals at all the ports was upwards of 640,000 bales. Besides the backwardness of the crop, which was retarded in its progress to maturity by unseasonable rains, the prevalence of the yellow fever in the city, and in nearly all the river towns, interposed obstacles to the forwarding of the crop to market, and it was not until the latter part of September that any considerable sales of the new crop were made, the range of prices at that period being 10 to 10¼ cents for low middling, 10½ to 10¾ for middling, and 11 to 11¼ for good middling. In October the market presented great heaviness and irregularity, and prices rapidly gave way, under the adverse influence of unfavorable European accounts, advancing freights, declining exchanges, and an inadequate demand, the quotations at the close of the month being 8¼, 8¾, and 9½ cents for low middling, middling and good middling. The total sales up to this time had barely reached 56,000 bales, against receipts of 118,000 bales. Towards the close of November, however, the market rallied again, under the influence of an improved demand, which was instigated by more favorable advices from Europe, and by accounts of frost through a large portion of the cotton region, which, together with other and previous adverse circumstances, it was calculated would materially reduce the crop in quantity, besides injuring it in quality. Under this improved demand prices at the close of November reached 8¼ to 8½ cents for low middling, 9¼ to 9½ cents for middling, and 10 to 10¼ cents for good middling. In December, and during the greater part of January, business to a fair extent was transacted, and the operations would doubtless have been still more extensive had the market been better supplied with lists of even-running middling to strict middling, upon which line the demand for all markets seemed to run more exclusively than we have ever before known, while probably no previous crop, at least up to that time, was so ill calculated to meet such a demand, the receipts having been of a remarkably low average, so low indeed that for a long time in the early part of the season, and at a period when it is usual for the receipts to present a high average of quality, a large proportion of the arrivals ranged below middling, and for many weeks these low qualities were wholly unsaleable and without a market price; and thus the difference in price between the lower and higher grades, and between mixed and even-running lists, has taken a wider range the past season than in any previous one within our recollection. At this period, however, the receipts were presenting a better average, as the attention of planters had been repeatedly and earnestly called to the necessity of improving the quality of their crops by more care in "handling," while the upland crops, which in many sections were rather better than usual, were coming in more freely. With respect to prices in the month of December and January, they were for the most part tolerably steady for the qualities in demand, but February was entered upon at a decline, which was mainly produced by a severe money pressure, the difficulty of negotiating exchange and an advance in freights; though unfavorable foreign advices subsequently aided the depression, and the quotations from about the middle of the month to the close were 8 to 8¼ cents for low middling, 8½ to 8¾ for middling, and 9 to 9¼ for good middling. In the early part of March the demand became more active again, and by the middle of the month prices had advanced ¾ cent, the quotations being for low middling 8¾ to 9, middling 9¼ to 9½, good middling 9¾ to 10 cents per pound. At this juncture the prices again gave way, under pressure of the unfavorable aspect of European affairs, and unusually high rates of freight, and with various fluctuations, taking an extreme range of 1¾ cent per pound, the lowest point of the market was reached in the latter part of May, when the quotations were for low middling 6¾ to 7, middling 7¼ to 7½, good middling 8¼ to 8½ cents per pound. At this period the quotation for freight of cotton to Liverpool was 15-16 to 1d. per pound, with little or no room immediately available, even at these high rates, and the operations of purchasers were checked by the impossibility of effecting prompt shipments, while at the same time a large stock had accumulated in the hands of exporters, who had bought from time to time, and held their purchases in store, in the hope of shipping on more favorable terms. Prices rallied again in the latter part of May and during June, and there were some sales in July which showed a recovery of 1½ cent from the lowest point, the stock on sale being much reduced, the advices from abroad rather more favorable, and freight to Liverpool down to 11-16. In August the transactions were comparatively unimportant, and thus closed a season which, we suppose, has proved little satisfactory to any of the parties interested (except the freighter), the perplexities and uncertainties growing out of the European war question having led to fluctuations that baffled all commercial calculations. We think it may be safely remarked, however, that considering all the adverse circumstances which have been brought to bear upon it, the market on the whole, and in the general average, has been even better sustained than could well have been anticipated, and the course of the season has, we think, afforded ample evidence that but for the disturbing causes alluded to a range of prices much above the average of last year would have been attained.

The crop, in quality, as we have already intimated, was of a rather low average, resulting partly from unseasonable rains, and partly from frost damage, but mainly from careless and hasty picking, which looked more to quantity than to quality, and thus the proportion of the finer grades has been unusually small, while the lower qualities have been abundant. We would here remark, however, that the demand for the finer descriptions has been much less than usual, owing mainly, as we suppose, to the almost entire suspension of the demand for the markets of Russia, and during the greater part of the season we were unable to give quotations for qualities above middling fair, owing to the absence of any transactions of sufficient moment to establish market rates. The proportion of frost-stained cotton has been greater than ever before, and factors have found much difficulty in disposing of it, as most orders wholly prohibited its purchase. It is to be hoped that the coming crop will escape this damage, and that the experience of the past season has been sufficiently admonitory to planters to induce them to seek their own advantage by "handling" their crops with more care.

The following tables, which show the monthly fluctuations in prices, with the rates of freight to Liverpool, and of Sterling Exchange, will indicate the course of the market through the entire season, and by reference to them it will be seen that the extreme fluctuation in middling cotton has been 3¾ cents per pound, the highest point being in September and the lowest in May, and that the average price of the season, including all qualities, has been 8½ cents per pound, against 9 cents last year and 8 cents the year previous. The average weight of the bales we have ascertained to be 448 pounds, against 455 pounds last year and 438 the year previous, and the aggregate weight of the portion of the crop received at this port is 645,468,992 pounds.

Table showing the Quotations for Low Middling to Good Middling Cotton on the first of each Month, with the Rate of Freight to Liverpool, and Sterling Bills, at same date.

1853.	Low Middling to Good ditto.	Sterling. per ct. prm.	Freight. d. per lb.
September	9⅔ to 11½	9 to 9½	½ to —
October	10 to 11	8¾ to 9¼	⅝ to —
November	8 to 9½	8¾ to 10	¾ to ⅞
December	8¾ to 10	8¼ to 9½	¾ to —
Jan., 1854	8¼ to 10⅛	8 to 9	¾ to —

1853.	Low Middling to Good ditto.	Sterling, per ct. prm.	Freight. d. per lb.
February	8¼ to 9⅞	7 to 7¾	⅝ to 11-16
March	8 to 9¼	6⅞ to 7¾	13-16 to 15-16
April	8¼ to 9⅝	8 to 8¾	11-16 to ¾
May	7½ to 9	8 to 9¾	13-16 to ⅞
June	7 to 9	8¼ to 9⅝	⅞ to 15-16
July	7¼ to 9½	7¾ to 9¼	11-16 to ¾
August	7¾ to 9½	9¼ to 9¾	11-16 to —

Table showing the highest and lowest point in each Month, for Low Middling to Middling Cotton.

1853.	Highest.	Lowest.
September	10½ to 11	9¾ to 10½
October	10 to 10	8¼ to 8¾
November	8½ to 9½	7⅞ to 8⅝
December	8¾ to 9½	8⅛ to 9
January, 1854	8¾ to 9½	8¼ to 9⅛
February	8½ to 9¼	8 to 8½
March	9 to 9½	8 to 8½
April	8½ to 9	7 to 7½
May	7¾ to 8¼	6¾ to 7¼
June	7½ to 8¼	6⅝ to 7½
July	8¼ to 9	7½ to 8½
August	8¼ to 8¾	7½ to 8¼

Table showing the Product of Low Middling to Good Middling Cotton, taking the average of each entire year for nine years, with the Receipts at New-Orleans, and the total Crop of the United States.

	Total Crop. Bales.	Receipts at New-Orleans. Bales.	Average Price. Cents per lb.
1845-6	2,100,537	1,041,393	6⅞
1846-7	1,778,651	707,324	10
1847-8	2,347,634	1,188,733	6¾
1848-9	2,728,596	1,100,636	6¼
1849-50	2,096,706	797,387	11
1850-51	2,355,257	995,036	11
1851-52	3,015,029	1,429,183	8
1852-3	3,262,882	1,664,864	9
1853-4...estimated	2,930,000	1,440,779	8¾

The total receipts at this port, since the 1st September last, from all sources, are 1,440,779 bales. This amount includes 62,056 bales received from Mobile and Florida, and from Texas *by sea*; and this being deducted, our *receipts proper*, including 33,798 bales received direct from Montgomery, Wetumpka, &c., are shown to be 1,378,723 bales; being a decrease as compared with last year of 224,085 bales. The total exports since 1st September are 1,429,180 bales, of which 813,736 bales were shipped to Great Britain, 193,571 to France, 229,346 to the North and South of Europe, and 192,527 to United States ports. On a comparison of the exports with those of last year, there would appear to be a falling off of 108,350 bales to Great Britain, 17,955 to France, 15,327 to the North and South of Europe, and 74,169 to United States ports. The total receipts, at *all the Atlantic and Gulf ports*, up to the latest dates received—as shown by our general cotton table—are 2,893,414 bales; but the actual crop, when made up to the 1st September, by the New-York Shipping and Commercial List, with the difference of stocks at Augusta and Hamburg, receipts overland,

&c., will probably not be far from 2,930,000 bales; a decrease of 332,000 bales as compared with the crop of last year.

We have thus shown the distribution of that portion of the crop exported from this port, and will now proceed to give some general statistics connected with the cotton trade, which we apprehend may be of more or less interest to producers, dealers and consumers.

As we have already remarked, the receipts at this port contained an unusually large proportion of the inferior and ordinary grades, besides much that was reduced and made uncertain in class and quality by frost stain, and this preponderance of the low grades occurred at a peculiarly unfortunate juncture, as there was brought into competition with them, in the markets of Great Britain, an unusually large import of Surat (East India) cottons, and the two combined gave so large a proportionate supply of the low qualities as materially to affect the prices of both. The import of Surats into Great Britain, in 1853, exceeded the import in 1852 by 264,114 bales.

The total consumption of Europe, for the years 1853 and 1852, was as follows:—

	1853.	1852.
Great Britain...... bales..	1,855,109..	1,896,075
France....................	459,676..	476,660
Russia....................	166,359..	141,959
Hamburgh and Bremen....	142,596..	127,535
Holland and Belgium......	133,823..	145,678
Trieste....................	101,971..	126,314
Spain.....................	91,618..	94,541
Genoa, Leghorn & Naples,	63,000	68,950
Norway and Sweden,	27,848	
Total..........	3,042,000..	3,077,712
Add consumption, U.S., say	700,000..	650,000
Total consumption of 1853	3,742,000..	3,927,712
Total consumption of 1852	3,727,712	
Increase.......	14,288	

The supply of 1853 and 1852 may be stated as follows:—

	1853.	1852.
Stock in Gr't Britain, bales.	657,520..	494,600
Stock on the Continent....	89,461..	93,713
Stock in U. States ports....	91,176..	128,000
	838,157	716,313
Crop of the United States..	3,262,882..	3,015,000
Imports from Brazil........	132,443..	144,197
" West Indies.	9,239..	12,580
" Egypt.......	105,398..	189,935
" East Indies..	485,527 .	221,413
Total supply in 1853.......	4,833,646..	4,299,438
Total supply in 1852.	4,299,438	
Increase..........	534,208	

The following table exhibits the import, delivery, stock, &c., in the whole of Great Britain, for the first six months of the current year, ended 30th June last, and a comparison with the same period in 1853. By this it will be seen that the quantity taken for consumption in Great Britain, for the first six months of 1854, shows a falling off as compared with the same period in 1853 of nearly 100,000 bales; and there is likely to be a decrease in the consumption of the United States for the current year of about an equal amount.

		1854.		1853.
Stock, 1st January ....bales...		717,580............		657,520
Import six months..............................		1,390,450.............		1,524,730
		2,108,030		2,182,250
Export six months.............	113,250	....	155,800	
Consumption..	941,080	1,054,330	1,040,150—	1,195,950
Stock, 30th June.............................		1,053,700.............		986,300
Weekly average taken for consumption........		36,195.............		40,005
Taken on speculation...........................		265,980.............		400,890

The following tables, which have explanatory captions, we have compiled from our records, under the impression that they would probably be found interesting to parties engaged in the cotton trade:

Season.	Receipts at New-Orleans.	Average Price per Bale.	Total Value.
1843–44	910.854	32 00	29,147,328
1844–45	979,238	24 00	23,501,712
1845–46	1,053,633	32 00	33,716,256
1846–47	740,669	44 00	32,589,436
1847–48	1,213,805	29 00	35,200,345
1848–49	1,142,382	27 00	30,844,314
1849-50	837,723	50 00	41,886,150
1850–51	995,036	49 00	48,756,764
1851–52	1,429,183	34 00	48,592,222
1852–53	1,664,864	41 00	68,259,424
1853–54	1,440 779	38 00	54,749,602
Total ten years	12,408,166		$447,243,553

It will be seen by the above table that the cotton alone sold in this market within the past eleven years, has yielded a gross product of 447,243,553.

Date of Receipt of First Bale.	Receipts New Crop to Sept. 1.	Total Receipts at New-Orleans.		Total Crop of U. States.
1843—August 17	292	1843—4	850,342	2,030,409
1844—July 23	5,720	1844—5	954.285	2,394,503
1845—July 30	6,846	1845—6	1,041,393	2,100,537
1846—August 7	140	1846—7	707,324	1,778,651
1847—August 9	1,089	1847—8	1,188,733	2,347,634
1848—August 5	2,864	1848—9	1,090,797	2,728,596
1849—August 7	477	1849-50	797,387	2,096,706
1850—August 11	67	1850–51	950,220	2,355,257
1851—July 25	3,155	1851-52	1,429,183	3,015,029
1852—August 2	5,077	1852-53	1,664,864	3,262,882
1853—August 9	74	1853-54	1,440,779	*2,930,000
1854—July 25	1,391			

With respect to the growing crop, we have to remark that up to this time it is understood to present favorable promise in most sections, though its backwardness, compared with the large crop year 1852, as indicated by the receipts, may be regarded as an important consideration, as early maturity and a long and favorable picking season are absolute essentials to the securing of a full yield. It is true that a few bales were received from Texas (where the plant matures early) several days in advance of the first arrival last year, but these ambitious first bales are for the most part a fallacious guide in estimating the forwardness of the crop generally. The total receipts of new crop, also, up to this time, are considerably in excess of the same period last year; but it should be borne in mind that the obstacles which then interposed to prevent the earlier forwarding of supplies have had no existence during the present season. The result, whatever it may be, is in the future, and estimates (which we ourselves never indulge in) made at this early period of the season are mere speculations, which may be right within a few thousand bales or wrong hundreds of thousands.

With respect to the market prospects for the growing crop, we think they might unhesitatingly be declared to be favorable for the absorption of even a large yield, at remunerative prices, were it not for the war in Europe, the duration of which, and its possible complications, as well as the extent of influence which it is likely to exercise upon the cotton interest, being matters quite beyond the reach of human foresight. As prominent, however, among the favorable circumstances bearing upon the

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* Estimated.

subject, we may mention the flattering prospects for abundant food crops in Europe, which is a matter of primary importance as connected with the cotton interest; and as our own country has now become a large consumer, with a prospect of a rapid extension of its manufacturing enterprises, it may not be unsafe to predict the realization of a range of prices that will afford a fair return to the producer, notwithstanding the adverse influences growing out of a state of war.

Two bales of the *new crop* were received here from Texas on the 25th July, and the total receipts up to this time are 1,391 bales, against 74 bales last year, and 5,077 the year previous. Thus far only about 150 to 200 bales have been sold, in various small lots, and at prices ranging from 9 to 11 cents per pound for middling to fully fair, but these small transactions form no criterion of what prices may be at a fair opening of the market. There is but little demand at the moment for either old or new crop, and the season closes with a stock on hand, inclusive of all on shipboard not cleared, of 24,121 bales, of which there are estimated to be some 5,000 bales unsold in factors' hands, including some lots held under limits. We quote as follows, though the figures are in a great measure nominal.

Ordinary	6½ to 7	Middling	8¼ to 8½
Good Ordinary	7¼ to 7½	Good Middling	9 to 9¼
Low Middling	7¾ to 8	Middling Fair	9½ to 9¾

Sugar.—According to the annual statement of Mr. P. A. Champomier, the total crop made in Louisiana in 1853 reached 449,324 hogsheads; thus exceeding the crop of 1852 (previously the largest) in the important amount of 127,390 hogsheads. This was the product of 1,437 sugar houses, of which 956 were worked by steam and 481 by horse-power; and 366,667 hogsheads brown sugar were made by the old process in open kettles, while of refined, clarified and cistern bottoms the product is stated at 82,657 hogsheads, the cistern bottoms being computed at 5 per cent. on the product of brown sugar, as above. The estimated weight of the crop is 495,156,000 pounds. Notwithstanding this large excess of production over any previous year, it appears from the statement of Mr. Champomier that "many small planters had abandoned the cultivation of the cane, and that even some pretty large plantations were substituting cotton for it;" so that while the crop of 1852 was the product of 1,481 sugar-houses, that of 1853, according to Mr. C., was from 1,437—a decrease of 44.

This large increase in the Louisiana crop, itself a potent cause of a reduction of prices, has also had to contend with unusually large stocks of the previous crop lying over in the markets of the West, with an increased import from foreign countries and with unusually high rates of freight to other markets; and the depressing effect of these combined influences has resulted in a lower average of prices than we have had occasion to notice in any previous year. Besides this, the cost of transportation from the interior to this market has been higher than usual, while the price of fuel (which many planters had to purchase) has been greatly enhanced, and thus the net return per hogshead to the planter has been reduced to an unusually low figure. The quality of the crop was below the usual average, and at the lowest point of the market, in April and May, sales of inferior were made from the Levee at the reduced rate of *one cent* per pound.

The first arrival of the *new crop* was on the 6th October, when four hogsheads were received from Bayou Sara, classing strictly prime, which sold at 6 cents per lb.; but there was no fair opening of the market until the early part of November, when the range of prices was 3¾ to 4½ cents per pound for fair to prime quality. The course of the market throughout the season is indicated by the following table, which exhibits the highest and lowest points in each month for *fair* sugar on the Levee.

1853-54.		Highest.	Lowest.
September	cents. per lb.	4⅜ to 4⅝	4 to 4¼
October		4¼ to 4½	3¾ to 4
November		3¾ to 4	3⅝ to 3¾
December		3⅝ to 3¾	3⅜ to 3½
January		3½ to 3¾	3¼ to 3½
February		3½ to 3¾	3 to 3½
March		3½ to 3¾	3 to 3½
April		3 to 3⅝	2¾ to 3⅜
May		2¾ to 3½	2¾ to 3¼
June		3 to 3⅝	3 to 3½
July		3½ to 3⅞	3 to 3¾
August		3¾ to 4	3½ to 3¾

The first notice of sales on plantation was about the middle of January, when two crops were reported at 3¼ to 3½ cents per lb. Subsequently transactions to a fair extent were noticed from time to time, but a large portion of the transactions on plantation were made directly by the planters and Western dealers, and not reported. Besides which, an unusually large proportion of the crop has been brought to the city and sold from the Levee, the receipts this season having been 274,906 hogsheads, against 186,001 hogsheads last year. The prices of the reported sales on plantation have been 3, 3⅛, 3 3-16, 3¼, 3 5-16, 3⅜, 3½, 3⅝, 3 11-16, 3¾, 4 and 4⅛ cents per pound.

The estimated stock on hand at the close of last season was 8,000 hogsheads, and this amount being added to the crop—449,324 hogsheads—would make a supply of 457,324 hogsheads. The distribution of this supply, as nearly as can be ascertained, has been as follows:—Shipments to places out of the State, as shown by our tables, and including the exports from Attakapas, 180,906 hogsheads; consumption of the city and neighborhood, 30,000 hogsheads; taken for refining, in city and other parts of the State, including cistern bottoms, 5,000 hogsheads, estimated quantity taken to fill up hogsheads for shipment, 50,000 hogsheads; stock now on hand in the State, estimated at 7,500 hogsheads; leaving as the quantity taken for the West 184,918 hogsheads, against 206,934 hogsheads last year. The quantity shipped to Atlantic ports is [illegible] hogsheads, against 82,000 hogsheads last year.

The import of foreign sugars into this port has been less than for several years past, consisting of only 2,797 hogsheads and 13,578 boxes Cuba, and 3,288 bags Manilla.

According to a statement made up by the New-York Shipping and Commercial List, the total import of foreign sugar into the United States for the year ended January 1st, 1854, was 212,746 tons, and the total consumption of foreign and domestic cane sugar in the United States for the year 1853 was 372,989 tons, which is equal to about 746,000 hogsheads; showing an increase, as compared with the previous year, of 57,772 tons, (equal to 115,000 hogsheads), or nearly 18½ per cent. Besides the above, it is estimated that there have entered into the consumption some 15,000 tons of sugar made from foreign and domestic molasses, and about 12,500 tons maple sugar, which would give a grand total of 400,489 tons, or about 800,000 hogsheads.

With respect to the growing crop, the cane fields are said to present a rather less flattering promise for a large product than they did at this period last year, when the crop generally in this State presented a remarkably flourishing appearance, and the result was a yield per acre and an aggregate product beyond all former precedent. Still, however, the promise is acknowledged to be very fair; and, should the season prove favorable for maturing the cane, and no severe frost interpose, a very respectable yield may reasonably be calculated on. The following table, which runs through a period of *twenty-four* years, will show marked fluctuations in the product.

Crop of 1853	449,324 hhds.	Crop of 1841	90,000 hhds.
" 1852	321,934 "	" 1840	87,000 "
" 1851	236,547 "	" 1839	115,000 "
" 1850	211,203 "	" 1838	70,000 "
" 1849	247,923 "	" 1837	65,000 "
" 1848	220,000 "	" 1836	70,000 "
" 1847	240,000 "	" 1835	30,000 "
" 1846	140,000 "	" 1834	100,000 "
" 1845	186,650 "	" 1833	75,000 "
" 1844	200,000 "	" 1832	70,000 "
" 1843	100,000 "	" 1829	48,000 "
" 1842	140,000 "	" 1828	88,000 "

Exports of Cotton and Tobacco from New-Orleans for five years, commencing September 1, *and ending August* 31.

COTTON—BALES.

Whither Exported.	1853–54.	1852–53.	1851–52.	1850–51.	1849–50.
Liverpool	779,021	869,835	751,172	562,277	378,155
London	——	50	——	——	1,367
Glasgow and Greenock	12,851	39,767	11,700	15,418	10,857
Cowes, Falmouth, &c.	15,611	12,434	7,211	4,678	3,741
Cork, Belfast, &c	6,253	——	2,159	——	3,069
Havre	185.254	202,957	183,054	125,067	112,159
Bordeaux	1,285	2,317	1,554	1,164	1,006
Marseilles	2,019	5,098	4,308	4,131	3,618
Nantz, Cette & Rouen	5,013	1,154	7,338	——	630
Amsterdam	4,211	1,375	259	489	——
Rotterdam and Ghent	1,310	1,982	1,507	1,468	572
Bremen	32,349	14,621	10,248	12,905	1,801
Antwerp, &c	9,010	22,232	24,562	10,366	11,994
Hamburg	23,709	10,531	17,694	3,235	112
Gottenburg	13,152	7,392	6,634	8,180	5,021
Spain and Gibraltar	58,796	51,443	47,645	41,018	46,296
Havana, Mexico, &c	24,935	20,693	11,919	565	2,292
Genoa, Trieste, &c	52,240	76,902	75,093	42,537	36,362
China	——	——	——	——	——
St. Petersburg, &c.	9,634	37,502	15,046	11,143	6,496
New-York	58,168	73,043	101,938	52,398	84,891
Boston	113,851	151,580	128,629	82,540	109,089
Providence, R. I.	——	16,028	4,561	——	——
Philadelphia	14,054	19,362	15,594	14,867	15,616
Baltimore	4,057	5,126	4,745	2,511	4,017
Portsmouth	2,139	——	——	——	——
Other coastwise ports	258	357	45	1	230
Western States	——	1,200	1,200	500	——
Total	1,429,180	1,644,981	1,435,815	997,458	838,591

TOBACCO—HHDS.

Whither Exported.	1853-54.	1852-53.	1851-52.	1850-51.	1849-50.
Liverpool	6,360	9,458	7,844	6,457	6,662
London	5,048	6,082	5,197	6,192	6,723
Glasgow and Greenock	—	—	—	—	—
Cowes, Falmouth, &c	573	610	982	574	3,345
Cork, Belfast, &c	—	—	—	—	—
Havre	5,707	1,482	9,056	659	718
Bordeaux	2,317	169	1,916	517	579
Marseilles	4,423	1,257	2,976	3,006	759
Nantz, Cette and Rouen	—	—	—	—	—
Amsterdam	624	800	1,157	—	—
Rotterdam and Ghent	644	282	223	712	824
Bremen	7,970	15,053	15,515	7,071	7,719
Antwerp, &c.	3,926	4,034	7,618	570	2,244
Hamburg	—	125	475	75	573
Gottenburg	768	414	1,229	941	1,365
Spain and Gibraltar	6,282	10,175	7,662	7,454	4,726
Havana, Mexico, &c	—	—	—	—	—
Genoa, Trieste, &c	1,128	1,966	11,134	5,613	5,874
China	—	—	—	—	—
St. Petersburg, &c	2,479	2,647	3,533	816	1,375
New-York	4,318	7,231	13,347	10,087	11,305
Boston	126	1,331	1,941	1,594	1,169
Providence, R. I.	—	—	—	—	—
Philadelphia	190	688	1,296	1,118	1,291
Baltimore	50	124	385	754	277
Portsmouth	—	—	—	—	—
Other coastwise ports	110	147	230	291	337
Western States	—	—	—	—	—
Total	**53,043**	**64,075**	**93,715**	**54,501**	**57,955**

RECAPITULATION

COTTON—BALES.

Great Britain	813,736	922,086	772,242	582,373	397,189
France	193,571	211,526	196,254	130,362	117,413
North of Europe	93,375	95,635	75,950	47,786	25,196
South of Europe, Mexico, &c.	135,971	149,038	134,657	84,120	84,950
Coastwise	192,527	266,696	256,712	152,817	213,843
Total	1,429,180	1,644,981	1,435,815	997,458	838,591

TOBACCO—HHDS.

Great Britain	11,981	16,150	14,023	13,223	16,820
France	12,447	2,908	13,948	4,182	2,056
North of Europe	13,932	20,798	26,814	9,393	12,725
South of Europe, Mexico, &c.	9,889	14,698	21,731	13,859	11,975
Coastwise	4,794	9,521	17,199	13,844	14,379
Total	53,043	64,075	93,715	54,501	57,955

Exports of Sugar and Molasses, from New-Orleans, for two years, (up the river excepted,) from September 1 *to August* 31.

	1853-54.				1852-53.			
	Sugar		Molasses		Sugar		Molasses	
Whither Exported.	hhds.	bbls.	hhds.	bbls.	hhds.	bbls.	hhds.	bbls.
New-York	102,820	3,605	854	103,019	46,561	169	—	51,420
Philadelphia	21,090	1,138	—	24,514	11,170	273	—	6,376
Charleston, South Carolina	5,449	140	—	13,020	3,823	407	—	10,621
Savannah	2,301	12	—	11,140	1,613	149	—	3,777
Providence and Bristol, R. I.	200	—	—	1,700	2,631	—	—	148
Boston	6,518	62	—	16,155	82	174	213	2,314
Baltimore	17,181	349	—	30,908	10,945	140	—	10,327
Norfolk Richmond & Petersburg, Va.	7,687	9	—	12,160	3,629	172	—	4,700
Alexandria, D. C.	2,090	—	3	1,387	1,170	—	—	1,329
Mobile	9,031	—	—	32,303	9,540	175	—	24,153
Apalachicola and Pensacola	2,181	157	—	12,494	1,546	155	—	5,657
Other ports	2,858	1,244	—	3,545	1,022	2,398	—	993
Total	179,406	6,716	857	262,345	93,732	4,212	213	121,875

Exports of Flour, Pork, Bacon, Lard, Beef, Lead, Whiskey, and Corn, from September 1 *to August* 31.

	1853-54							
PORTS.	Flour, bbls.	Pork, bbls.	Bacon, hhds.	Lard, kegs.	Beef, bbls.	Lead, pigs.	Whisky, bbls.	Corn, sacks.
New-York	33,129	43,616	2,963	87,088	5,081	31,856	1,293	70,236
Boston	7,181	62,401	5,970	106,221	7,934	44,655	597	50,873
Philadelphia	91	968	98	1,541	60	7,688	58	2,562
Baltimore	—	6,925	130	—	76	—	77	—
Other coastwise ports	117,940	21,776	25,559	23,054	324	—	46,286	261,719
Great Britain	190,455	5,997	9,914	391,129	12,722	—	—	633,380
Cuba	5,905	2,376	1,840	174,253	75	—	—	38,687
Other foreign ports	231,268	11,485	206	25,144	1,605	276	23	49,575
Total	585,969	155,544	46,688	808,430	27,877	84,475	48,334	1,107,032

☞ In the above, the Exports to Mobile, &c., via the Pontchartrain Railroad and New Canal, are included.

Monthly Arrivals of Ships, Barks, Brigs, Schooners, and Steamboats, for three years, from September 1 *to August* 31.

Months.	1853-54.							1852-53.							1851-52.						
	Ships...	Barks...	Brigs...	Schrs...	S. Ships	Total...	S. Boats.	Ships...	Barks...	Brigs...	Schrs...	S. Ships	Total...	S. Boats	Ships...	Barks...	Brigs...	Schrs...	S. Ships	Total...	S. Boats
Sept.....	25	8	12	12	15	72	97	46	20	10	42	18	130	197	31	21	12	43	14	121	140
Oct.....	24	15	5	22	12	78	159	105	20	20	39	19	203	208	74	32	26	51	18	201	186
Nov....	75	42	19	31	15	182	311	83	38	20	46	17	204	290	107	26	19	44	14	210	194
Dec	85	36	32	67	18	238	354	63	41	30	60	19	213	411	105	66	41	77	14	303	293
Jan.....	126	47	27	55	20	275	311	83	67	40	66	24	280	427	69	39	29	55	13	205	297
Feb.....	60	41	22	69	15	207	363	58	66	54	94	25	297	410	95	33	30	70	18	246	285
March...	52	26	24	41	20	163	348	142	77	38	69	20	346	357	74	29	30	64	2	217	365
April....	90	36	22	47	18	213	367	72	32	25	54	24	207	279	59	27	24	76	24	210	290
May.....	59	29	19	41	22	170	307	50	29	16	47	22	164	294	92	32	26	60	17	227	242
June....	54	23	14	35	18	144	216	48	29	22	33	21	153	160	59	30	21	55	2	189	238
July....	36	16	14	22	16	104	121	9	15	10	27	17	78	119	20	21	17	41	19	118	127
Aug.....	27	17	7	36	15	102	122	23	13	10	19	18	83	101	22	15	12	37	18	104	121
Total....	713	336	217	478	204	1,948	3,076	782	447	295	596	244	2,364	3,253	807	371	287	673	213	2,351	2,778

VALUE OF PRODUCE OF THE INTERIOR.

A Table showing the Receipts of the principal articles from the Interior during the year ending 31*st August*, 1854, *with their estimated average and total value.*

Articles.	Am'nt.	Av'ge.	Value, Dollars.
Apples, bbls..	47451	$4 00	189804
Bacon, ass'd, hhds. and csks.......	37664	55 00	2071520
Bacon, assorted, bxs.	9931	20 00	198620
Bacon, hams, hhds. and trcs....	32155	50 00	1607750
Bacon, in bulk, lbs..	121000	6	7260
Bagging, pieces.....	45263	14 00	633682
Bale Rope, coils	102274	8 00	818192
Beans, bbls..........	13459	5 00	67295
Butter, kgs and fiks..	47649	7 00	333543
Butter, bbls.........	1934	30 00	58020
Beeswax, bbls.......	161	50 00	8050
Beef, bbls..........	29710	13 00	386230
Beef, tcs............	10301	20 00	206020
Beef, dried, lbs......	31601	9	2844
Buffalo robes, pkgs..	12	80 00	960
Cotton, bales	1440779	38 00	54749602
Corn meal, bbls.....	355	4 00	1420
Corn in ear, bbls....	48404	90	43563
Corn, shelled, sacks.	1740268	1 50	2610400
Cheese, bxs.........	58132	4 00	232528
Candles, bxs........	72299	7 00	506093
Cider, bbls	89	3 00	267
Coal, Western, bbls.	1000000	60	600000
Dried apples and peaches, bbls...	7353	5 00	36765
Feathers, bags......	1377	50 00	68850
Flax-seed, tcs.	192	9 00	1728
Flour, bbls..........	874256	7 00	6119792
Furs, hhds., bundles and bxs.....	1048	—	400000
Hemp, bales	19992	30 00	599760
Hides	112489	2 25	253100
Hay, bales..........	72664	4 00	290656
Iron, pig, tons......	515	40 00	20600
Lard, bbls and tcs...	133065	24 00	3193560
Lard, kgs...........	110477	4 50	97146
Leather, bundles....	5690	35 00	199150
Lime, Western, bbls	21390	1 50	32085
Lead, pigs..........	74296	5 00	371480
Lead, bar, kgs. and bxs...............	210	30 00	6300
Lead, white, kegs...	544	4 00	2176
Molasses, (estm'd crop) gals.......	31000000	12	3720000
Oats, bbls. and sacks	586451	1 00	586451
Onions, bbls........	22893	3 00	68679
Oil, Linseed, bbls...	539	32 00	17248
Oil, Castor, bbls.....	2438	35 00	85330
Oil, Lard, bbls.......	14298	35 00	500430
Potatoes, bbls.......	206673	2 00	412546
Pork, tcs and bbls...	249188	12 00	2990256
Pork, bxs....	15206	28 00	425768
Pork, hhds	1750	65 00	113750
Pork, in bulk, lbs ...	12646600	5	632330
Porter and Ale, bbls.	1770	10 00	17700
Packing Yarn, reels	2443	7 00	17101
Skins, Deer, packs..	305	30 00	9150
Skins, Bear, packs..	4	15 00	60
Shot, kegs........	3675	24 00	88200
Soap, bxs..........	9173	3 50	32105
Staves, M..........	2500	37 00	92500
Sugar, (estimated crop) hhds.. ...	449324	35 00	15726340
Spanish Moss, bales	4466	15 00	66990
Tallow, bbls........	371	30 00	11130
Tobacco, Leaf, hhds.	36405	80	2912400
" Strips, hhds	10600	1 20	1272000
" Stems, hhds	1900	23 00	43700
" Chewing, kgs. & bxs....	4617	25 00	115425
Twine, bundles & boxes...........	3905	8 00	31216
Vinegar, bbls.......	422	6 00	2532
Whiskey, bbls	128925	10 00	1289250
Window Glass, bxs.	24857	3 00	74571
Wheat, bbls & sacks	184943	3 00	554829
Other articles, estimated at.......			6000000
Total value—dollars...........			115336798
Total in 1852-53....			134233735
Total in 1851-52....			108051708
Total in 1850-51 ...			106924083

Comparative Statement of Receipts, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton at the following places and dates annexed:—

Ports.		Stocks on hand Sept. 1.		Received since Sept. 1.	
		1853.	1852.	1853.	1852.
New-Orleans	Aug. 31	10,522	9,758	1,378,723	1,603,989
Mobile	Aug. 25	7,516	2,319	502,337	515,770
Savannah	Aug. 24	5,150	2,950	314,030	341,657
Charleston	Aug. 24	15,126	11,146	413,176	450,162
Florida	Aug. 14	523	451	155,547	178,495
Va. and N. C	Aug. 19	400	450	21,695	36,882
Texas	Aug. 26	428	317	107,906	85,227
New-York	Aug. 22	55,962	45,796	—	—
Other ports	Aug. 19	32,182	14,282	—	—
Total bales		127,809	87,469	2,893,414	3,212,182
Total to date, 1853		87,469	—	3,212,182	—
Increase this year		40,340	—	—	—
Decrease		—	—	318,768	—

Ports.		Exported from Sept. 1, 1853, to dates. To Gt. Britain.	To France.	To other for'gn pts.	Total for'gn pts.	U. S. Nt'n pts.
New-Orleans	Aug. 31	813,736	193,571	229,346	1,236,653	192,527
Mobile	Aug. 25	225,218	74,374	29,084	328,676	112,384
Savannah	Aug. 24	92,363	6,487	3,591	102,441	196,436
Charleston	Aug. 24	162,970	41,245	31,542	235,757	194,324
Florida	Aug. 14	43,086	1,965	2,429	47,480	93,028
Va. and N. C	Aug. 19	300	—	—	300	11,494

	Exported from Sept. 1, 1853, to dates.				
PORTS.	To Gt. Britain.	To France.	To other for'gn pts.	Total for'gn pts.	U. S. Nt'n pts.
Texas...............Aug. 26....	6,191	4,275	8,001	18,467	67,218
New-York.... ......Aug. 22....	241,141	45,303	31,664	318,108	—
Other ports.........Aug. 19....	7,338	—	2,689	10,027	—
Total bales	1,592,343	367,220	338,346	2,297,909	867,411
Total to date, 1853.........	1,734,067	426,366	361,846	2,522,279	946,811
Increase this year........	—	—	—	—	—
Decrease	141,724	59,146	23,500	224,370	79,400

☞ We have taken from New-Orleans the amounts received from Mobile, Florida, and Texas; also from Charleston the receipts from Savannah; and Mobile the receipts from Florida. The exports from Georgetown to New-York are added to the Charleston receipts, and those from Darien to Liverpool and New-York are added to the Savannah receipts. The exports from Mobile and Florida to New-Orleans, and those from Savannah to Charleston, have been deducted from exports to Northern ports.

Comparative Prices of Middling to Fair Cotton at New-Orleans, on the first of each month, during a period of five years, together with the total receipts at New-Orleans, and the total crops of the United States.

MONTHS.	1853–54. Cents.	1852–53. Cents.	1851–52. Cents.	1850–51. Cents.	1849–50. Cents.
September	10⅛ a —	9¼ a 11	9 a 10	9 a 11	9⅛ a 11⅝
October	10¼ a —	9½ a 11	8 a 9¼	12¾ a 13⅝	9¾ a 12
November	8¾ a —	9⅜ a 10¾	7 a 8¼	13½ a 14⅛	9⅞ a 11
December	9¼ a —	8¾ a 10¾	7¼ a 8⅝	13¼ a 14	10⅝ a 11¼
January	9¼ a —	8¼ a —	7⅛ a 8½	12¾ a 14⅛	10¼ a 11⅝
February	9⅛ a —	8¾ a —	7½ a 8¾	12¼ a 13⅞	11⅛ a 12¾
March	8⅝ a —	8¾ a —	7⅜ a 9	10¼ a 13	10⅞ a 12¼
April	8¾ a —	9½ a —	7⅜ a 9	10¼ a 12¾	10⅝ a 12
May	8⅛ a —	9¾ a —	7¾ a 9¼	9½ a 11¼	11⅝ a 13
June	7⅝ a —	10 a —	9¼ a —	8¾ a 11	11½ a 13¼
July	8¼ a —	9¾ a —	9¼ a —	8 a 10½	11¾ a 13½
August	8½ a —	10 a —	9½ a —	7 a 9½	12¼ a 13½
	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
Receipts, N. O.	1,440,779	1,664,864	1,429,183	1,053,633	797,387
Crop of U. S	2,930,000	3,220,000	3,015,029	2,350,537	2,096,706

Comparative Arrivals, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton and Tobacco, at New-Orleans, for ten years, from 1st September each year.

	Cotton—Bales			Tobacco—Hhds		
YEARS.	Arrivals.	Exports.	Stocks	Arrivals.	Exp'ts.	St'ks.
1853–54	1,440,779	1,429,180	24,121	48,905	53,043	24,045
1852–53	1,664,864	1,644,981	10,522	75,010	64,075	29,166
1851–52	1,429,183	1,435,815	9,758	89,675	93,715	18,831
1850–51	995,036	997,458	15,390	64,030	54,501	23,871
1849–50	837,723	838,591	16,612	60,304	57,955	14,842
1848–49	1,142,382	1,167,303	15,480	52,335	52,896	13,293
1847–48	1,213,805	1,201,897	37,401	55,882	60,364	14,851
1846–47	740,669	724,508	23,493	55,588	50,376	22,336
1845–46	1,053,633	1,054,857	6,832	72,896	62,045	17,924
1844–45	979,238	984,616	7,556	71,493	68,679	7,673

Comparative Prices of Sugar on the Levee, on the first of each month, for five years.

MONTHS.	1853–4. Cents.	1852–3. Cents.	1851–2. Cents.	1850–1. Cents.	1849–50. Cents.
September	3¼ a 5¾	3¼ a 6¼	3⅜ a 6½	4¼ a 6¾	3 a 5¼
October	2¾ a 6	3¾ a 7	3¾ a 6½	4¼ a 6¾	4 a 6¾
November	2½ a 5	2½ a 6½	3 a 6¾	5 a 6	3 a 6
December	1½ a 4¾	2¾ a 5¼	2½ a 6	3 a 5¾	3 a 6
January	2 a 4¾	2¾ a 5¼	2 a 5½	3¼ a 6¼	2½ a 5
February	2 a 4¾	3 a 5¼	2 a 5½	2¼ a 6¼	2½ a 5
March	2¼ a 4¾	3 a 5½	2¼ a 5¼	3¼ a 6	2½ a 5
April	1 a 4½	2½ a 5	2¼ a 5¾	3¼ a 6	2½ a 5
May	1 a 4¾	2½ a 5⅝	2¼ a 5¾	3 a 6¼	2½ a 5
June	1 a 5	2½ a 5	3½ a 6	3¾ a 6½	3¾ a 5¾
July	1¾ a 5¼	2¾ a 5	3¼ a 6	3⅝ a 6½	4 a 6
August	3½ a 3⅞	3¼ a 6	3¼ a 6¼	4½ a 6½	4¼ a 6¾

Direct Imports of Coffee, Sugar, and Salt, for three years, from September 1 *to August* 31.

		1853-4.	1852-3.	1851-2.
Coffee, Havana	bags	11,507	10,812	12,525
Coffee, Rio	bags	228,660	338,412	353,616
Sugar, Cuba	boxes and bbls	13,578	27,087	25,673
Sugar, Cuba	hhds	2,797	2,271	1,621
Sugar, Brazil, &c	boxes and bags	3,288	28,777	22,857
Molasses, Cuba	hhds. and tierces	1,864	3,456	4,948
Molasses, Cuba	bbls	8,020	19,915	8,240
Salt, Liverpool	sacks	543,601	536,974	580,106
Salt, Turk's Island, &c	bush	111,933	305,478	235,952

Comparative Prices of Molasses on the Levee, on the first of each month, for five years.

MONTHS.	1853-4. Cents.	1852-3. Cents.	1851-2. Cents.	1850-1. Cents.	1849-50. Cents.
September	13 a 20	16 a 28	25 a 30	20 a 32	10 a 20
October	13 a 20	18 a 28	23 a 30	20 a 32	10 a 20
November	20 a 22½	25 a 26	18 a 27	25 a 25½	24 a 24½
December	12 a 18½	23 a 23½	23½ a 24	23½ a 24	20½ a 20¾
January	13 a 18	17 a 22	17 a 20½	18 a 24	17 a 19½
February	12¼ a 18	21 a 24½	15 a 20½	23 a 27½	15 a 20¼
March	12 a 17½	18 a 24½	20 a 25	22 a 30	12 a 21½
April	9 a 15½	17 a 24	15 a 26	25 a 33	10 a 21
May	9 a 13	15 a 20	20 a 28	25 a 32	10 a 23
June	8 a 11½	14 a 22	23 a 28	25 a 30	21 a 27
July	7 a 11	11 a 20½	20 a 28	22 a 30	25 a 33
August	8 a 13	13 a 19	18 a 28	20 a 28	20 a 33

Comparative Prices of Flour, on the first of each month, for five years.

MONTHS.	1853-4. Dollars.	1852-3. Dollars.	1851-2. Dollars.	1850-1. Dollars.	1849-50. Dollars.
September	5¼ a 6½	3⅞ a 4⅜	3½ a 5	4⅝ a 5⅛	4½ a 5¾
October	5¾ a 6¾	4 a 4⅜	3¾ a 4¾	4 a 5⅛	5 a 5⅝
November	6¾ a 7	4⅛ a 4⅜	3½ a 4½	4¼ a 5¼	4¾ a 5½
December	6¼ a 6½	4¾ a 5	3½ a 4¾	4½ a 5⅛	5 a 5½
January	6 a 6¾	4⅞ a 5¼	3⅞ a 5½	4¼ a 5	5 a 5⅝
February	7¼ a 7⅞	4½ a 5	4 a 5½	4¼ a 5	5⅛ a 5¾
March	7 a 7½	4 a 4⅜	4¼ a 4½	4 a 4¾	5¼ a 6
April	6 a 6⅜	3⅞ a 4⅛	4⅝ a 4⅛	4 a 4⅞	5⅝ a 6¾
May	6¾ a 7⅛	3⅞ a 4¼	3¼ a 3¾	4⅛ a 5	5⅜ a 6¾
June	7 a 7¼	3⅞ a 4¼	3⅜ a 3⅞	3¾ a 4¾	6¾ a 7⅞
July	6½ a 7	4⅝ a 5	3¾ a 4¼	3¼ a 4¾	5½ a 7¼
August	6¾ a 8½	5¼ a 6¼	3½ a 3⅞	4 a 5¼	4 a 6¾

Art. XI.—THE SOUTH AND ITS PRODUCTS—HORTICULTURE.

No. 1.

[We are indebted to an intelligent planter of Mississippi for the following interesting letter, and for a series of papers which accompanies it. We shall with great pleasure give them to our readers, in this and other numbers of the REVIEW.]

DEAR SIR:—Knowing that you take a warm interest in the industrial resources of the South, I inclose you a short series of papers upon the subject of fruit culture in the South, and which I thought might interest you, as showing that the soil and climate of the planting States are capable of growing the fruits of temperate latitudes with entire success, and that too in regions so far South that the fruits of the tropics meet them. In the census report of 1850, I see the value of the products of gardens and orchards for the State of Mississippi is set down at fifty thousand dollars. I cannot help thinking there must be some error of figures in so low an estimate, as in this county alone the value of our garden and orchard produce would exceed that sum. I have neighbors who inform me that the sale of their *surplus* fruits and garden products averages one hundred dollars per week the year round. The peach crop of this State sent to the New-Orleans market must bring from forty to fifty thousand dollars annually, and the export of apples and pears to the western cities, to New-Orleans, Havana and Galveston, may this year be safely estimated at about the same figures. Many of our planters, too, upon the low lands of the river, and in the upland river counties of this State, cultivate the Irish and sweet potato to a considerable extent, for the supply of the city markets. I have been unable to procure the statistics of all these crops, but I know that the profits of the grower, per acre, have been greatly larger than those of our great staples. A planter who put twenty-five acres of rich low land in the Irish potato, informed me his sales from this crop were four times the amount, per acre, over his land in cotton.

Again. I see no notice in the census of the value of our nurseries. Col. Hebron, of Warren county, advertises for sale 70,000 fruit trees; Mr. Affleck, of this county, has no doubt as many; and if to these is added the stock of the several nurseries about Vicksburg, in Yazoo, and other counties, we have a value on this score of fully half a million of dollars. I truly hope, then, that the census report of 1860 will exhibit the entire South, in this department of her industry, in a more favorable light, and that the planting States, in the value of their horticultural products, will at that date be found to rival the Northern and Western States.

You will note that in fruit culture in the South, I have dwelt upon the importance of *acclimation* in order to insure success. This is not only true in the vegetable kingdom, but applies with as much force to the domestic animals in use among us. It was a sad mistake when many of our planters years ago introduced from Europe or the north the famous Durham breed of cattle and discarded their native stock. The ox, as you are aware, over the entire extent of the planting States, is universally used for draught in all the hauling done upon our plantations, in taking our crops to ports for shipment, and in bringing from the boggy swamps the millions, I was going to say, of cords of wood annually sold to our river steamers. For draught, then, the Durham breed, and I may safely say all the varieties of cattle from northern latitudes, are totally worthless, and an experience of near twenty years enables me to state that they are not superior for the dairy to our native Spanish breed of cattle. Upon my home place I have tried both the Durham and the pure Ayrshire; and upon one of my plantations upon the river, where I had not crossed even the Spanish breed, I found, by experiment, I could pick out cows that, when as well fed and cared for, gave fully as much milk as any imported ones; and as for the draught, the native stock far surpass in speed, in ability to endure heat, and in strength, any variety of northern origin. Many planters, it is true, from want of care in breeding, have allowed their native stock to degenerate; but an importation from the herds of Texas or Mexico (the source of our native cattle) would, by judicious selection and care in breeding, soon restore them to their original excellence.

It must be gratifying to you who have labored so long and so ably in advancing the interests of the South, to see that many Agricultural and Horticultural Associations have already been organized in the planting States; that great zeal has been manifested in late years in the successful introduction of valuable grasses; that where our virgin soils (as is the case in several States) have become exhausted, *science* is now being looked to for aid in pointing out the necessary means for their restoration. We yet, however, sadly need a greater attention to entomological studies, so that ways and means might be devised to combat the hosts of insects which are making cotton planting so precarious. The army-worm, the boll worm, and the insect causing the rot in the pod, (this year cutting short the crop hundreds of thousands of bales,) all should be subjected to investigations such as in Europe the governments have extended to their agricultural interests when invaded by destructive insects, and, which I need not tell you, have always ended, *there,* in discovering means to subdue and extirpate them. I do not ask whether our Patent Office ought not, but cannot they give us aid in a matter so seriously affecting our interests?

Yours, with great respect,
John C. Jenkins.

Adams County, Miss.

Preliminary to some views I will give upon the subject of fruit culture in the South in a subsequent number, I desire in the present communication to call your attention to the entire range of horticulture, and the bearing the subject presents to the Southern landholder, as a source of wealth.

In times past, the products of the garden, but more especially of the orchard, received only a partial attention, or were entirely neglected among us; but at the present day, no one who reads the Southern periodicals devoted to horticulture can have failed to perceive that this department of our industrial resources has received a vast impulse, and that the opinion so generally entertained, that the horticultural productions of temperate latitudes could not be successfully grown in the planting States, is entirely fallacious.

The rapidity and facility of carriage by railroads converging to the seaboard ports of South Carolina and Georgia, in connection with their weekly or semi-weekly lines of steamships to the North, has enabled the planters of the interior to supply the markets of the great Northern cities with the smaller fruits and vegetables before the frosts and snow have disappeared from the earth at the North. Tons of early peas, of corn in roasting ears, of Irish potatoes, of okra, of beans, and other table luxuries, are now annually raised for export to Northern consumers, and yielding a larger profit to the Southern grower than any crop he can cultivate. Nor has the enterprise of the people of those two States been confined to a single department of horticulture as a source of wealth. Flourishing nurseries have been established; vast orchards of fruit trees have been planted; varieties of fruit originated better suited to the climate than exotic sorts; and the test been fully made, that they can supply Northern markets with delicious varieties of the apple and the pear fully two months earlier than similar fruits mature at the North.

Our own State not having as yet the facilities of access to market enjoyed by our brethren on the Atlantic sea-board, can hardly be expected to rival them in extent of production; nevertheless, our exports already are by no means inconsiderable. I have been unable to ascertain the value of our peach crop and garden produce sent to the New-Orleans market, but I have good authority for saying that one of our peach orchardists upon the low lands of the river has this year realized from the sales of his fruit in the New-Orleans market fully eight hundred dollars to the acre. When the great lines of railroad now under contract are completed through the interior of our State, a portion of the lands and the laborers upon its borders can be most profitably diverted from the culture of cotton to the products of the garden and the orchard, and the supply of both Southern and Northern markets will add largely to the wealth of our State.

That we enjoy a soil and a climate admirably adapted to the successful culture of the best marketable fruits cannot be doubted. A skilful and enterprising planter of Warren county has proved that the pear can be grown in his locality, and yield an immense profit to the acre. Having been favored with the perusal of a letter addressed by Col. Hebron to one of my neighbors, I am enabled to state that his present year's crop has yielded him a profit of six hundred dollars per acre, and when all his trees now planted (about ten thousand) come into bearing, I cannot doubt but his sales will reach, if they do not exceed, fifty thousand dollars per annum. I can also state that his trees are planted in the midst of his cotton, (thus securing them a thorough cultivation,) and that when at mature age, the loss to his cotton crop from their shade, and the land they occupy, is about one-half. Supposing, then, his entire cotton fields planted with fruit trees, he raises still half a crop of cotton, and has the large profit of six hundred dollars per acre besides from his fruit. This profit will not appear surprising when we take into consideration the fine quality of his fruit, its rarity, and consequently its high price in Southern markets.

Even at the North, where there is keen competition, the profits of fruit growing have been larger than that of any other crop. I see from the reports of the New-York State Agricultural Society, that the sales of the farmers in this department have been generally as high as $100 per acre. The famous Pelham orchard of Newtown pippin apples, upon the Hudson river, so skilfully cultivated by suitable rotation of manures as to be kept in bearing every year, has yielded annually several hundred dollars to the acre; and although Mr. Pell has had numerous competitors, still the price of his apples rose steadily in the London market from nine to over twenty dollars per barrel. His gross sales from two thousand bearing trees, by recent report, amounts to forty thousand dollars per annum. I could refer to many other orchardists at the North, whose profits have been as large, but deem it unnecessary. These results show how valuable a return from the land the orchard is capable of producing when science is called into requisition in the culture of the trees, and when pains-taking is had in gathering and shipping the fruit. It also shows how readily the planter in the South (in many localities) may be able to add other sources to his income in addition to his cotton crop. The northern farmer puts one part of his land in grass, another part in oats, another in wheat, corn, potatoes, etc., and these crops maturing in succession, guard him against the heavy loss he might otherwise incur from disease, insects, or drought, in case he confines himself to the culture of a single staple.

I will now refer to some statistics of importance in connection with this subject:

The late Mr. Downing, in the second volume of the Horticulturist, estimates from data furnished in the Patent Office Reports of Mr. Burke, that the value of the horticultural products of the entire Union amounts to over four hundred and fifty millions of dollars. That its products are more than half as great as those strictly agricultural; almost as large as the whole manufacturing products of the country; and half as large as the manufacturing and all other interests, excepting the agricultural, combined.

I connection with the industrial resources of our country, so vast a source of wealth is just cause for national pride—our products from the garden, the orchard and the nursery, far exceeding in value those of any other country. France alone approximates near to rivalship with us. I find in the *Revue Horticole* of Paris, that the yield of her horticulture for 1846 (not including the vine) is estimated at one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, and giving employment to two and a half millions of laborers; and that the vine culture yields a product annually worth one hundred millions of dollars, and gives employment to five millions of her population.

In an age so utilitarian as ours, the foregoing view of the subject may invest it with stronger claims to attention than any other. It strikes me, however, that there are other and important considerations, especially worthy of notice among the people of the South. As you well know, the South has for years been throwing from ten to twenty millions of dollars annually into the lap of the north, in the excursions of her people for travel and pleasure during the summer months. Suppose one-half or a third only of these millions had been annually devoted to the advancement of Rural Architecture, to the embellishment of our grounds in landscape gardening, to the cultivation of the choicest fruits and flowers among us; and who can doubt but the Southerner would find his home invested with more than Oriental beauty, and opening a source of employment presenting far higher attractions than the unsubstantial pleasures of the northern tour?

In a country where lands are so cheap as in the South, there is no one but who by thrift and industry may soon become a landholder, and there is no occupation in rural life whose agencies are greater in developing social, moral and intellectual refinement in a community, than devotion to horticulture in all its departments. Its pursuit adds elegance to comfort, and throws a new and magic charm over country enjoyment, by refining its occupations into grace, and softening its aspect into beauty.

In the earliest history of our race, we read that the patriarch had attained the summit of earthly happiness when he could sit under the shadow of his own vine and fig tree; and no higher or sublimer tribute to the *beautiful* was ever penned than when the sacred writer exclaims, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these."

Art. XII.—MANUFACTURES OF UNITED STATES.*

LOCKS—PORCELAIN HANDLES—CLOCKS—PISTOLS AND GUNS—SAW MILLS—FURNITURE—CARRIAGES—STONE AND BRICK WORKS—INDIA RUBBER—FLOUR MILLS, ETC.

The manufacture of locks appears to be rapidly extending. In an establishment at Pittsburg, employing 350 men in making locks, coffee mills, copying presses, etc., good work is turned out.

Another, in New-Haven, Conn., employs about 200 men in making locks and lock handles. The latter are made of colored clay, so mixed as to present a grained appearance. They are first moulded by hand—then turned in a self-acting lathe with great rapidity, and afterwards baked in a furnace. Padlocks are made at New-Haven of a superior quality to those of the same class ordinarily imported to this country, and are not more expensive.

The celebrity attained by New-England in the manufacture of clocks, gives a peculiar interest to anything connected with these manufactories. At one in Connecticut 250 men are employed, and the clocks are made at the rate of 600 in a day, and at a price varying from $1 to $10; the average price being $3.

The frames of the clocks are stamped out of sheet brass, and all the holes are punched simultaneously by a series of punches fixed at the required distances. The wheels, also, are stamped out of sheet brass, and a round beading is raised by a press round their rims, for the purpose of giving them lateral strength. They are cut by a machine having three horizontal axes, carrying each a cutter placed about 4 inches apart. The first cutter is simply a saw, and the second rounds off the teeth. In cutting an escapement wheel, the first cutter is made to cut each tooth entirely round, and then either the second or third axis with its cutter is used for finishing. The pulleys on the three axes are driven by one driving pulley, with three straps working over and in contact with each other.

The plates forming the clock faces, and other discs, are cut ou by circular shears. The beaded rims intended to go round the clock faces, varying in size from 15 inches downwards, are stamped in concentric rings out of a disc, and then made of the required form by means of dies and a stamping-press.

The ogee-form given to the wooden framing of the common clock, is formed by a revolving cutter of the required shape, making 7,000 revolutions per minute, over which the piece of wood is passed by hand,—the requisite pressure downwards being given at the same time.

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* Continued from last number.

A circular cutter fixed on a horizontal axis is also used for roughly planing the back parts of the wooden clock. Its diameter is about 18 inches, and it has four lateral projections, carrying four cutters, two gouges, and two chisels. These revolve round a fixed circular centre plate, of about a foot in diameter, against which the work is pressed as it is passed along. Each clock passes through about 60 different hands: more than half the clocks manufactured are exported to England, and of these a large portion are re-exported to other markets.

It is worthy of remark, that the superiority obtained in this particular manufacture is not owing to any local advantages; on the contrary, labor and material are more expensive than in the countries to which the exportations are made; it is to be ascribed solely to the enterprise and energy of the manufacturer, and his judicious employment of machinery.

In a large manufactory at Hartford, from 400 to 500 men are employed in making revolving pistols, at the rate of 1,200 to 1,500 per week.

Self-acting machinery and revolving cutters are used for making all the separate parts, and the tools are made and repaired in a machine-shop which is attached to the works. In another establishment, at Worcester, Connecticut, 175 men are employed in manufacturing guns, rifles, and pistols. Revolvers are made in large numbers with barrels on the old principle, and proved by hydraulic pressure.

In no branch of manufacture does the application of labor-saving machinery produce, by simple means, more important results than in the working of wood. Wood being obtained in America in any quantity, it is there applied to every possible purpose; and its manufacture has received that attention which its importance deserves.

It would be difficult to point in any country to a more successful application of machinery to the working of wood than was made in this country long ago, in the manufacture of ship blocks, by the late Sir Isambard Brunell, aided by the late Mr. Maudslay: other instances of mechanism most ingeniously adapted to similar purposes might also be cited. It cannot therefore be said that nothing has been done in this branch of manufacture by ourselves; but it must be confessed that the improvements which have been made have not been extended, as they might have been, to ordinary purposes, though in this respect a desire for progress is now evidently manifested. A house in Liverpool is importing the best machines of the kind in use in America, and is making great efforts to introduce them generally into this country.

The trees sawn up in the Lowell saw-mills are floated down from the interior of the country, by river; they are docked in a basin in the timber-yard, and are dragged up an inclined plane into the interior of the mill, as they are wanted.

In an upper story are placed two large saw-frames, and between them travels an endless chain, running along the shop-floor over pulleys, and extending down the inclined plane nearly to the edge of the basin. To any part of this endless chain may be hooked another chain, which being passed round one or more trees as they lie in the basin, drags them up into the mill and deposits them alongside the saw-frames. Shingles used for covering the roofs and sides of houses are made in vast quantities. A circular saw cuts them 16 inches long, from 3 to 9 inches wide, and of a thickness tapering from three-eighths to one-eighth of an inch, at the rate of from 7,000 to 10,000 per day, according to the nature of the wood. Timber is also cut up into laths four feet long, at the rate of from 60 to 100 per minute, by a circular saw attended by two men.

In these saw-mills, boards are sawn into "sidings," that is, long wedge-shaped boards for the sides or roofs of houses, by a circular saw, at the rate of 17 feet per minute. The board is introduced at the back of the saw, and moves in the direction in which it revolves. It thus cuts with the grain, and the strength of the cut assists the forward feeding motion of the board. Subdivision of manufacture is advantageously adopted as a system.

Many works in various towns are occupied exclusively in making doors, window-frames, or staircases, by means of self-acting machinery, such as planing, tenoning, mortising, and jointing machines. They are able to supply builders with the various parts of the woodwork required in buildings at a much cheaper rate than they can produce them in their own workshops without the aid of such machinery. In one of these manufactories, twenty men are employed making panelled doors at the rate of 100 per day. Portable sawing-machines, driven by horse-power, are commonly used for sawing up logs of wood for fuel, particularly at the various stations on the railroads, where the wood intended for the consumption of the locomotives is stored in piles.

The "horse-power machine" consists of a stout frame supporting a railway about seven feet long, on which run the rollers of an endless travelling platform. The axles of the rollers are of iron, five-eighths in diameter, stretching across the rails, and are connected together by a series of links, each about 12 inches long, so as to form an endless chain, which passes over a fixed segment at one end, and the chain wheels at the other. The travelling platform is made by planks of wood about 12 inches broad, 1¼ inch thick, fastened transversely to the endless chain. It is inclined at an angle of about 7° to the horizontal line, and the horse being placed on the platform pushes it backward from under him, which causes the chain-wheels at the end of the frame to revolve; and the motion thus obtained is conveyed to the circular saw or other machine required to be driven. Some horse-power machines are made to admit two horses abreast. These machines are found very useful to farmers; when requisite, they are mounted on wheels, and may be easily taken from place to place to saw up trees which could not conveniently be moved entire.

Numerous varieties of planing-machines are in common use. For flooring-boards, Woodworth's machine is found to answer very satisfactorily. In planing-mills at Philadelphia, four of them were working in one room side by side; they have three cutters on each horizontal axis, having a radius of six inches, and making 4,000 revolutions per minute. The cutters are said to be capable of planing from 2,000 to 3,000 feet of work without being sharpened with the oil-stone, and from 20,000 to 30,000 feet without being ground.

They plane boards 18 feet long, varying in width from 3 to 9 inches, at the rate of 50 feet per minute. At the same time that the face of the board is planed, it is tongued and grooved by cutters revolving with a radius of about three inches, on vertical axes on each side of the board.

The chips made by the four planing-machines are driven through large pipes, and fall into a trough about 20 inches wide, running across the room immediately under the cutters. In this trough works an endless chain, on which are fixed wooden scrapers that carry along the chips as they fall, to a recess at the side of the room. Here they are carried off by the scrapers of another endless chain running up an inclined plane. The pulleys on which this side-chain works are larger in dimensions than those of the transverse chain which works inside.

The transverse chain thus deposits its chips in the trough of the inclined plane, and they are carried up to a hole in the ceiling of the fuel-room, adjoining the boiler-house; through this hole they fall into the fuel-room, and fill it up, if necessary, to the top.

Where an accurately smooth surface is required, Daniel's planing-machine is employed. It consists of an upright frame, in which a vertical shaft revolves, having horizontal arms, at the ends of which are fixed the cutters. The work is carried along on a travelling bed under the cutters, which are driven at a very high speed.

In a box manufactory at Worcester, a machine, made on

Woodworth's principle, planed boards 10 inches wide simultaneously on both sides.

Boxes are made in great numbers, from boards which are tongued and grooved by what is called a "matching machine," and then put together as that operation is finished.

The tonguing and grooving cutters are fixed on horizontal axes, and the workman passes the boards alternately over one or the other, as the sides require to be tongued or grooved. Other varieties of planing-machines are also in use, known by the names of their different inventors: some of them have fixed vertical or horizontal cutters, others vertical or horizontal revolving cutters, and various other combinations, according to the purposes for which they are intended.

This machine makes 900 round spills, fifteen inches long, one-eighth inch diameter, per minute; so that if each spill were cut into five matches, each three inches long, 4,500 would be produced every minute.

The spills are cut from pieces of straight-grained timber, made of such a length as to pass between two grooved feeding-rollers, which hold the timber so that its under surface is level with the lowest parts of a row of tubular cutting tools, or long sharp-edged punches.

The cutting tools are thus arranged: five pieces of steel are fixed side by side in a horizontal bar. Each piece of steel is perforated with three long holes, lying close together, and having their ends sharpened like the cutting edges of a hollow punch. A line of fifteen tubular cutters is thus formed, and motion is given to the horizontal bar, in which they are fixed by a crank which impels them against the timber. This is depressed at each stroke sufficiently to allow each cutter to cut out its spill, which passes through and falls out behind.

The cost of this machine would not exceed £20, and when the number of matches, all nicely rounded, which it is capable of producing, is contrasted with the number which could be produced by a hand-instrument in the same time, it will serve as a simple and striking illustration of the advantageous employment of matter in the form of machinery to do the work of man.

A machine, constructed on Blanchard's principle, is used for making lasts.

A pattern last, and the block of wood from which another last is to be cut, are fixed upon, and revolve round a common axis, being connected with the centres of a headstock fixed on a frame made to oscillate from below. As the pattern revolves, it is kept continually pressed against a knob of iron by a spring, and as the block of wood revolves, it is shaped by a circular cutter, revolving on a fixed axis, with its cutting edges in a line with the face of the knob. The pattern and the copy revolving simultaneously on a common axis as the surface of the pattern is pressed against the projecting knob, the oscillating frame is made to move, so that the revolving cutters shape from the block a surface exactly corresponding to the surface of the pattern, and the copy occupies relatively to the cutters the same position which the pattern does relatively to the knob of iron. About eighteen men are employed, who make 100 pairs of lasts per day, exclusive of boot-trees.

Labor-saving machines of all kinds, sawing, planing, boring, shaping, and jointing machines, are very advantageously employed in the manufacture of furniture. An apparatus of a very simple character is used for shaping the arms and legs of chairs. Two vertical cutters are made to revolve in opposite directions, at the rate of about 1,700 revolutions per minute, on axes projecting above a bench. The cutters are about four inches in diameter, and between them and the bench are loose washers or rollers, against which the pattern to which the work is fastened is pressed so as to guide the cut. The cutters revolve in opposite directions, and the work may be pressed against either one or the other, so as to suit the cut to the direction of the grain of the wood, without the workman having the trouble of reversing its position.

Labor-saving machines are most successfully employed in the manufacture of agricultural implements. In a plough manufactory at Baltimore, eight machines are employed on the various parts of the woodwork. With these machines seven men are able to make the wooden parts of thirty ploughs per day.

The handle-pieces are shaped by a circular cutter, having four blades, similar to those of smoothing-planes, fixed on a horizontal axis, with about two inches radius, and making nearly 4,000 revolutions per minute. The work to be shaped is fastened to a pattern, which is pressed against a loose roller on the axis of the cutter as the workman passes it along, and it is thus cut of exactly the same shape as the pattern.

All the ploughs of a given size are made to the same model, and their parts, undergoing similar operations, are made all alike. Some of the sharp edges of the wood are taken off or chamfered by a cutter revolving between two cones; these guide and support the work as it is pressed down edgewise on the cutters, and passed along by the workman.

The other machines in use consist of a circular and vertical saw, and machines for jointing, tenoning, drilling, and for making round stave rods, and giving them conical ends, the whole being of a simple and inexpensive character.

The curved handle-pieces of the ploughs, which require to be steamed and bent, are obtained already shaped from the forests where they are cut, and are advantageously supplied to the large manufacturers. The prices of the ploughs vary from $2½ to $7, (10*s*. 6*d*. to 30*s*.)

In a manufactory at Buffalo, mowing machines are made in large numbers; one of these machines, drawn by two horses, can mow on an average six acres of grass per day.

The machine is similar in its construction to the common reaping-machine, but it has only one wheel, furnished with projections to prevent it from slipping. This wheel gives motion to the cutters, and support sone side, the other rests on a runner like that of a sledge. It has a pole, to which two horses are attached in the ordinary way, and the driver sits on a seat fixed behind the cutters.

In an establishment at Worcester, 250 hands are employed principally in making ploughs, hay-cutters and churns.

Templates and labor-saving tools are used in the manufacture of these instruments, which are sold in very large numbers.

The churns consist of a double case, the inner one being of zinc, which receives the milk or cream, and in which the arms revolve, the outer one being of wood. It is found by experience that butter is formed most rapidly when the milk or cream is churned at a certain temperature; and in order to obtain this temperature, which is indicated by a thermometer inserted in the churn, warm or cold water is introduced between the inner zinc and outer wooden casing, as may be required.

Many of the carriages, especially those technically called "wagons," are made of an exceedingly light construction, and are intended generally to carry two and sometimes four persons.

Their wheels are frequently made with only two felloes, which are bent round by the operation of steaming, and are strengthened at the joining with iron clamps. The wheel of a carriage constructed to carry four persons had felloes only 1½ inch square. They are generally made of white oak, and the spokes are obtained ready shaped from shops where their manufacture forms a special trade.

It would seem as if the elasticity of these carriages peculiarly fitted them for the very bad roads on which they in general have to run, and it is evidently a principle with the Americans to use their light carriages and save their horses.

Every man in America who is able to keep his wagon is free to do so, unfettered and unquestioned, consequently their use is so general that it may be said to be almost universal. Their manufacture is one of great importance, and supports a vast number of wheelwrights and artisans of that class, who, from the nature of their employment, attain great skill and aptitude, enabling them to turn their hands to almost any variety of work, and rendering them a most useful and important class.

In an establishment at Washington, which has but recently commenced operations, there are two planing-machines and a grinding or polishing machine. Considerable difficulties have hitherto attended the employment of machinery for planing stone such as granite, and stone of similar formation.

These difficulties have, however, been surmounted most successfully by the construction of planing-machines such as are used in stone-works in New-York and Washington, in the former of which upwards of 400 men and ten machines are employed. The planing-machine consists of an upright frame, in which revolves a vertical shaft, carrying three horizontal arms. At the extremities of these arms are fixed circular cutters, inclined outwards about 45° from the perpendicular, or about the angle at which the workman would hold his chisel. They are about 10 inches in diameter, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, made of steel, and bevilled on both sides, leaving a sharp edge. They are fitted upon axes, and are at liberty to revolve loosely in their bearings as their edges strike the stone. The cutters are carried round by the shaft at the rate of about eighty revolutions per minute when planing freestone, and sixty when planing granite. The stone is moved forward on a bed to which it is keyed; the cutters strike its surface obliquely as they are carried round on the revolving arms, turning at the same time on their own axes, and chipping and breaking off the projecting portions of the stone at every cut. The machine planes the face of a stone slab 4 feet long and 2 feet wide in seven minutes. Another *modification* of this machine, which is not so economical, is employed when it is necessary that the face of the stone be left in lines as it came from the tool. The stone is keyed on a travelling bed, and passed under a frame, in which works a sliding carriage driven by a crank; in this carriage is fixed the circular cutter at the required angle, and as the stone is carried along, the cutter is driven backwards and forwards across its face at right angles to the direction in which it moves, and chips off parallel breadths of stone at every cut. The cutters can be used for planing from 300 to 400 square feet of freestone surfaces, and about 150 square feet of granite, without being ground.

The stone is polished by a flat circular disc of soft iron, which is made to revolve horizontally. The axis of a disc is fixed at the end of a heavy frame, which moves round a strong centre shaft in a radius of about 12 feet.

The polishing disc revolves at the rate of 180 revolutions per minute. It is driven by a strap, to which motion is given by a driving pulley fixed on the centre shaft. The disc is guided, and its pressure regulated, by hand. It will polish about 400 square feet of surface in a day of ten hours.

A machine for making bricks from dry clay was in operation on Staten Island, about nine miles from New-York. The works are carried on under extensive sheds, near the water side, and are connected with a wharf by a railway, which also extends to the bed from which the clay is dug. A large movable shed is erected on the bed of clay at the terminus of the railway.

In dry weather the clay is collected by slicing it from the surface with a kind of shovel, having a sharp edge, which is drawn by two horses, and will hold about two barrows.

In wet weather, the surface of the clay is harrowed to the depth of two or three inches, by a triangular wooden frame carrying nine teeth, a process which in the powerful rays of an American sun soon causes the moisture to evaporate. It is then taken off by the scoop or shovel above described, and conveyed to the shed, whence it is carried by rail to the machine shed. It is deposited close to a cylindrical screen, revolving on a fixed axis, which has projecting loose bars. The screen is about 8 feet long and 3 feet in diameter, and consists of bars $\frac{5}{8}$ inch square, riveted on two cast-iron wheels, which form the ends: the bars are about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch apart, and the clay is riddled through them. The screen is inclined, and the clay is fed in between the arms of the wheels, and as it revolves, the small pulverized particles fall through the bars, while the large stones pass out at the lowest end.

The clay is next raised by elevators, which are fixed to an endless leather belt about a foot wide, to the height of about 12 feet, and conveyed to rollers. It is ground and shovelled into hoppers which feed the moulds; these are 8 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 4 inches deep.

The clay is dropped into the moulds, which are placed six in a row to the depth of 3 to 3½ inches, according to the quantity of moisture it contains, and is afterwards compressed to the thickness of 2 inches, in the following way:—

Six presses or rams, fixed in a heavy frame, are raised by a cam, and being allowed to fall, exert very great pressure by their impact on the clay. The blow is repeated, and then the bricks are powerfully compressed above and below by revolving cams: 36 bricks are made per minute. They are at once conveyed to the kiln, which is under the shed at a short distance from the machine.

After being burnt, they are separated into three shades of color, of lighter and deeper reds. The best burnt bricks are equal in quality to our best English stocks, and sell at $12, equal to £2 8*s*. per 1,000.

In a brick-yard at Washington, Sawyer's machine, which had been in use for 16 years, makes about 1,800 bricks per hour from dry clay, by compression only.

The clay is obtained from a pit close by. As it is dug out, it is carted up an inclined plane to the floor over the room where the machine is at work.

A roller weighing 1,600 lbs., and making 60 revolutions per minute, grinds it upon a grating through which the pulverized particles fall into the room below. There it is shovelled into a hopper which supplies the brick moulds by feed-pipes. Three bricks are made at one time, being compressed by top and bottom pistons or pressers, which are connected together by long iron rods, and from the top part are suspended levers, with toggled joints worked by cranks. The bricks are sold at the rate of $6½ per 1,000, and are of a medium quality between English seconds and stock bricks.

India-rubber is applied to a great variety of purposes, and its manufacture is attended with very great success.

By a new process of hardening, the substance becomes of the consistency of horn. In that state it is manufactured into combs, walking-sticks, and other articles.

The India-rubber in its rough state is first cut up by shears into small pieces. It is then put through a machine similar to that used for tearing and cleaning rags intended to be made into paper. The water used in the operation is drawn off from time to time through a wire grating. The material, thus chopped up and cleaned, is passed through rollers, where it is sufficiently ground. It is then put through other rollers, where it is kneaded, and worked up with the necessary composition. The India-rubber, so mixed, is passed in the form of an endless web through four rollers placed vertically one above the other, and comes out a broad web fit for use. The India-rubber cloth is cut out from the sheet by workmen, in the shape required to form shoes. The parts so shaped are put together by women, who form them on lasts, closing the joints by cohesion after touching them with camphene. Each woman finishes an entire shoe, and about 1,400 pairs are made daily. The shoes are then covered with a coat of varnish, and taken to the stove drying-room, where they are subjected to a heat of from 250° to 280°, and allowed to remain a night. To provide for an equal distribution of heat in the drying-room, two large heating stoves are placed underneath, each in a separate compartment. These are fed with fuel from the outside, and the heat is admitted into the drying-room above, through several apertures pierced in the floor. Thermometers are placed at the side of the room, and can be inspected through glass from the outside.

The fishing-net machines combine the general features of the power-loom and the lace-machine.

They are made from 6 to 7 feet wide, according to the size of the mesh. One machine nets a ¾ inch mesh, and can be used for netting meshes of 1½ inch and 2¼ inches. It works at the speed of 12 picks per minute, and a complete course of 100 knots is made in the width of this machine, at each pick of the shuttle.

One woman can do the work of upwards of 100 hand-netters. The meshes are made rectangular, in the direction of the length of the net, and not diagonally, as in hand-made nets. The cost of the machine is $800 (about £160).

The manufacture of sailcloth is carried on in the mill where these machines are at work. The throstles for spinning yarn for the sailcloth spin six hanks to the pound. The carding-engine sliver is carried by the railroad system along a trough to the drawing-frame. The main cylinder of the carding-engine is 36 inches in diameter, and the doffing cylinder 13 inches, the former making 135 revolutions, and the latter 7 revolutions, per minute. In the fly-frame, the front roller makes 200 revolutions per minute, and the flyer from 1,900 to 2,000. By some ship-owners, sailcloth made of cotton is preferred to that made from hemp. Fishing-nets made by hand are here also manufactured of cotton.

The corn and flour mills of Pittsburgh employ 40 persons, including clerks and all others engaged in the various departments, and are capable of producing 500 barrels of flour per day, each containing 196 pounds.

The grain is brought in bulk in boats alongside the building, and is raised by an elevator consisting of an endless band, to which are fixed a series of metal cans revolving in a long wooden trough, which is lowered through the respective hatchways into the boat, and is connected at its upper end with the building where its belt is driven.

The lower end of the trough is open, and as the endless band revolves, six or eight men shovel the grain into the ascending cans, which raise it so rapidly that 4,000 bushels can be lifted and deposited in the mill in an hour.

The grain is next allowed to descend by a shoot or trough (the descent being regulated by traps) into a larger hopper, resting on the platform of a weighing-machine; its weight is then registered, and afterwards, by drawing a trap in the bottom of the hopper, the grain is allowed to descend by another shoot to a lower story. It is next raised by an elevator to the highest story of the mill, where it is cleaned by passing through three different machines. The greatest care and attention are bestowed on this process, in order to insure the perfect cleansing of the grain preparatory to being ground. The grain is then conducted to the stock-hoppers, which feed eight pairs of grinding-stones. A short length of the feeding-pipe of each pair is made of glass, through which the grain, as it descends, can be seen. The stones are 4 feet in diameter, and make 232 revolutions per minute. The meal, when ground, is conveyed by means of a spiral conveyer to the cooling-chamber, where a rake, revolving horizontally, is substituted for the old "hopper boys." The meal is raked from the circumference to the centre, where it falls through a hole and is taken to the bolting-machine; it is there sifted, and separated into different qualities of flour. It is then conveyed to hoppers, from which it descends by spouts into the barrels in which it is packed.

Art. XIII.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

The following presents very nearly the facts with regard to this division of enterprise in the United States, as compared with other countries:

Number of miles of railroads existing in the United States in each year, since the period of their first introduction:—In 1828, 3 miles; 1829, 28; 1830, 41; 1831, 54; 1832, 131; 1833, 576; 1834, 762; 1835, 918; 1836, 1,102; 1837, 1,421; 1838, 1,843; 1839, 1,920; 1840, 2,167; 1841, 3,319; 1842, 3,877; 1843, 4,174; 1844, 4,311; 1845, 4,511; 1846, 4,870; 1847, 5,336; 1848, 5,682; 1849, 6,350; 1850, 7,355; 1851, 9,090; 1852, 11,631; 1853, 13,379; 1854, 17,317.

The following will show the present results of railroads and canals in the United States:—The funded debt of railroads, in 1853, was $130,000,000, and their gross earnings $38,356,632. A report of 2,356 miles of canals shows a total cost of $54,676,936. There were, in 1853, 89 telegraphic lines, having 23,261 miles of wire. At present, the miles of wire may be estimated at over 30,000.

Railroads and Canals, 1854.

STATES.	CANALS. Miles.	RAILROADS. Number.	Miles in Operation.	Miles in Construction.	Cost.
Alabama	51	6	221	659	$3,636,208
Connecticut	61	15	669	83	20,857,357
Delaware	14	2	16	43	600,000
Florida	—	2	54	—	250,000
Georgia	28	15	884	445	16,084,872
Illinois	100	25	1,262	1,945	25,420,000
Indiana	367	18	1,127	748	22,400,000
Iowa	—	2	—	480	—
Kentucky	486	9	233	452	4,909,990
Louisiana	101	7	117	119	1,131,000
Maine	50	11	417	90	12,662,645
Maryland	184	3	597	30	26,024,620
Massachusetts	100	43	1,283	48	55,602,687
Michigan	—	4	601	—	13,842,279
Mississippi	—	4	155	436	3,070,000
Missouri	—	6	50	963	1,000,000
New-Hampshire	11	15	512	24	16,185,254

		Railroads.			
States.	Canals. Miles.	Number.	Miles in Operation.	Miles in Construction.	Cost.
New-Jersey	147	11	408	29	11,536,505
New-York	989	32	2,345	564	94,523,785
North Carolina	13	3	249	223	4,106,000
Ohio	921	46	2,367	1,578	44,927,058
Pennsylvania	936	64	1,464	987	58,494,675
Rhode Island	—	1	50	—	2,614,484
South Carolina	50	9	575	374	11,287,093
Tennessee	—	9	388	695	7,800,000
Texas	—	1	—	72	—
Vermont	—	8	422	59	14,116,195
Virginia	189	21	673	1,180	12,720,421
Wisconsin	—	4	178	200	3,800,000
Total	4,798	396	17,317	12,526	$489,603,128

In Great Britain 7,686 miles of railway in 1853 were open to traffic, and charters existed for 2,164 miles more; in 1850, 625 miles were opened; in 1853, 350 miles. Total capital invested, 1852, $264,165,680. Total passengers conveyed, 102,286,660. Total receipts from all sources, $18,635,879. In France, 1853, there were 4,070 kilometres (two-thirds of a mile, 1,093 yards of railroad) in operation, 1890 under construction, and 3,665 proposed. Dr. Lardner estimated the railroads opened in the world in 1845, 18,656, and in construction 7,829, with a total capital of about £500,000,000. A late French authority, 1854, states the miles of railroad in Europe to be 52,011 kilom., of which 45,589 were opened. The relation of the governments to each other with regard to railroads, and in proportion to territory, is expressed in the figures. France 0.77, Prussia 1.06, smaller German States 1.30, Belgium 3.06, Great Britain 3.91.

The number of miles of railway now in operation upon the surface of the globe is 35,480, of which 16,890 are in the eastern hemisphere, and 18,590 are in the western; and which are distributed as follows:

In the United States 17,317 miles, British Provinces 823, Island of Cuba 359, Panama 31, South America 60, Great Britain 7,686, Germany 5,340, France 2,480, Belgium 532, Russia 422, Sweden 75, Italy 170, Spain 60, Africa 25, India 100.

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Art. XIV.—ADDRESS TO SUBSCRIBERS AND OTHERS.

1 December, 1854.

With the issue of its next number, the Review will have entered upon the *tenth year* of its existence.

It is but natural that there should come up in the mind of its Editor many reminiscences of the past, and that he should reckon with himself as to the part he has performed in all this period.

Without experience, without pecuniary means, without friends or influence, scarcely attained to the age of majority, he issued the prospectus of a monthly periodical, which was to be devoted to the development and maintenance of the industrial interests of the Southern and Western States, and in an especial manner to the defence of the rights and institutions of the South. It was a new field, in which there were no guiding lights, for no one had ever entered it before, and there was at once the necessity of creating a public taste for the researches to be prosecuted, and of creating, as it were, almost the very material which was to incite that taste. The position was one of difficulty. The odds were a hundred to one against success. Even the most ardent friends admitted it, and urged the fact as an argument against any movement whatever.

Strong in the faith, and with an energy which, alas, is stronger in youth than it is ever afterwards, we boldly entered the arena, and struggled for that success which involved the fortunes of a whole life. What difficulties were encountered, what obstacles removed, what embarrassments, what defeats, what hopes and what fears ensued, is within the knowledge of some of the old associates who will read this note, and whose sympathies and co-operations we have ardently had.

To have triumphed amid such circumstances must be a source of gratulation.

May we not appeal to the public for their verdict? Have we adhered to our pledges at the beginning? Has the development of the wealth and the power of the planting States been with us a cardinal purpose, and have we ever faltered in a bold and constant vindication of the rights of those States? Have we had a part in the advocacy of the plans of improvement in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, or internal improvement, which, in the last nine years, have sprung into life, and which have called together assemblings of our people in towns and counties, and in great conventions of many States—when has the REVIEW, or its Editor, been lukewarm upon such matters, and in what period of doubt or difficulty were they silent?

If the verdict is favorable, then are there other things that follow. Should the organ and advocate of such great and prosperous interests not share some of their results? Should the toil and labor of years, which in any other field would have brought with it fortune, not bring it in this? Should the planter or the manufacturer, the merchant or the railroad advocate, or shareholder deriving benefit, direct or even indirect, from the labors which have been performed, not cheerfully appropriate a modicum of that benefit to the support of those labors?

Citizens of the South—supporters of the Review and all others, it is our desire and purpose to enter upon an entirely new era with the tenth volume of the work. Called eighteen months ago into another service, the opportunity was believed to be a good one to extend our capacity for usefulness, and at the same time to promote the great cause of development, to which so many years had been devoted. That mission performed, what remains is to resume with spirit and energy our conduct of the Review, which has, to an extent, been interrupted.

From this point, then, we start afresh. With enlarged experience, with increased means, with facilities which were never enjoyed before, the Review again presents itself. In its services the time and efforts of its Editor will be expended. Additional and able contributors will be secured. There will be an increase in size of the work—a greater diversity of subjects, a closer attention to matter, and a wider field of illustration. Neither money nor labor will be spared upon the work, nor anything that will commend it to the support and confidence of our people. The Editor will resume, for the most part, his position at New-Orleans, establishing a branch office of the work at Washington.

There is but one appeal to be made. Will our friends stand by us in the movement? *Will each one promptly, and if possible without waiting for the call of agents, remit the amount of his liability; and also, where it can be done with a little pains or influence, send on the name and subscription of some other person, not now upon our books—some neighbor or some friend?* This service will be deeply and gratefully remembered and reciprocated.*

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* An able exchange paper speaks strongly to the South in favor of encouraging its own publications: a brief extract will be excused us in this note:—

"How many praiseworthy efforts of Southern men to conduct literary magazines have you discouraged and crushed in the bud, by negligence or sneering criticism? How many devoted enthusiasts at the shrine of letters have you permitted to wear out life and strength in unavailing struggles to promote the interests of our own literature? Let the waste paper receptacles of every post-office in the South declare. 'But,' says the supporter of Abolition prints, 'these were "catch-penny affairs," which merited no man's patronage, and they met with the fate which they deserved.' Now, one of the following positions is true, and the other, of course, is false: either our periodicals are poor because they are not supported; or, they are not supported because they are poor. Suppose the latter to be true; why, then, are they poor? 'Because,' answers our opponent, 'they are managed by inefficient men.' The assertion is false—utterly, unqualifiedly false. Will any one pretend to say that 'William Gilmore Simms' has a superior in the South, in the conduct of a literary work? Yet, his abilities are expended on a 'labor of love.' Will any one deny to Professor De Bow his well-earned reputation, for the management of his Review? Yet, when will 'De Bow's Review' equal the Southern circulation of Harper's Magazine?"

Art. XV.—EDITORIAL NOTICES.

Treatise on Sociology. This is a curiously metaphysical work, the production of Henry Hughes, we believe, of Mississippi. Time has not admitted our examination of it, and therefore we are not prepared for any opinion. There are probably but few persons who can bestow upon such a volume the study which it requires, but then books are not to be estimated by the number of their readers. The object of the author is to work out philosophically and express some of the views of the Southern people upon the subject of slavery. The style of the work is sententious, and its logic without ornament. Taylor and Maury, Washington.

The Western Home, and other Poems. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1854. Washington: Taylor & Maury. The volume embraces poems never before published, and also some selections from the illustrated octavo edition of Mrs. Sigourney's poems, and also poems that have hitherto been published, but not collected together.

The Monthly Nautical Magazine and Quarterly Review. Griffiths & Bates, 79 John-street, New-York. It is most remarkable that in the history of American literature, no magazine has before appeared devoted to the science of marine architecture, nautical engineering, and maritime pursuits, seeing that the prosperity of the country is absolutely involved with our maritime growth. Up to the present time but a single author (worthy of note) has undertaken to write upon the subject of ship-building in the United States, and to his practical as well as scientific knowledge, our ship-owners as well as builders owe much of the meed of praise which has been awarded to American ships throughout the world. When Mr. Griffiths left the sterner realities of construction and took up the pen and pencil, an impulse was at once given to ship-building, which has been felt in every land of commercial notoriety. Not content with past achievements in the publication of two standard works, we see by the periodical forming the subject of this notice that he has associated himself with Mr. Bates, a gentleman of similar stamp, for the publication of a Magazine adapted to the wants of ship-builders, masters and owners, and all others who aspire to be such. A more comprehensive view of the subject of which it treats could not well be given. The arrangement of subjects under different heads or departments, each appropriately illustrated, is an entire new feature in the history of magazines. It is not only instructive, but interesting, and takes rank among the first periodicals of the day, presenting as it does data on the construction of vessels, engines of steamers, in their proportion and performance, as well as the logs of and disasters to vessels, in the Nautical Department, in connection with the state of the market in Ship Stock, &c. The articles on the loss of the Arctic, the subject of Tonnage, and Inland Navigation, are worthy the attention of all interested.

Our Exchanges. Hereafter it is the intention of the Editor of the Review to notice the several periodicals which are sent to him monthly, and to give the titles of some of their leading articles. At present only a mere reference can be had to the *Banker's Magazine* of Mr. Homans, which is one of the most valuable statistical works in the country; the *Southern Quarterly Review*, which keeps up its character under the administration of Mr. Simms; the *Southern Literary Messenger;* the *Western Journal*, St. Louis; the *Soil of the South;* the *Alabama Cotton Planter*, all able and valuable works. The *New-Orleans Medical Journal*, under Dr. Dowler, and the *Charleston Medical Journal*, preserve their high rank. The *Western Democratic Review*, published at Indianapolis, and edited by Geo. P. Buck, $3 per annum, monthly, is marked by great ability, and is eminently entitled to the support of all who admit and practise the doctrines of that great and influential party.

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